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THE WORLD'S WORK

VOLUME XXXV

NOVEMBER, 1917, to APRIL, 1918

MAY 15 1918

A HISTORY OF OUR TIME

GARDEN CITY NEW YORK
DOUBLEDAY, PAGE & COMPANY
1918

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The World's Work

ARTHUR W. PAGE, EDITOR

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TERMS: $3.00 a year; single copies, 25 cents. For Foreign Postage add $1.00; Canada 60 cents.
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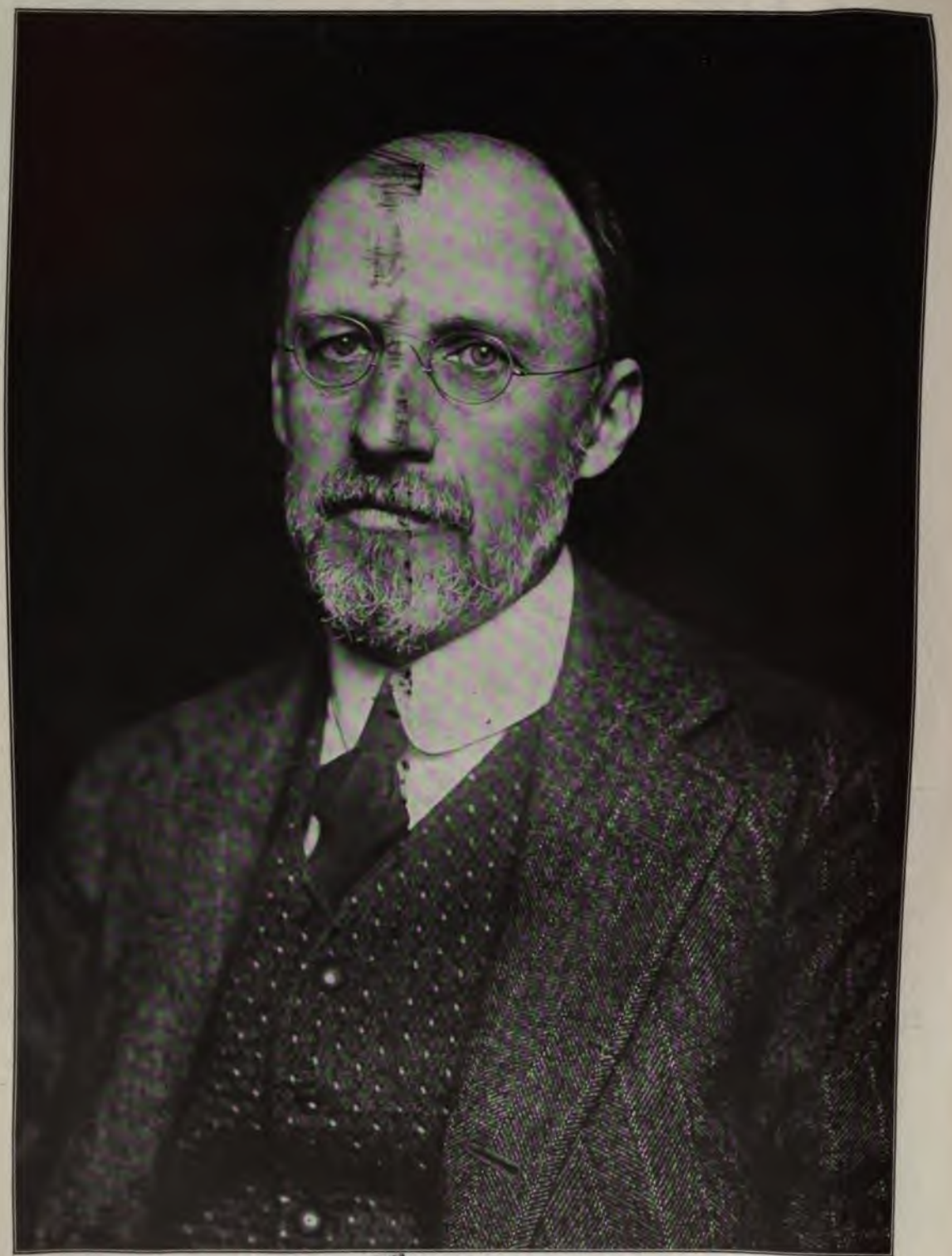
DOUBLEDAY, PAGE & COMPANY
The NEW COUNTRY LIFE The GARDEN MAGAZINE
CHICAGO: Peoples Gas Bldg. GARDEN CITY, N. Y. NEW YORK: 11-13 W. 32nd Street
BOSTON: Tremont Bldg. LOS ANGELES: 412 W. 6th Street



SIR CECIL SPRING-RICE

The British Ambassador to the United States, who conducted the difficult negotiations with the United States before we entered the war to carry into effect the blockade of Germany without undue interference with American commerce, and who is now the means and embodies the spirit of coöperation between the two countries

THE WORLD'S WORK

NOVEMBER, 1917

VOLUME XXXV NUMBER 1

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THE MARCH OF EVENTS

THERE is a photograph elsewhere in this magazine of a column of American soldiers crossing the Thames with the Houses of the British Parliament in the background. These soldiers are part of the American Army gone to Europe to fight for political liberty against autocracy. The British Parliament is the mother of modern political liberty, and the larger part of its history belongs as much to those American troops and to the rest of us as it does to the people who live in England. From the time of Magna Charta in 1215 to 1775 we worked out the advance of free institutions together. Since that time we have worked them out separately but along parallel lines. Both nations have considered political liberty as the most vital tenet of existence and both have struggled to increase it at home and extend it abroad. Great Britain has extended a helping hand to the liberal movements in Europe, and we have, under the Monroe Doctrine, guaranteed the opportunity for the people of the Americas to develop their own institutions free from attack by autocracy.

In his celebrated pronouncement Monroe let it be known that any attack by autocracy on free institutions in this hemisphere would be met by the armed forces of the United States. When he told the world this decision Monroe knew that he could count on the coöperation of the British fleet in enforcing it. The exponents of autocracy at that time knew it, too. And since then every ambitious autocrat has known that if he reached his hand toward the Western Hemisphere it meant the American Army and Navy in front of him and the British fleet behind him—and none has tried.

But in 1914 the Kaiser did not know that Great Britain and the United States would come to the defense of political liberty in Europe. He thought that England would stay neutral. He was sure that the United States was so afraid of entangling alliances that it would rather see him crush political liberty in Europe than move a hand to defend it. But he was wrong. Liberty is not an ideal that admits of geographical limitations, and autocracy is the kind of beast that must be killed in its lair if even distant regions are to be safe. But the Kaiser did not know that an attack on liberty in Europe meant war by all democracies. If there had been a doctrine of the immunity of liberty in Europe like the Monroe Doctrine here, announced with the same vigor and supported by the same liberal forces, it is doubtful if the Kaiser would have embarked on war. If after this war there is such a doctrine, it is doubtful if the Kaiser can have a successor. Such a doctrine—the common and immediate defense of political freedom by every liberal country—has not been announced in words; but when the American troops passed Westminster on their way to France they set the seal of action on a Monroe Doctrine of the World—a union of the Anglo-Saxon and other liberal powers for the defense of democracy.

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LORD NORTHCLIFFE

Who represents Great Britain in this country officially as head of numerous Commissions and unofficially as the publisher of the London *Times* and as a man of wide friendships among men of all callings in the United States

MR. BYRON R. NEWTON

cceeds Mr. Dudley Field Malone as Collector of the Port of New York, and who, as Second cretary of the Treasury, in charge of public buildings, was one of the most vigorous op- he pork barrel system of appropriations by Congress

JAPAN'S "AMBASSADOR OF GOOD-WILL"

Viscount Ishii, who has visited many parts of the United States to convince Americans of the earnestness of his Government's participation in the war and to assure us of the groundlessness of fears for our open door policy and the integrity of China aroused by the failure of Japan to restore Kiao-Chau and by the famous twenty-one demands which Japan made on China

American and British Relations

RECENTLY two documents have appeared which shed an interesting sidelight upon our relations with Great Britain. The first is the famous Bernstorff note concerning the $50,000 to be used for influencing Congress. It read as follows:

I request authority to pay out up to $50,000, (fifty thousand dollars) in order, as on former occasions, to influence Congress through the organization you know of, which can perhaps prevent war.

I am beginning in the meantime to act accordingly.

In the above circumstances a public official German declaration in favor of Ireland is highly desirable, in order to gain the support of Irish influence here.

The second document is from the Von Igel papers captured by the Secret Service men and published by the State Department. In it Justice Cohalan gives an example of the kind of Irish influence Bernstorff wanted:

No. 335-16.
Very secret.

New York, April 17, 1916.

Judge Cohalan requests the transmission of the following remarks:

"The revolution in Ireland can only be successful if supported from Germany, otherwise England will be able to suppress it, even though it be only after hard struggles. Therefore help is necessary. This should consist, primarily, of aërial attacks in England and a diversion of the fleet simultaneously with Irish revolution. Then, if possible, a landing of troops, arms, and ammunition in Ireland, and possibly some officers from Zeppelins. This would enable the Irish ports to be closed against England and the establishment of stations for submarines on the Irish coast and the cutting off of the supply of food for England. The services of the revolution may therefore decide the war."

He asks that a telegram to this effect be sent to Berlin.

5132 8167 0230

To his Excellency,

COUNT VON BERNSTORFF,
Imperial Ambassador.

Washington, D. C.

Reading these things over reminds one of what was pretty well known before, that a large number of people in this country are perpetually trying to disturb the friendly relations between this country and Great Britain, the German-Americans in the hope that a rupture between the two will help Germany, and the Irish-Americans in the hope that such a rupture will hurt England, and perhaps help Ireland. Neither cares for the United States or its interests. This variety of Irish wish us to help them in a war of secession from England, and the Germans wish to use us as a catspaw in their game of conquering the world. Unfortunately their propaganda has not been without effect. They pictured England as a grasping, tyrannical, and entirely commercialized monster, who had pounced on Germany because Germany was making progress in trade, and would do the same to us. But the fact is that Great Britain is the only country in the world that does not discriminate against other people's commerce by a tariff and that until the war German merchants did far more business in British colonies than in their own. The anti-British propaganda also made telling use of the insinuation that friendship with England would mean something akin to putting our 100 million people back into a state of dependency on the British 45 million, and that the only way to maintain independence was to hate England. This idea of a daily morning hate is as peculiarly German as the perpetuation of a grievance is Irish, and neither can appeal much to any real American. Moreover, a close view of the Irish organizations in politics in New York and Boston will furnish any one with a partial clue to the cause of the so-called British tyranny shown by the failure to govern Ireland successfully.

British rule exists in every climate and on every continent. In the last half century it has been generally successful everywhere but in two instances. It has not succeeded in making the Catholic part of Ireland happy, and it has not succeeded in amalgamating the Catholic part of Canada—the French Canadians. British rule has gotten along well with practically every race and religion and sect in the world except in the two places in the British Empire where there is a solid body of people who owe religious allegiance to Rome.

II

The persistent attacks of the Germans and anti-English Irish among us on Great Britain since the beginning of the war have also been directed toward making France, Canada, the United States, and every one else possible dissatisfied with Great Britain's share in the war.

The facts do not substantiate this charge either.

Great Britain has 45 million population, in

contrast with 39 million for France, 36 million for Italy, 175 million for Russia, and somewhat more than 100 million for us.

This 45 million has furnished a far larger proportion of the naval strength and shipping than any other nation and has done this from the beginning of the war. This has also necessitated bearing most of the odium attached to the blockade which was for the general benefit of all the Allies as well as England.

From the beginning, also, they have furnished more money than any other nation.

In the first two years of the war they did not furnish as many men as either France or Russia, but at present the British army in France is about as large as the French. The British have besides an army in Egypt, another at Saloniki (as have also the French) and another in Mesopotamia. Moreover, the British Isles have furnished as many men in proportion and suffered as great losses as any of their colonies, besides putting forth an extraordinary industrial effort.

The comparison of the efforts of the various Allies was instigated by the Irish and Germans for the express purpose of arousing jealousy, and it was to an extent successful. This insidious attack on the British is entirely unjustified by the facts, for no 45 million people engaged in the war have made greater efforts to use their strength and improve their weaknesses than have the British. They are subject to only two honest criticisms. They were blind to the danger that threatened them and therefore unready to meet it. They talked a good deal in the early part of the war on the basis of their plans for the future. Other people, perhaps, can voice these criticisms—if the British have not atoned for their deficiencies in blood—but without losing our sense of humor we cannot point to either their unpreparedness nor their proneness to discuss their influence on the war before that influence reached the front.

III

But it is much more important for us to realize the positive reasons for our friendship with Great Britain than merely to realize the misinformation propagated amongst us by certain Irish and Germans with the intent to benefit Germany and Ireland at the expense of Great Britain and the United States.

The war has awakened us to the realization that the most important thing to us in the progress of the world is the spread of free institutions—the growth of democracy. The same is true of the British, and of all the nations in Europe the British have been the most persistent and consistent defenders of political freedom as well as being the originators of it. The article elsewhere in this magazine, entitled, "The British-American Adventures Toward Liberty," gives some exceedingly interesting details of the British attitude on this all-important question during the last 150 years. During that time we have differed with Great Britain on all manner of less important subjects. On the one subject of transcending importance both nations have consistently upheld the spread of political liberty and have very often coöperated in so doing. This coöperation has been of the utmost importance to us, to the British, and to the cause of political liberty in the past, as it is at present and must be in the future.

No Basis For Peace

THE German Government has never credited its enemies with any different motives than it feels itself. That was the basis of their mistake in supposing that England would keep out of the war, and also the basis for the same mistake about us. The Germans had studied the material situation and left out the moral forces entirely.

The German Government is following the same tactics in its campaign for peace. It presumes that on our side as well as on theirs the war is only about land and money and trade and military advantages. With this idea in their heads the Germans offer to give up Belgium, except for special trading rights. This would, they hoped, open the bargain. As it has failed they will continue to give out suggestions of one kind or another in the belief that if they offer land and money and military advantages enough we will all—France, England, Russia, the United States—join them in a peace conference, frankly cast aside the moral issues, and divide up the spoils with only such consideration for the lesser allies on either side as their future usefulness would dictate. This was the custom at the end of most continental wars in the past, and the German Military Government seems to look upon the world with about the same moral perceptions as Frederick the Great and Prince Metternich, not to mention Prince Bismarck.

If the German military who govern the

country should believe that their enemies really intended to act upon decent motives themselves and to force the Germans to do likewise, the military would probably prefer to take the chance of complete defeat and extermination to any such solution, but we shall probably never even get this idea into their heads while they are in power. It is, then, not worth while to examine the various peace "feelers" which originate with the present Government of Germany, except as an indication of their military strength or weakness. As bases for the peace that is to come they are valueless, completely valueless, even if they offer great territorial concessions, for they are founded on the same kind of reasoning which started the war, and until the German Government is filled with men with different ideas there is no use of making peace with it.

More "Willy" and "Nicky" Correspondence

GRADUALLY out of the European archives are coming the documents that enable us to reconstruct the history of the last twenty years, and which shed the brightest possible light upon the sort of diplomacy which has precipitated the present war. The collapse of the Russian autocracy has now made public property the secret archives of the Czar. They contain papers whose existence even the Czar's closest ministers had not suspected. Irrespective of their very interesting contents, these documents give a most illuminating insight into that governmental system which has been best exemplified in the rule of the present Kaiser and the now vanished Autocrat of All the Russias. They show us that, in addition to the ostensible government of both nations, there has existed a kind of holy of holies, an inside organization, composed exclusively of two persons, the Kaiser and the Czar, who, without the knowledge of their people, their representative chambers, or even their own selected advisers, have presumed to put their heads together and plan the future of Europe. That two men, one of notoriously unstable and irresponsible character, lacking in judgment, honor, or statesmanship, and actuated solely by personal vanity and a desire for "glory," and the other commonly regarded as mentally feeble, if not actually deficient, could secretly manufacture plots that involved the lives of millions of human beings, and their happiness and civilization, is probably the greatest anachronism of these troublous times.

The present Russian authorities have recently given a specimen of this correspondence to the press. As in the case of the famous telegrams preceding the war, the Czar signs himself "Nicky" and the Kaiser puts himself down as "Willy." From the telegrams so far issued we cannot make a detailed and connected story, but the main points stand out distinctly enough, and they reveal a narration of duplicity and treachery that we find only in these exalted quarters. In 1904, as to-day, Russia and France were allies — an alliance of defense against Germany and Austria. France had not only poured untold millions into the imperial Russian coffers, but had staked her future as a nation upon the stability of this alliance. Yet these telegrams disclose the Czar conspiring with the Kaiser to form an alliance, which, if it had been successful, would have destroyed not only France, but Great Britain. Primarily their purpose was to organize a Russian-German compact for an attack on England. England, Russia, and France were joining hands for the purpose of protecting themselves and the world against German aggression and France and Russia were actually allied by the most solemn treaty. Yet the Czar, in the secrecy of his palace, was plotting with the Kaiser against his allies. The two men planned to make a formal written treaty, and, after this had been signed, to enlighten France, the idea being that the Republic, once her ally had deserted her for the German camp, would be obliged to follow. Ultimately, therefore, there was to be a Russo-Franco-Austro-German alliance against Great Britain.

The valiant French armies were to assist in the work of securing world domination for the despoilers of Alsace-Lorraine.

"As soon as it is accepted by us, France is bound to join her ally," says "Willy" to "Nicky." "No third power must hear even a whisper of our intentions." For some reason, however, the imperial "deal" did not go through. Possibly the wretched showing made by Russia in the Japanese war explains this failure. Very likely there is more secret correspondence which will definitely settle that point. But, even though nothing else is ever forthcoming, these documents will have an historic importance, for the illustration they furnish of the kind of government which precipitated the greatest calamity in history.

Price-Fixing and Production

SOME of the anti-war agitators and politicians have recently tried to arouse dissatisfaction from the fact that the regulation of food prices does not reduce the cost of food, and that the coal dictator does not dictate a low price for the consumer's coal. To abuse the Government for the high cost of living when it presses heavily upon us is an obvious method of arousing discontent. But its obviousness will not make it largely successful, because it is equally obvious that while price-regulation does not relieve us of the high cost of living it does help toward the vastly more important end of winning the war.

For the winning of the war the amount of production of food and other products is far more important than the price at which they are sold. It would not help win the war to sell wheat at a dollar a bushel if there was not enough wheat. And if there is enough wheat, paying two, three, or even four dollars a bushel would not lose the war. It is easier to raise more money—as hard as that is—than it is to raise more wheat, and wheat is the more important—likewise coal, steel, etc., etc. The main problem confronting the Government regulators, then, is to get the utmost possible production of every useful kind from the country. They are production stimulators in object much more than price regulators. Their price regulation is a means to an end.

When this problem first began to unfold itself to us, most people concurred in the idea expressed by the President that it would not be necessary to bribe a patriotic American by abnormal prices to give his utmost production. The development of the situation convinces us, however, that abnormal prices are necessary to abnormal production. Let us take wheat as an example. A wheat farmer sees an opportunity to make a good profit on his usual acreage, and he thinks that probably he will be able to get labor enough to harvest it. The country, however, wants him to grow more than usual. It wants him to go to more expense than usual in planting more land and to run a greater risk of high wages and a shortage of labor. But the farmer sees a possible catastrophe staring him in the face if he extends his credit, enlarges his operations to include poorer land, and runs greater risks at harvest time, unless he is assured of a sufficiently high price to make all this extra work and risk profitable. From patriotic reasons he would probably do his best on his usual acreage, but patriotism without an assurance of profit would hardly induce him to risk increasing his operations so that he might lose as much on his extra work as he made on his regular effort. The same is true of coal mining. There are many coal mines in which the cost of mining is prohibitive at normal prices. But once make the prices abnormal and guarantee them, and these mines that are ordinarily idle will become active and swell the total production.

Likewise, men will build steel mills, airplane factories, and start other industry to swell production if they are assured of prices that will give them a quick profit on the operation. They are afraid to wait for their profit for fear that after the war their extra product will not be saleable. And to get a quick profit these people must get abnormal prices.

Patriotism will usually make a man do his utmost with what he has, but it will not usually induce a man to volunteer to go into bankruptcy by over-extending himself. To induce the extra effort that we need, the producers need some kind of guarantee of high prices.

That is why Mr. Hoover has fixed the price of wheat at $2.20 a bushel when in normal times one dollar is a high price; and why copper is 23½ cents a pound, although a short while ago several large companies agreed to furnish the Government at 16⅔ cents a pound.

The Government has tried to fix the price high enough to stimulate the maximum production, but no higher; for, once that production is reached, any further rise in price would be a useless expense to the public.

It is, of course, impossible to tell accurately just what the maximum abnormal production can be, not to mention what price will produce it. There is little or no precedent to go on. Conditions constantly change. Industries compete with each other for labor and the cost of production varies with the scarcity of producers in one field or another. The price fixers must learn as they go and rectify their errors in calculation according to the progress of events. And with the best human foresight, hindsight will show mistakes which foresight is now unable to obviate.

Nevertheless, it is abundantly clear that the price regulation helps to stimulate the production of the commodities we most need to win the war; that the men who are engaged in the regulation are intelligent, industrious, and

working with the single aim of patriotism, and as long as this is true we should and will give them our complete support.

The Excess Profits Tax

NOW, of course, if the price fixed is sufficient to enable the least economical producers to stay in business and thereby increase the total volume, the more efficient producers will be making abnormal profits. These excess profits, moreover, will be due to the war. In other words, the efficient producers by the Government's policy of price-fixing are put in the position of profiting by their country's needs.

There are two ways of relieving them from the predicament of making too much money, for while they are, as other people, in business to make money, they are not in business to take advantage of their country's war needs. The first method is to revise price-fixing so that the inefficient get a price sufficient to keep them going and the efficient get a less price which will keep them active. The administration of a price scale different for nearly every producer is practically impossible. The other method is to tax excess profits, which the Government is doing. This, of course, does amount practically to taking for the public purposes of the Government a part anyway of the amount which the Government and the public paid these industries, because of the abnormal conditions. This is certainly not an exact system. It will inevitably fall harder on some than on others—even as some soldiers get killed and others do not—but it seems to be the fairest practical plan to go on.

Moreover, letting a man make the money even if a large part is taken away from him again gives him more incentive to abnormal effort than if he were not allowed to make it. Suppose a man whose business usually made a profit of $100,000 saw an opportunity under a high fixed price to double his plant and make $300,000 a year. Even if he knew that the Government would take $100,000 of it from him in excess taxes, nevertheless the chance to enlarge his plant would urge him on. And he would have this comforting thought as he made the plunge: "If high prices and changing conditions cut my profit from the expected $300,000 down to $150,000 or $200,000, the Government will not put on the excess tax. I have that tax money to fall back on as a kind of insurance against loss." But if prices were fixed low and the most he could expect to get from his extra effort would be another $100,000 profit if all went well, high prices of construction and changing conditions might well make him hesitate, for if anything went wrong he might make nothing for the extra effort or might even jeopardize the old profit.

It may appear to people who are not engaged in commerce that when men are risking their lives without abnormal inducements, business men might risk their businesses a little more freely. Perhaps they might, but as a matter of fact they don't. And it cannot be laid to a lack of patriotism, either, for any number of men will give up and have given up their businesses altogether to serve the Government, and many to risk their lives; but these same men will not rush into added production which their business training tells them will not be profitable. Nor is this phenomenon noticeable only in this country. It is the same in all the warring countries. The Government can conscript every able-bodied man in France, but if it started to conscript the savings of the French people there would be a revolution.

Fixing high prices to increase production and taxing excess profits seems the only feasible way to meet the war-industry situation. The success of the plan depends chiefly on its administration by the Government.

The Poor Retailer

THE frequent appearance of wholesale prices in the press has led the public to an even keener realization than usual of the costs and difficulties of distribution and retailing, and has led also to some unfair resentment against retailers.

It is common to hear such arguments as these: "The price of coal wholesale used to be, let us say, $2 a ton and the retail price $4. Now the wholesale price is $4 and the retail price $8. But it does not cost much more for freight; why shouldn't the retail price be $6? Why should the coal dealer rob us?" But that is not all the story. When the price was $2 at the mine, a retailer for $50,000 could buy 25,000 tons. When the price was $4 he would have to borrow another $50,000 to buy the same amount of coal. Moreover, while his freight has advanced only a little, his labor, the keep of his teams, and his taxes have increased a great deal.

In other words, the man who suggests that the retailer add to his prices only the extra to be paid the mine is asking him to double the amount of his business as expressed in money, meet a great many extra expenses, incur a greater risk (for unsold coal at $4 is more embarrassing than when it costs $2), all for the same gross profit that he charged before. It is practically asking the retailer to go into bankruptcy.

The truth of the matter is that if the distribution and retailing of coal costs as much as its production when its production is $2 a ton, they will cost about the same proportion when coal is $4 a ton; and this is not far from true of most products.

A manufacturer who pays an agent 30 or 40 per cent. for selling his product [which is common enough] must increase the retail price not only to cover the added cost of production but also enough to pay the retailer his 30 or 40 per cent. of that addition. Suppose a product sold at retail for one dollar, of which the retailer got 40 cents and the manufacturer 60, of which 6 cents, or 10 per cent., was profit. If the price went up 50 per cent. it would cost the manufacturer 81 cents to make it. His same percentage of profit would give him 9 cents. The retailer would pay 90 cents, and if he got the same percentage of profit the public would pay $1.50. An increase of 27 cents in the cost of production normally added 50 cents to the public price without any profiteering or any one's having even made a larger percentage of profit than usual on his total turnover. There are probably several panaceas for this evil, but until they are tried in practice and succeed we shall have to worry along with the tendency of prices to increase by multiplication rather than addition—and the retailer is as likely to do as much worrying as any one else over this manifestation of the general cussedness of things.

A Great Merchant Marine—On Paper

IF WE are to accept at their face value the figures on the Government shipbuilding programme recently made public by the Shipping Board, we have cause for self-congratulation. Mr. Hurley sets forth a shipbuilding programme which will be completed by the end of 1919. It extends, therefore, over a period of twenty-seven months, dating from October 1st. Stripped of all the details, the essential facts are as follows: On September 1st, the United States had 2,380,000 gross tons of shipping actively engaged in the foreign trade, including the tonnage which we have taken over—let us hope permanently—from our enemies. We have under contract and construction 5,924,700 tons, all of which, says Mr. Hurley, will be under commission by the end of 1918. Thus our total shipping, including that in hand and that under construction, aggregates 8,304,700 tons. Besides this, the present Congressional programme provides for 5,000,000 tons dead weight, all of which can be finished by the end of 1919. This, reduced to gross tonnage, and added to that already in hand and contracted for, will give us, by December 31, 1919, a total merchant fleet of 9,563,000 gross tons.

The latest official figures, supplied by Premier Lloyd-George, indicated that Germany was sinking 500,000 tons a month—this including the losses of all nations.

This is 6,000,000 tons a year. Our building programme and that of the British will offset this when our building programme is in full swing. But we have first got to face this winter and next spring, when our programme will still be mostly in paper and on the stocks. Mr. Hurley promises about 6,000,000 tons of our new shipping by January, 1919.

In making public these figures, the Federal Shipping Board has set itself a task which it must exert its every resource to realize. And the public should not reach a stage of self-congratulation that will interfere seriously with the active, unceasing prosecution of all our war plans.

The crucial time for us to fix our eyes upon is next spring, and then we should look to the future. Next spring we shall be under greater pressure for tonnage than now, for we shall have more men abroad to care for. Only the ships that were started early will be in the water to help us then. The Germans began their ruthlessness on February 1st. We went to war in April and have begun our building at various times since. Germany will, therefore, have had nearly a year in which to get ships under water before our ships that are building are launched in large numbers. Just before our building begins to yield tonnage in large quantities—next spring—will be our lowest time, and we need to strain every building nerve to meet it. From then on the situation should improve rapidly.

War Financing

THE second Liberty Loan campaign has impressed more forcibly upon the public the need for individual saving to finance the war. As the war continues, each succeeding loan, to be successful, must bring home with increasing clearness to all patriotic citizens the necessity of saving for the Government. If it is realized that the normal savings of the country are less than $5,000,000,000 annually, or $50 per person, the magnitude of the financial problem becomes apparent when Secretary McAdoo calls upon Congress for $18,000,000,000 to cover our first year's expenses, including advances to our Allies. Our normal savings of $50 each have in the past gone into many investment channels. We are now confronted with the necessity of getting $180 per person for the Government alone.

The average income of an American family is probably not more than $1,000 for three or four people. It is manifestly impossible for families whose income is no more than $1,000 or $1,200 to have $180 per member ready in cash for the war. That being true, the people who have more money are going to have to meet the war expenses, and the better prepared they are to do it the easier it will be. It may seem unfair, but when the Nation needs money it must get it from the people who have it. There is no other way.

For each individual, the problem is how to increase the country's total savings. Our gross annual income was estimated before the war at $30,000,000,000. Great prosperity has added materially to this; but it is doubtful if much of the increase has gone into the savings account. The needs of the Government now call for an adjustment of living expenses to leave an adequate amount of this income to carry on the war. It can be stated roughly that one fourth of every income is needed by the Government in addition to its other sources of income.

Impatience at the Front and Here

A LITTLE while ago General Pershing gave an interview to the Associated Press representative in France, in which he said:

> Those of us who have fully studied the situation and who know what is necessary to be done are anxious that the people at home shall strive to realize the immensity of the task in which we are engaged and shall, through patience and confidence, help us to accomplish that task in the shortest possible time. Everything is going well with us, both as a nation and as an army. We are making giant strides day by day, but we are just started.
>
> We came into the war without an army. We have always been a peace-loving people, and undoubtedly the great majority of us hoped we should be spared war. So now we must build an entire new organization, and build it so big and so strong that we can take our place along with our Allies, who already have had three years' time and experience.
>
> I realize how very difficult it is for the people at home to visualize the war, to visualize the effort that lies behind the war. Our problems are greater than any France or Great Britain had to solve, but we are solving them and will continue to do so.
>
> It is impossible to create a vast fighting machine merely by the wave of the hand. I wish that it were possible to do so and that we might be fighting the German Government this minute. We know that the only way to defeat the German Army is to hammer it and keep on hammering it. That is what we expect to be doing with all our fresh strength and enthusiasm during next year's campaign.

When our soldiers take over a piece of the battle line, there will be particular reason to heed this advice for patience, for any great demand for an American offensive which forced us into an undertaking for which we are not prepared would almost surely sacrifice our men without cause, discourage our Allies, and add comfort to our enemies. The desire for too early offensive will be greater with our army abroad than here. Not only will their natural desire to fight impel them, but they will chafe under the contrast of comparative inactivity with the French and British armies. Moreover, there can hardly help being a strong popular desire in France for the Americans to get into action early, a desire based partly on the long time in which France has been engaged and partly on a lack of appreciation of the fact that our army, unlike its own, was not ready to fight when it was mobilized. But if we are to do our part successfully, it is imperative that we let no undue haste mar our initial effort on the front. We must, as General Pershing says, wait until a year after our entrance into the war before we expect any serious military activity—although, of course, we will have taken over part of the line before that.

On the other hand, if impatience is out of place in regard to the army at the front it is not out of place when applied to war preparations

at home. Despite every warning, the Government let the war come upon us as if it were a surprise. It is humanly impossible to make up all the time that was lost when we refused to make any pre-war preparation. It is, therefore, doubly incumbent upon us as a nation and as a Government to make every effort to make up what we can of the opportunities we lost; and there is every reason why we should have a vigorous impatience with any slackness in our war measures here. The year of grace between April, 1917, and April, 1918, is enough to give the Germans. We have that to answer for because we would not prepare before the war. We must give no more grace.

Sabotage and Labor Unions

IT IS important that all Americans, at this juncture, understand the difference between the genuine labor union and other organizations that at the present are making much trouble in this country, especially in the West. The average newspaper reader rather hazily regards the I. W. W. as something in the nature of a labor union. Such a conception does an organization like the American Federation of Labor a great injustice. The I. W. W. is not engaged in the campaign which we mainly associate with workmen's combinations. It is not seeking to improve the conditions of workmen, to obtain higher wages and better working conditions, or to bring about changes in our industrial system in the interests of the working class. The so-called International Workers have one aim and one aim only—the utter destruction of the existing political and economic order. They are not engaging in strikes. Their one activity is the wanton destruction of property. They smash machinery, flood mines, burn wheat, destroy fruit, dynamite reservoirs and aqueducts, and tie up railroads. Probably most people believe that they commit these depredations in order to bring employers to terms. Not at all. The employers cannot purchase immunity by paying high wages, reducing hours, or making easier working conditions. The International Workers are solely engaged in a continuous attempt to destroy all physical evidences of an economic order which they regard as iniquitous.

It is not the purpose here to enter into the scatter-brain philosophy that inspires the reign of terror that prevails in certain Western states, but merely to disabuse the public mind of any idea that this is a labor union movement. Such an impression is unjust, especially at a time when the labor unions, for the larger part, are rendering loyal service to their country. The American Federation of Labor has frequently passed resolutions condemning the I. W. W., while the latter organization brackets the labor unions and Wall Street as its greatest enemies.

A Copyright Omission

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EMERSON McMILLIN ON BUSINESS AND INVESTMENT

Every month the World's Work prints in this part of the magazine an article on investments and the lessons to be learned therefrom

MR. EMERSON McMILLIN, head of the American Light & Traction Company, started in the gas business soon after his return from the Civil War, and in fifty years of continuous service has probably done more to place that business on a scientific and profitable basis than any other individual. The success of his career illustrates Mr. Theodore N. Vail's theory that if one will take care of the constructive part and create something of advantage to the community, he need not worry as to where he "comes in," for to-day Mr. McMillin is a comparatively rich man.

Although Mr. McMillin's investments have on the whole proven highly successful, he hesitates to talk regarding his own personal experiences for the benefit of others. "My own observation," he said, "has led me to believe that few would-be investors really desire advice. They merely want approval of what they have already made up their minds to do.

"Advice cannot be offered indiscriminately, like a patent medicine. Conditions and circumstances are important governing elements. Advice appropriate to one who has never invested may be of little value to one of even some experience. Suggestions helpful to a business man might prove harmful to a non-business woman. Experience is often a sad teacher, but that is the channel through which most investors get their training.

"In my young days, through hard study and close application to business, I was able to obtain managerial positions of responsibility not common to young men without capital. In the community where I lived, banks did not lend money on collateral, but almost exclusively on endorsed notes. While possessing no assets of consequence, I was frequently called upon as manager of properties to endorse paper. My position, presumably, would enable me to see that the paper was cared for. At a time when my resources were practically nil, I was induced to join ten other men in guaranteeing a $200,000 issue of bonds of an iron and steel corporation in which I was a director. The company failed. Some of the guarantors died, leaving debts above assets, some went through bankruptcy, and some had transferred assets before guaranteeing the bonds. It was in the dark days of the iron and steel business, back in the 'seventies, and all the guarantors became bankrupt in fact, if not so adjudged by court. Soon after the failure of the company, one suit was brought against the guarantors on coupons for $300, but was dismissed on a technicality. No other suit was ever brought. I paid off the last of my obligation twelve years later. During those twelve years all I possessed was open to attachment, but I was never harassed. For many years I have regarded that endorsement as a valuable blunder, for the outcome gave me credit, where I was known, above what my assets warranted.

"Thus good sometimes grows out of what appears to be a calamity. For example: It may not be a very serious misfortune for an inexperienced young man to lose on his early investments; while, on the other hand, his success through the purchase of securities *on margin* may well be viewed as a misfortune. Notwithstanding the advantage resulting from this early experience of mine, my advice to the young and inexperienced, both in business and investment, is: *Keep out of debt.*

"Alarming as it may sound, it is none the less true that investing in securities about which one has no personal knowledge is something of a lottery. Conditions over which companies with large amounts of outstanding securities have but limited or no control may gradually depreciate a high-class security until it has but little value. This decline may be so gradual as to fail to alarm the investor until it is too late to save much from the wreck.

"That is the reason why those who are not in a position or cannot afford to take risks should invest only in the very highest grade securities. If through inheritance one has acquired a competence, or through unusual qualifications as an expert in some special vocation one is assured an income sufficient to maintain those dependent upon him, he can with propriety make investments that would appear too hazardous for one not possessing similar protection.

"Some years ago, after I was well established in business, I borrowed money freely—for business purposes—but only when I knew I could pay back the loan without serious inconvenience, if the project for which I borrowed should prove a total failure. In fact, I followed a rule that to some men seemed foolish: My loan never exceeded my cash in the bank. Then why borrow? you ask. To keep a good cash balance. The most useful friend of a young business man is the bank with which he has transacted business and established a good credit. To assure his success, he should make it worth while for banks to seek his deposit account. If you do not use borrowed capital in business, you will probably accumulate more slowly; but, you will have peace of mind and that, after all, is what makes life worth living."

HURRY UP THE DESTROYERS!

What They Can Do to Overcome the Submarines, and What Our Government Has Done and Failed to Do to Get Enough of Them Built in Time To Be of Use

BY

BURTON J. HENDRICK

THE most effective step the United States has so far taken in the direction of ending the war is its elaborate programme for constructing airplanes and for developing aviators. The next are the plans which we have made, and which are already fairly well advanced, for building merchant ships. The first of these steps aims at that absolute control of the air which, if attained, should enable the Allies to engage in offensive operations on a large and successful scale. The construction of merchant ships is intended to supply the ravages in the world's shipping which have been caused by the German submarines.

Both these undertakings are essential to any satisfactory prosecution of the war. But the American Government has another task which is equally important and which, if undertaken in the proper spirit, may have even more decisive results. In response to Secretary Daniels's request, Congress has appropriated $350,000,000 for the construction of destroyers. Strange to say, this proposed programme has aroused little public interest. We get enthusiastic over airplanes and we even feel a thrill over the prospect of a great American-built and American-owned mercantile marine, but so far the destroyers have not deeply penetrated the American consciousness.

Yet these three things, airplanes, merchant ships, and destroyers, if built in sufficient quantities, should certainly give us victory. We should devote all the industrial energies of America to turning them out on an enormous scale. Though there is every indication that we shall rise to the occasion in the production of aircraft and merchant vessels, the outlook is unfortunately not so favorable that we shall do our duty in the production of destroyers. Unless a greater spirit of activity gets possession of the Navy Department, the destroyers for which Congress has recently appropriated will not get into the naval war until 1919. We have evidently started this new construction, not in preparation for the submarine campaign next year, but for that of two years hence. Under the present programme we shall ultimately have a destroyer fleet comprising more than three hundred vessels; yet, unless the construction division of the Navy shows an unexampled energy, the extent to which this great flotilla will affect the course of the war is entirely problematical.

To most people probably this insistence on the importance of destroyers comes as something of a revelation. No type of war vessel has appealed less to the imagination in the past, and no type has aroused less enthusiasm in the appropriating committees of Congress. We notoriously neglected our navy in the few years preceding the war, and in no respect did we neglect it more than in the construction of destroyers. Year after year the General Board has insisted that we should build four destroyers for every battleship, and year after year Congress has gone cheerfully on and voted one or two. Perhaps the fact that the destroyer was not a beautiful thing to look upon, that it lacked the majestic lines and the visualized fighting power of the dreadnaught and the battle cruiser, has had something to do with this neglect. Vice-Admiral Sims well described the destroyer as "a tin box built around a mighty big engine"—a description which truthfully suggested that this type of warship existed, not as a thing of beauty, but purely for utilitarian reasons. That naval officers disliked service on the destroyer in peace times, owing to its wretched living quarters and a general lack of human comforts, is perhaps not surprising.

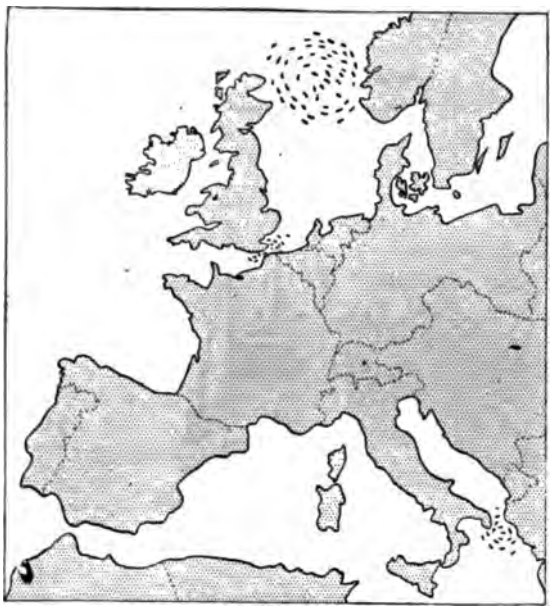
Probably the average citizen knew little about the ship and its responsibilities. Why "destroyer"? Were not all ships supposed to be "destroyers"? Why select this, the ugly duckling of the navy, as particularly worthy of such a destructive name? Those whose memories go back to the Spanish War have little difficulty in fathoming this mystery.

In those days our navy—as all other navies—contained a considerable number of wasp-like little scampering vessels known as torpedo boats. Their exclusive business was to sneak up against a large vessel in the night time and deliver against it a new fangled war contraption which had recently come into popular favor—the automobile torpedo. The invention of these new vessels had produced almost the same effect upon naval experts—lay and professional—that the successful development of the submarine has caused in more recent years. Unless some antidote could be found, it was generally declared, the battleship was doomed. That antidote was discovered in the shape of a long, thin, light-drafted, almost incredibly swift vessel—Admiral Sims's "tin box built about a mighty big engine." This new vessel received a descriptive but very awkward name, for it went on every naval list as the "torpedo boat destroyer." Awkward as was the name, this novel type performed its task in a manner that furnished a complete justification. It destroyed torpedo boats so successfully that this once-dreaded little vessel disappeared from the sea—the consequence being that they are no longer built. But the antidote in this case survived the poison, chiefly because the destroyer, since it was itself provided with torpedo tubes, could perform more effectively than the abandoned vessel the task of launching torpedoes.

When the Japanese destroyers crept upon the Russian fleet in Port Arthur at the beginning of the Japanese-Russian War, fired their torpedoes, and practically ended Russian naval power in Far Eastern waters, they completely demonstrated the offensive power of this ugly little ship. Since then—until the arrival of the submarine—attacks of this kind have held the greatest terrors for the commanders of battleships. Since the one thing that can make war upon the destroyer is the destroyer, it has been regarded as necessary that the battleships should be surrounded by a large fleet of destroyers, which in this way become their protectors. Up to the outbreak of the present war, therefore, the destroyer had two definite duties, that of delivering attacks against enemy vessels and that of protecting the great fighting ships from such torpedo assaults, especially in the night time. A fleet without an adequate screen of destroyers and light cruisers was, according to the accepted dictates of naval strategy, a fleet already lost.

Yet no type has presented more new uses than this neglected orphan of the American Navy. One of the strangest aspects of this world war has been the discussion which has raged about that all-absorbing subject, the submarine. The immediate necessity of finding some answer to the submarine has been forced upon us ever since the attack upon the *Cressy*, the *Hogue*, and the *Aboukir* in the early days of the war. When Germany started sinking merchant ships it appeared that, unless we found some way of quickly preventing this destruction, the Kaiser would dominate the world and the reign of barbarism would start anew. When America entered the war, the hopes of mankind suddenly turned to that American inventive genius which had never failed us in a great crisis. It suddenly became Mr. Edison's duty, forced upon him by all the world, to find the "answer" to this hideous but apparently effective method of warfare. Certain enthusiastic gentlemen at Washington even rushed into print with the good news that the secret had been found. The Navy Department formally informed us that it was receiving thirty or forty devices a day and that it hoped some day to hit upon the key that would unlock the puzzle. Magazines received numerous contributions, accompanied by weird drawings, all of which the authors promised would destroy the German underwater boat. Elaborate schemes for building wire nets across the North Sea were put forth—all of them naturally formulated by gentlemen who had never passed a few tempestuous hours in those very wicked and angry waters. There were propositions to "dig the rats out in their nests"—to send battleships into the shallow waters and against the heavy guns of Kiel or Heligoland, and to repeat, on a much greater scale, the disaster of Gallipoli.

What makes all these proposed inventions and enterprises look so strange is that, in the opinion of the greatest authorities in all navies, we already had an effective method of handling submarines. While our naval authorities would welcome an Edisonian device for deflecting torpedoes or locating undersea craft, these same authorities have by no means been reduced to that state of helplessness which the newspapers have described. They already possess a handy little craft, which, if supplied to them in sufficient numbers—and these numbers must be very large—would free the waters of submarines. The destroyer



DESTROYER FLEETS TO TRAP THE SUBMARINE

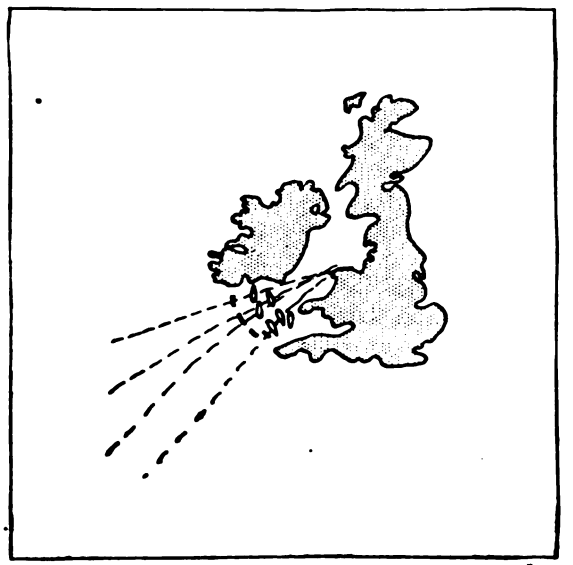
There are only three places through which German and Austrian submarines can escape into the open sea—the English Channel, the northern entrance to the North Sea, and the Straits of Otranto at the base of the Adriatic. A large destroyer fleet, patrolling the waters in these three places, would leave the ocean highways open and undisturbed to the Allies. The English have closed the English Channel for three years with destroyers and other light cruising craft, but they have not destroyers enough to maintain the necessary patrol in the other sections

ing their batteries and making a hullabaloo in the process that widely advertises their presence. This fact is not a theory; it is a demonstration. There is one part of the seas where the British control not only the surface, but the sub-surface. The presence of a large destroyer force in the British channel and immediately adjacent waters explains the ease with which England maintains her communications to France, transports millions of troops and unlimited mountains of war supplies. If the German submarines could sink ships at will, irrespective of surface conditions, this is the very first place where they would strike; for by cutting these communications, Germany could keep England out of the war. But so far she has not made the slightest impression on this area. England's destroyer fleet—combined with England's command of the surface, which, let me repeat, enables this destroyer fleet to operate—is the explanation. For three years Canada has maintained a constant fleet of transports to France, and has not lost a single soldier in transit, as a consequence of a German attack. This is because a flotilla of destroyers conducts these ships safely to port. The United States is now constantly transporting thousands of troops with much the same success and for the same reason. Just once say the word "destroyer" to a submarine and this cowardly vessel slinks away under the water to safety. It loses all its fighting spirit in an instant.

Still the German submarines are daily sinking merchant ships. But they are sinking them only in waters that are free of destroyers. The trouble is that England has had only enough destroyers to protect completely her channel communications, her overseas transports, and her battle fleet. It is not quite true that the outbreak of war found the British Navy ready for all eventualities. It was prepared, indeed, for everything that human ingenuity could foresee. But there was one thing which the most imaginative mind had never once conceived of as within the bounds of possibility. This is that a great Power, laying superficial claims to civilization, would conduct naval operations against merchant ships and against unarmed men, women, and children. Only the course of events has made this kind of warfare a reality —something which naval preparations in future must constantly keep in mind. England had armed her navy for naval warfare, not against piracy and murder. Therefore, the war found her navy without the destroyer fleet essential for this brand of Germanic strategy. The British yards have been turning out destroyers on a liberal scale since 1914, but not in sufficient quantity to patrol all the seas which are penetrated by German submarines.

Yet the problem, as the accompanying maps show, is not an insuperable one. Once given an adequate number of destroyers—perhaps a thousand—and we could promptly chase the submarine out of the war. The thing to do, we have been told, is not to "swat" the undersea raiders after they have escaped into the open seas but to prevent them from ever leaving their native waters. Merely limiting their activities to the North Sea would accomplish essentially the same purpose. The German submarines can break into the Atlantic only by way of the English Channel, or by way of the stretch of waters between Scotland and Norway. England's destroyer fleet already bars the former passage. A large net, stretched from Scotland to the Shetland Islands and thence to Norway, would similarly close this northern entrance. But no experienced naval

man regards this net as a possibility. A large force of destroyers, however, constantly operating in this passage, would accomplish the same result. Such a fleet would have to be a very large one, patrolling east and west for a distance of one hundred miles and north and south for a distance of fifty or sixty; the fact that it would have to be so large perhaps puts it out of the question for the present. Until we have destroyers by the thousands, probably our naval experts would locate them along the trade routes in St. George's Channel and west of the Irish Sea. At present the British food supply from America takes this course, disembarking at ports on the western coast of England. An unfortunate consequence is that these ship lines converge in the narrow waters separating England and Ireland, the ships gathering here almost in clusters. Naturally this renders them comparatively easy marks for submarines. The more destroyers the Allies have, however, the further they can push these submarines out to sea. With a fleet of three or four hundred they could probably form an area, reaching five hundred miles out to sea, in which the submarines could not operate. The further they are pushed to sea, the wider will become the entrance for the merchant ships; that is, these ships will no longer all be practically forced into a narrow opening, crowded with submarines. Then chances of getting safely through would naturally be infinitely increased. In fact, an effective destroyer patrol, reaching four or five hundred miles out to sea, would mean that the submarines could not operate at all. The food supply would be secure, and, if necessary, troops and supplies could be sent from this



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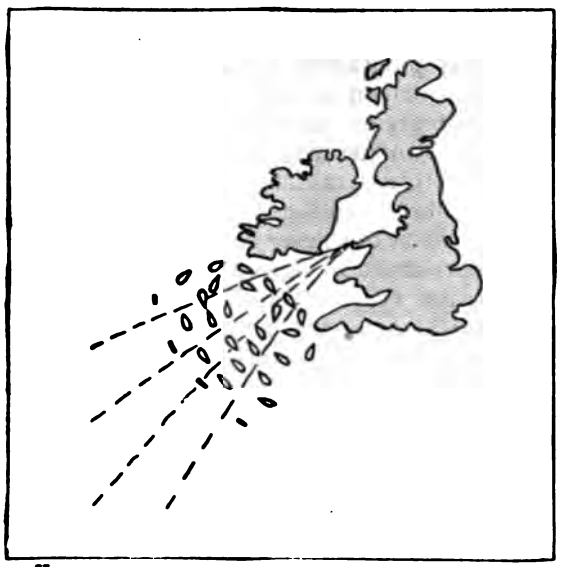

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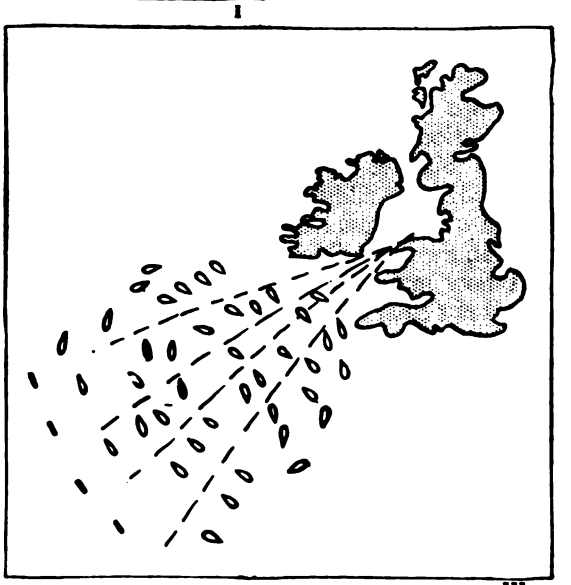


III

PUSHING THE SUBMARINES OUT TO SEA

At present the Germans operate most successfully in the waters between Ireland and England, where the trade routes from America converge and, bringing the ships together here in clusters, make them easy marks for submarines. As the English and American destroyer fleets are increased, they will be able to patrol a wider area in these waters, gradually pushing the submarines farther out to sea, and widening the entrance the merchant ships will have to English ports. Thus the submarines, as this circle gets farther to sea, will not get at the ships in mass. In these diagrams, the tear-shaped figures represent destroyer areas, the smaller black dots submarine areas, and the dotted lines shipping lanes

side to France by way of England and the Channel. The only reason the Allies do not establish such a patrol is that they do not have the destroyers.

And the sad fact is that, at the present rate of production, it is not likely that they will obtain them in the immediate future. That is the most distressing fact in the navy situation. Our record in destroyers in the last three years is disheartening. Here are a few facts. The naval bill of 1915 provided for the construction of six destroyers; inadequate as that programme was, these six destroyers have not yet been finished. They are now gradually being commissioned at the rate of about one a month. And the bill providing for them was passed two and a half years ago! The great naval programme of August, 1916, appropriated for twenty destroyers and provided that they should be constructed in the shortest possible time. The last naval list issued for general circulation bears the date of March 1, 1917. This records the progress made upon these twenty destroyers as "o.o." That is, despite the Congressional direction that work should be speeded, and despite the general world situation, nothing had been done on these vessels seven months after Congress had appropriated the money. To the layman such a delay seems simply incredible. In the naval bill of 1917, Congress appropriated for fifteen more destroyers, making thirty-five in all. Probably progress up to date on these thirty-five ships is not much more than 10 per cent. In addition to these the department, under certain blanket appropriations, has planned a considerable addition to the destroyer fleet; and now Congress has adopted a $350,000,000 programme for building destroyers exclusively. Just how many ships this latter amount will give is not clear. The naval bill of 1916 placed the cost of a destroyer, without armament, at $1,200,000, but the cost, particularly on vessels where construction must be speeded, has greatly increased since then. At the rate of $2,000,000 per vessel, this latest appropriation will give us 175 destroyers. With the sixty effective ships of this type which we had when the war began, and the vessels under construction, the likelihood is that, when this building programme is finished, we shall have between 300 and 350 destroyers. If we could send such a fleet to England to-morrow, we could make an end of the submarines. But we shall not send them to-morrow, and, the way things are going now, we shall not send them next year. Hitherto our best record in destroyer building has been two years. Mr. Daniels says that we can now build one in twelve months and that he expects soon to cut the period down to nine months—which is the English record. The best information obtainable is that the navy is by no means building destroyers in twelve months, and that the nine month period, at the present rate of progress, is nowhere within view. Perhaps by the summer of 1918 we shall have from 100 to 150 destroyers in European waters. But that will not be enough for the task in hand. Unfortunately, while we are building destroyers the Germans are building submarines, so that an addition of our new destroyers by next June or July would not materially change the existing situation.

BUILD ALL THE DESTROYERS WE NEED!

The United States has begun seriously the creation of a great air fleet. We have established splendid aviation schools in all parts of the country, have already developed a motor that promises to give the most efficient service and we have laid the foundation for building airplanes by the thousand. All this will tell in the campaign of 1918. Why cannot we adopt a similar programme for destroyers, the one effective weapon so far found for overcoming the submarine? Instead of planning 150, why not plan 300, 400, 500, 1,000—as many as the great cause calls for? Why not give up work on battle cruisers, battleships and other vessels which can never see service in this war and concentrate all our war-building resources on the one type of vessel which can actually do something toward turning the scale? We are standardizing airplanes; why not standardize destroyers and turn them out in any quantity desired? We can do it if we only try. Meantime months are passing, and at least two great merchant ships are going to the bottom every day. If the navy is looking for a chance to distinguish itself and render the greatest service to the world, it will find that chance in the rapid construction of a large destroyer fleet.

LEADERS OF THE WORLD WAR

PORTRAITS IN COLOR OF

The Right Honorable David Lloyd-George
Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig
Admiral Sir David Beatty
Admiral Sir John Jellicoe

Paintings by the Gordan Studios, New York

THE RIGHT HONORABLE DAVID LLOYD-GEORGE

FIELD MARSHAL SIR DOUGLAS HAIG

The Right Honorable David Lloyd-George

Prime Minister of Great Britain, Whose Life-long Struggle for Liberal Principles of Government in Internal Affairs Fitted Him to Personify, As He Now Does, the Struggle of all the Powers of Democracy to Defeat the Prussian Ambition to Destroy the Free Institutions of the World and to Substitute Autocracy for Them

Admiral Sir David Beatty

Who Commanded the Battle Cruiser Squadron in the Fight Off Heligoland in 1915 and in the Battle of Jutland and Who Succeeded Sir John Jellicoe as Commander-in-Chief of the British Grand Fleet

Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig

Who Has Led the New Armies of Great Britain So That for Two Years They Have Had Germany's Veteran Armies on the Defensive and Who Has This Year Perfected a Method of Attack Which Has Driven the Germans from Their Trenches and Forced Them to a New Defensive System of Separate Machine Gun Stations

Admiral Sir John Jellicoe

First Sea-Lord of the British Admiralty, Who, as Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Fleet, Commanded the British Forces at the Battle of Jutland, the One Great Naval Action of the War

ADMIRAL SIR DAVID BEATTY

ADMIRAL SIR DAVID BEATTY

JOHN HAY'S POLICY OF ANGLO-SAXONISM

His Early Premonitions of the Rise and Menace of Militaristic Germany, and the Growth in His Mind of a Theory that Only a Practical Union of the United States and Great Britain, in International Affairs, Could Preserve to Mankind the Ideals of Freedom for Which Both Countries Stand

BY

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER

(Author of "Life and Letters of John Hay:" "Life and Times of Cavour:" "Germany vs. Civilization," etc.)

THE permanent hates and friendships of a nation, like those of an individual, should be rooted in character, not in caprice. Among the elements which go to form a character in a nation, is geography: thus, but for her unexampled geographical position, Germany for instance would never have thought of dominating Europe and the world; for geography more than doubles the fighting advantage of her military power.

When we look back over history, however, we find that caprice rather than character has often been the cause of wars and of international likes and dislikes. Under caprice, we must reckon the personal ambition, dreams, theories, of rulers and statesmen, a fact which sufficiently confutes those who assert that the individual counts for nothing in shaping human destiny. Take England and France during the XIX century, and see how their governments blow now hot now cold. After Waterloo, when the Napoleonic peril was crushed, England got on comfortably with France for more than two decades, and then on Louis Phillippe's attempt to marry the French princes to women who, England thought, would dangerously increase the political influence of France, England was on the point of declaring war on France. And yet, in less than ten years she had joined France in an actual war against Russia. The Crimean Campaign had scarcely been ended before England, alarmed by the supposed truculence of the French Emperor and his militarist ring, was preparing for a war with France. Nevertheless during the American Civil War official England combined with France in abetting unofficially the Southern Confederacy. Owing to the shortsightedness of British statesmen which led them to follow rigidly their policy of splendid isolation, owing also to the pro-German preferences of Queen Victoria and her Court, England allowed Prussia to mangle Demark in 1864, to overwhelm Austria in 1866, and to crush and dismember France in 1870-71.

Thereafter, however, she began to have an inkling of what the domination of a Prussianized Germany meant and in 1875 when Bismarck planned to force another war on France and to bleed her white, for she had recovered her strength economic and military too rapidly for him, England privately intimated to him that she could not tolerate such aggression. In 1882 came the upheaval in Egypt, which broke up the dual control of England and France, and left in its wake much rancor. During the twenty years which followed, her relations with France fluctuated between friendliness and distrust bordering on hostility. And yet at the Congress of Berlin, Lord Salisbury connived with Bismarck to give France a free hand in Tunis—an act which was secretly intended by Bismarck to weaken France in her capacity to attack Germany. Then the Fashoda Incident flared up and kindled in British breasts a sudden fiery desire for war.

Here assuredly is a list—I might lengthen it if I went into more details—which shows the lack of a solid policy toward France during the XIX century; this lack must be attributed, of course, to the absence of any great foreign minister in England during that period—for the fiction cherished by British Tories, that the late Lord Salisbury was a great Foreign Minister, is exploded. With the accession of King Edward VII in 1901 light began to break. He saw, and his advisors saw, that the great menace not only to England's commercial prosperity, but to the peace of the world, was Germany's now unconcealed ambition with which the House of Hohenzollern identified its fortunes. England abandoned her splendid but sterile isolation. Within five years Edward the Tactful had quietly made agreements with France

and other countries, to repel, if need be, a German irruption. So much for the mottled Anglo-French relations during the century between Waterloo and the outbreak of the Atrocious War. Does not this record suggest that those relations have been almost haphazard, not to say opportunist in the shallowest sense?

Consider now, how England and the United States have got on together since our American Independence was sealed at Yorktown in 1781.

OUR IDEALS THE SAME

The Colonies revolted against the Mother Country primarily to recover the liberties which every Englishman regarded as his own by right of a long inheritance. As the war went on, and the wisest Americans looked forward to the condition which would confront them at its close, they decided that not Liberty alone but Independence also must be achieved. And so they created a new nation, a Republic in form but embodying in its substance the very principles of the English Commonwealth from which they had broken away. They had the same love of liberty, the same instinctive veneration for individual rights, the same common law. There is much to be said in favor of those historians who regard the installation by the United States of a Democracy in form as well as in substance as the logical consummation of the political and social evolution which had gone on in England since the Norman Conquest. That evolution found great obstacles to the regular process at home; but in America, where the conditions were obviously freer, where also the retarding survivals of Feudalism had gained no foothold, Democracy, the inevitable product of Anglo-Saxonism, found a natural home.

So the American Revolution was like a family break, in which when the son comes of age, and is thwarted or oppressed by an obdurate father, he asserts his own independence; and, as usually happens in family breaks, much bitterness remained on both sides. American patriots could always rouse their countrymen by citing the wicked acts or intentions of the British; and the British often justified such citation. If any of them ever dreamt that some time or other the new American Nation would fall to pieces and be absorbed in the British Empire, the War of 1812 quenched that dream. That war, rather inglorious on both sides, left no doubt as to the permanence of the United States. Thenceforth the official, commercial, and social relations of the two countries became almost friendly; but the Americans felt keenly the superciliousness of some of their British critics. They were conscious of being engaged in the work of building up a mighty nation; they wished to be judged by their ideals and not by the imperfections of the moment. So they winced when Dickens held up the barbarities of a frontier village as if it were again an example of the fruits of American Democracy; they winced when Sydney Smith asked "who reads an American book?" Now just as in a family feud, perhaps overfrank criticisms wound the sensitive members, without causing overt hostility, so this attitude of the people of the Mother Country toward their cousins across the sea caused heart burnings but led to no open quarrel.

RESUMPTION OF FRIENDSHIP

Indeed, the United States had so far reestablished official friendship with England that as early as 1823—only eight years after the battle of New Orleans—President Monroe and John Quincy Adams accepted the proposal of the English statesman, George Canning, and agreed to prevent the restoration of Spanish monarchal rule in the American Hemisphere. This agreement after undergoing many changes appears as the Monroe Doctrine of to-day. During the next generation, the two countries lived amicably although several questions spurted up and kindled temporary excitement. Disputes over our northern boundary even caused our grandfathers to rally to the battle cry "fifty-four forty, or fight," but the prudent on both sides prevailed; the rasping issues were smoothed by compromise and a treaty cemented peace, which has been in danger of breaking only twice for more than seventy years.

The first occasion was during our Civil War when the British government through laxness almost permitted a breach of neutrality in favor of the Southern Confederacy. The second was at the end of 1895 when President Cleveland fired at England his terrific message on the Venezuela Boundary Question. As a cause of irritation and enmity the behavior of a part of the British upper classes in 1862-63 was quite as potent as was the protection given privateers and blockade runners or the fitting out of the *Alabama*. Our fathers resented the actual hostility and they felt a disappointment mingled with contempt for Britishers speaking the English language and bred on the English

principles of justice and liberty who sided with the Southern slave-holders. Although the resentment has lasted to this day it would long since have smouldered into oblivion but for the existence here of an element which cultivated the hatred of England with fanatical tenacity.

THE QUARRELSOME IRISH

This element was the Irish, who after 1840 immigrated to this country in large numbers, and bore in their hearts an undying grievance against English rule in Catholic Ireland. That that rule had been harsh and unsympathetic, if not actually cruel, no one can doubt; and oppressed Ireland would have had the same general sympathy which the Americans gave to Italy, Hungary, and the other downtrodden European countries, if the leaders of the Irish Cause here had been men of different character. Displaying a remarkable talent for the lower sort of politics the Irish got control of our large cities, and in spite of their temperamental passion for cracking each other's heads they kept together as a political body partly because only by keeping together could they capture and divide the rich spoils, partly by their Roman Catholic affiliations, and partly by the desire to help their friends at home. The Irish were the first foreign immigrants who perpetuated their home feuds here, and who injected into American politics troubles which did not concern America, but were purely Irish. To secure, and having secured, to hold and control the Irish vote became a commonplace for American politicians. English rule in Ireland slowly improved but the Irish-Americans who made a business of exploiting Irish grievances simply increased the virulence of their attacks on England. Impartial observers on the outside perceived that this was the easiest method by which the agitators could contrive to wring contributions from the Irish-American population. Where the money went was never disclosed; the condition of needy peasants in County Kerry might not be benefited by it, but the condition of the agitators and their accomplices suffered no harm. No worthy cause has ever had worse promoters than that of Ireland has had here.

LOWELL AND THE IRISH

The result of the Irish agitation in the United States has been twofold; it has hurled into our politics a foreign feud which has often taken precedence in congressional or legislative questions over purely American affairs; it has fostered and kept alive the anti-British feeling, which was fast dying out. The early history books used in our public schools breathed hatred against British red coats; the later ones, compiled with a view to being acceptable to public school trustees and pupils, may have changed their language but they have not moderated their anti-British spirit. Until the present War, when we have seen the Irish Mayors of some of our cities preside over meetings at which Hibernian demagogues have lauded Prussia and denounced an alliance which made us a partner of England in the great struggle of Civilization against Hunnish Barbarism, I recall no instance of Irish truculence more striking than the attempt to discredit and cause the dismissal of James Russell Lowell more than thirty years ago. Mr. Lowell was then the American Minister in London and he had to deal with several cases of Irishmen who claimed to be American citizens, and so to gain immunity from the crimes they committed in Ireland. A man who uses this subterfuge is sufficiently despicable, but the Irish fire-eaters here, instead of repudiating such sneaks, assailed Mr. Lowell as an unpatriotic and false American, a groveling Anglomaniac, and they used all their threats and persuasion to make President Arthur recall him. Aristophanes himself could not have devised a situation more sardonically humorous than this: the most American of Americans being barked at as disloyal by Irish immigrants many of whom had not yet been naturalized as Americans. Perhaps it adds a comic touch when I say that Mr. Lowell told me that he was one of the first, if not the first, to urge upon Mr. Gladstone the policy of Home Rule, after the Phoenix Park murders in 1882. His trust in freedom, his belief that justice alone can finally settle long standing quarrels, were fundamental, not to be shaken even by the snarling of his traducers.

THE CLEVELAND BOMB-SHELL

I do not wish to exaggerate the anti-British propaganda of the Irish-Americans, or to attribute to their whole body excesses in tenets, methods, and acts which belonged to a pestilent minority among them, and which were quite un-American; but nobody can understand the fluctuations in American feeling toward England in the XIX century without taking into account the great influence here which the Irish have had. Only we must take care not to

Unhampered by serious foreign interference we freed Cuba in the summer of 1898. Late in September John Hay returned to Washington, to be Secretary of State, a position which he held until his death, July 1, 1905. He knew what England had replied to Germany, and he could have told, perhaps better than any one else, how much his straightforwardness and urbanity, whether social or official, had helped to dispose the English to be friendly toward us. He had been frequently with Mr. Chamberlain and on familiar terms; and we can imagine with what satisfaction he read the speech which that statesman made at Birmingham on May 11, 1898.

"What is our next duty?" Mr. Chamberlain asked his hearers. "It is to establish and to maintain bonds of permanent amity with our kinsmen across the Atlantic. There is a powerful and a generous nation. They speak our language. They are bred of our race. Their laws, their literature, their standpoint upon every question, are the same as ours. Their feeling, their interests in the cause of humanity and the peaceful developments of the world are identical with ours. I don't know what the future has in store for us; I don't know what arrangements may be possible with us; but this I do know and feel, that the closer, the more cordial, the fuller, and the more definite these arrangements are, with the consent of both peoples, the better it will be for both and for the world—and I even go so far as to say that, terrible as war may be, even war itself would be cheaply purchased if, in a great and noble cause, the Stars and Stripes and the Union Jack should wave together over an Anglo-Saxon alliance."

EFFECTS OF CHAMBERLAIN'S SPEECH

"Chamberlain's startling speech," Hay wrote to Senator Lodge from London, "was partly due to a conversation I had with him, in which I hoped he would not let the Opposition have a monopoly of expressions of good will to America."

Hay knew also that Chamberlain did not stop at the friendliest *words* merely; because he knew—and the American public does not yet know—what took place at Manila when the preposterous Von Diederich, the German Admiral, threatened Commodore Dewey, and Chichester, the British commander, privately informed Dewey that if there were trouble the Union Jack would fight beside the Stars and Stripes. Dewey was not the man to be intimidated by the superior German force but he doubtless felt more comfortable after receiving Chichester's assurance. That assurance was the practical proof of Chamberlain's—that is England's—friendship for us.

Once in Washington, at the head of the Department of State, John Hay made the maintenance of the mutual good will between the United States and Great Britain the cardinal point of his policy. Secretary Hay had no thought, however, that he was conceding everything. Far from it. "All I have ever done with England," he wrote to Secretary John W. Foster, on June 23, 1900, "is to have wrung great concessions out of her with no compensation. And yet, these idiots say I'm not an American because I don't say, 'To hell with the Queen,' at every breath." There were critics, of course, who did not refrain from insinuating that he had become an Anglomaniac, "a tool of England," one of those degenerate Americans whose snobbish instincts burst forth and blossom in the atmosphere breathed by the British nobility. Even his friends, like Senator Lodge, feared at times that Hay in his desire to be friendly, and more than fair to England, saw some matters from too strictly an English point of view. But John Hay was an American through and through, and his Americanism does not require my defense or that of any one else. In his youth he spent four years at the elbow of Abraham Lincoln in whom he saw Democracy embodied, active, beneficent, indefectible. Then, after having studied the Despotisms of Napoleon III at Paris, and of Francis Joseph at Vienna, he wrote John Bigelow: "I am a Republican till I die; when we get to heaven, we can try a monarchy, perhaps."

When the Irish demagogues learned that Hay favored the English in the Boer War, they abused him as they had Lowell. If he could have spoken out then in regard to England's help to us in squelching the proposed coalition of European fleets against us in 1898, I imagine he would have said: "Since the first Irishman landed in this country till now, the Irish-Americans have never done any service to the United States comparable to this. When you have, you may abuse. Meanwhile, drop your hyphen in the only simple, loyal, patriotic way; become Americans."

No, Secretary Hay's policy was not based on a snobbish Anglomania, but on the perception that the welfare of the world depended then,

and would depend more and more, on the firmest alliance between the two great English-speaking nations. This alliance, he recognized, could never be preserved on the ground of material interest. He knew that among nations of high minded men, mere trade can never be the dominant reason for friendship or hostility. "By God!" said Commodore Tatnall, the American commander, as he steered his ship to aid the English ships which were being pounded by the Chinese forts in 1860, "blood is thicker than water." Hay knew that in origin and in essence American blood and English blood run from the same veins, the veins of men who had supported Saxon Alfred, who had demanded the Great Charter which curtailed the tyranny of the king, who had risen up and suffered martyrdom in behalf of religious freedom, comrades of Hampden and Cromwell, believers in the law of Habeas Corpus, of the Bill of Rights and of every other reform to protect the individual against oppression, and to perfect him to the utmost in his mind, body, and estate. Every drop of true American blood carries latent within it the seed of these ideals; when it is otherwise, the American Republic will cease to be, and despotism in one of its monstrous forms will take its place.

"THE GREAT FRIENDSHIP"

This conviction underlies Hay's international negotiations. Whatever business came up, he unconsciously or consciously judged it by its bearing on the Great Friendship, which was his ideal. So far as England went, he had the friendly coöperation of the public men whom he had known there, and of Sir Julian Pauncefote, the British Ambassador in Washington. Sir Julian was a diplomat of long training, with the manners of a man of the world, courtly, reserved, rather than effusive, and accessible to those stimuli which touch the generosity or the sportsmanlike instincts of the best Britons. Personally, Hay and he worked together in the happiest accord. Each felt that the other was an honorable gentleman, and so trusted him. I pass over many of the smaller affairs which they had to attend to together; and I come to a matter of the first importance—the negotiation of the Panama Canal Treaty.

To connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by a canal had been the dream of visionaries long before the tools and apparatus existed for carrying out such a project. The obvious convenience a canal would afford to commerce required no argument. As soon as the United States became a World Power, the need of a canal for naval and military purposes loomed up, and during the Spanish American War, when the battleship *Oregon* had to make the voyage from San Francisco round Cape Horn, everybody saw this need. In 1889 a French Company which was excavating a canal at Panama went to pieces, and for more than ten years the enterprise lay dormant, although, in the interval, another company was formed to promote the route through Nicaragua. But our position in the world had now changed so radically, that our wisest men insisted that wherever the canal were run it must belong to the United States. Before the question of ownership could be decided, however, England and the United States must come to an agreement; because in 1850, those countries had signed the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, which gave them joint control and joint obligations over the Isthmus of Panama. Lord Salisbury, the British Prime Minister, declared his willingness to have the matter negotiated, and accordingly Secretary Hay and Ambassador Pauncefote set to work heartily.

GOOD WILL AND PANAMA

Hay saw in this transaction an opportunity not merely for forwarding a commercial plan of vast scope, but of welding the friendship between England and America. This to him was by far the most important aspect of the matter and if when the draft of the Treaty was published the terms seemed too unfavorable to the United States, this was owing to Secretary Hay's conviction, that almost any concessions were worth making, if they could lead to a solid and permanent bond between the two nations. Nevertheless the first Treaty was defeated by the Senate, and before the second Treaty had been discussed Pauncefote had died. From this second arrangement the objectionable features of the first were left out, and in their stead were incorporated the terms which Colonel Roosevelt, Senator Lodge and others had urged throughout—including complete control as well as ownership of the Canal by the United States, and the right of our Government to fortify it.

In all these negotiations Hay's Anglo-Saxonism, as we may call it, cropped out, and I suspect that he impressed it upon his British colleagues, so that they too began to see in it more reason and significance than they had

dreamed of. Always slow to readjust themselves to new political combinations, the English did not for a long time appraise at its true value the rising menace of Germany. Tradition imposed on them the policy of splendid isolation from meddling with the affairs of Continental Europe, except in so far as these might seem to threaten their supremacy in India. They supposed Russia to be their only dangerous European neighbor, and they therefore scarcely noted the rise in Europe of a Power which was preparing not only to dominate Europe, including Great Britain, but also to conquer the world.

SENSING THE GERMAN PERIL

I would not claim that Secretary Hay recognized to the full the exorbitance of the German Kaiser's ambition; but he did see the direction which German schemes were taking, and he knew from his official dealings the methods of the German Government. Their brutal seizure of Kiao-Chau and appropriation of Shan-tung disgusted him. He abominated German Frightfulness as it was rehearsed by Waldersee's troops after the Boxer Uprising in 1900. "At least we have been spared," Hay wrote privately to his friend, Mr. Henry Adams, on November 21, 1900, "the infamy of an alliance with Germany; I would rather, I think, be the dupe of China, than the chum of the Kaiser. Have you noticed how the world will take anything nowadays from a German? Bülow said yesterday in substance—'We have demanded of China everything we can think of. If we think of anything else we will demand that, and be d——d to you'—and not a man in the world kicks." Like the rest of the world in those days, Hay sometimes took the preposterous Teutonic projects somewhat derisively, as the phantasmagoria of a megolomaniac prince, who inherited the Hohenzollern taint of insanity and resorted to any means for advertising himself. Even when put forth by the slick and wily Bülow, these schemes failed to convince. And yet Hay, witnessing German expansion in many parts of the world, did not fail to ask himself what influence could in the long run successfully compete with, if not actually overthrow, the Pan-German power. Himself a confirmed Democrat, he understood the defects of Democracy, and I think it not too much to assert that he foresaw the danger which Democracy would run in any conflicts with a disciplined Militarist Autocracy. Such pondering led him to regard an Anglo-Saxon union, not necessarily based on official compacts, but rooted in the ideals of a common race, as the world's only safeguard against Teutonic domination. This conviction caused him to regret the differences which sprang up between the English Foreign Office and Washington, in the settlement of the Alaska Boundary, in the dispute over Newfoundland fisheries, and in several other affairs of secondary moment. As he knew how ticklish Diplomacy is, so he wished to avoid even the most fleeting annoyances. In the main the two countries acted most cordially toward each other to the end. Once, however, British policy with Germany flew off at a tangent, and perplexed Hay greatly. The British Foreign Office has not yet explained this aberration publicly, and so it is not for me to disclose it.

CLOSING UP MINOR QUARRELS

In President Roosevelt, Secretary Hay had a strong collaborator, from the year 1901 on. The President was the clearer in seeing America's advantages. He had understood also, quite as early as Hay did, the implications of the Monroe Doctrine and the new needs and obligations which the position of World Power thrust upon the United States. Nor did he fear hurting England's feelings, when he believed that his demands were just. It was Roosevelt and not Hay, who brought to a prompt and satisfactory conclusion negotiations which had dragged on too long. Thus he hastened the solution of the Alaskan Boundary dispute by writing a private letter to an American judge, traveling abroad, whom he asked to show it, indiscreetly of course, to Mr. Chamberlain and other English statesmen. Whoever read that letter could have no doubt that the dispute must be settled at once, and settled in comformity with American rights. So also it was the President who detached England from her partnership with Germany in blockading Venezuela, and he it was who then forced the German Emperor to arbitrate his quarrel with Venezuela, unless he preferred to fight. Probably it would have been better for the peace and welfare of mankind if William II had decided to fight then, because he was certain to have been beaten; but he was too wary to risk plunging the world into war until he knew that Germany was wholly prepared, and supposed that his unsuspecting neighbors would be easy victims. The upshot of the Venezuela transaction was that the United States Government proved it-

self determined to defend the Monroe Doctrine against all comers, and that Germany having failed to land troops on American soil relied thereafter on craft instead of on force for her conquest of the American Continent.

That John Hay was right in thinking that our people must face the future hand in hand with the people of the British Empire, or that the Civilization from which both spring and by which both live would go down, had been demonstrated years before he died. Long before the Atrocious War, German officers drank their toast to "The Day" at their public banquets—"The Day" when they should destroy the British fleet and, by controlling British sea power, control the world. Years before Hay died German professors were conducting their sly and despicable propaganda from Harvard and other American Universities, and hordes of other tools of the Kaiser were at work honeycombing this country with deceit, falsehood and sedition to make smooth his path here.

ANGLO-SAXONISM VS. GERMANISM

Hay's belief in Anglo-Saxonism, his diplomacy which assumed that British and American friendship are indispensable, and his own character, with its staunchness and urbanity, making friendly dealings natural, were and will remain among the noteworthy factors in our national life. His attitude was prophetic. The war has taught us that there is in Central Europe a strong and populous nation which does not believe in individual rights—that it does not believe in any right, any duty, any pledge, any obligation toward other peoples; that war is the normal state of man; that the purpose of an army is to devastate and conquer neighboring countries and to carry away all the portable wealth, as the footpad holds up and robs his victim of his watch and purse.

This nation repudiates the claims of chivalry and of mercy, and even more damning than its cruelty is its deceit. At the head of this nation stands an irresponsible Autocrat who boasts that he grasps in the hollow of his hand the mind, body and soul of every creature in his Empire and whose bidding is done by Generals, Admirals, Parsons and Professors of his own appointing. This is the nation that enslaves and carries away the conquered young men and young women to suffer privations, shame, and unspeakable outrage. Anglo-Saxonism denies the Autocrat and his system. Freedom is its pole-star. It proclaims the right of every human being to life and opportunity; and as it broadens the scope of every individual so it expects from him in return a keener sense of public duty. The nations which have been inspired by the Anglo-Saxon Ideal may have committed many grievous sins, but they have never sunk to the lowest sin of all—that of embracing the Teutonic Ideal. We call Justice, Mercy, Veracity, Honor, and Reverence for one's plighted word Anglo-Saxon Ideals, because during a thousand years they have been embodied in the Anglo-Saxon peoples, and in spite of all shortcomings they have shaped, little by little, the political and social life of those peoples. But they are no more a monopoly of the Anglo-Saxons than is the multiplication table, they belong to whoever believes in them and makes them his guide. The final product of autocracy is to convert man into a machine; the final product of democracy is to set free the soul in even the most clod-like man. For John Hay and for whoever believes as he did in democracy Abraham Lincoln and not Frederick the Great, much less William II, typifies the true guardian of civilization; the leader of mankind to a higher state than it has ever attained.

In 1900, during the Boer War, John Hay wrote to Senator Lodge deploring the apparent decadence of England as a fighting nation, and he added that if England went down and Germany and Russia made an arrangement—which the German Emperor was then plotting secretly to do—the balance would be lost for ages. Coming just at the approach of a crisis to civilization more definite than any other in history, Hay distinguished clearly between the partisans of Moloch and the partisans of Christ, and he did his utmost to promote the cause of Christ; for this, posterity will always hold him in gratitude; for this he will rank among the American statesmen whose fame lives after them.

GREAT BRITAIN'S GENEROUS COMMERCIAL POLICY

What Freedom of Trade and Equality of Opportunity for All Merchants Have Done to Make Britain's Colonies a Treasure House for Britain and for the World

BY

EDWARD NEVILLE VOSE

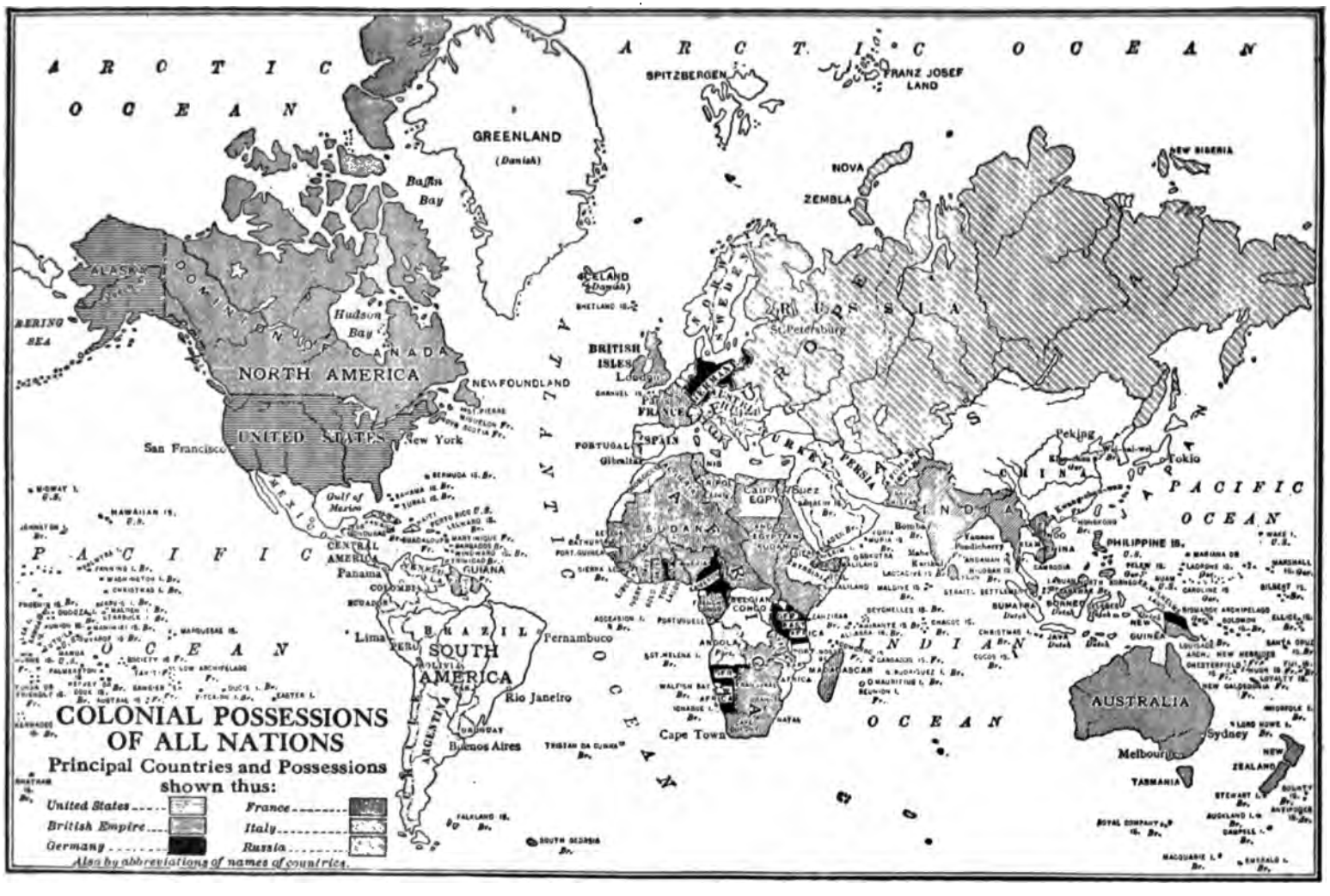
Editor of *Dun's International Review* and *The World's Markets*

THE keynote of the policy that has made Great Britian the greatest and most successful colonizing nation in the world is freedom. Throughout the British Empire the merchants of every colony are absolutely free to trade with whom they will. Even the small tariff preference in favor of the mother country that prevails in some of the colonies is of colonial origin—a self-imposed duty to show their loyalty and good will. Equally important as an element in their development and prosperity is the freedom accorded by every British colony to the capital and labor of other lands to share in its industries and enterprises. No other colonial Power has yet shown an equal spirit of liberality in this regard. As to their civil liberties the citizens of the self-governing colonies are as free as those of the United States, while in the dependencies —in most of which the mass of the population has as yet attained only a relatively low degree of civilization—the Imperial Government has granted the utmost degree of self-government consistent with the preservation of law and order. Lastly, in every part of the Empire religious tolerance is a firmly established principle of governmental policy, and no native custom or institution is in any manner interfered with unless it is detrimental to the welfare of the people themselves. It is on this broad foundation of commercial, economic, political and religious freedom that the great structure of the British Empire securely rests.

It is not contended, nor would any British publicist or statesman for a moment claim, that the present high standards of Greater Britain's colonial policy were attained without much groping and many errors. On the contrary, it is the product of a continuous evolution covering a period of nearly 350 years. Three distinct stages of this evolution may be readily traced. The first was the period of colonization and frank exploitation which lasted almost precisely two centuries, from the formal acquisition of Newfoundland in 1583 to the recognition of the independence of the United States in 1783. In the very year that the Declaration of Independence was signed Adam Smith published "The Wealth of Nations," in which he argued against the then universally accepted Mercantile System of colonial exploitation. The revolt of the American colonies gave point to his remarks. It is not too much to say that the greatness and solidity of the British colonial empire of to-day are in a large measure due to the thoroughness with which subsequent generations of English statesmen have sought to avoid the errors of George III and his ministers.

The great lesson of 1783 was not, however, learned in a moment. For almost a century there was manifest in Great Britian's colonial policy a spirit of indecision and uncertainty. This has been aptly called the period of *laissez aller*. Many publicists urged that the colonies should be abandoned, while others accepted as axiomatic Turgot's remark that colonies were like fruit which, when ripe, fell off. Nevertheless it is a striking fact that, while these controversies were going on, responsible British statesmen both at home and abroad were quietly going ahead consolidating the nation's colonial empire, strengthening its boundaries, and even adding enormously to its extent.

No precise date can be set as terminating this period of conflicting views, but by 1880 the advocates of a Greater Britain were clearly gaining ground and the golden and diamond jubilees of Queen Victoria, in 1887 and 1897, stimulated and intensified the spirit of imperial unity to such a degree that the nation's



THE COLONIAL SUCCESSES AND FAILURES OF THE WORLD

German colonization has aimed at ruthlessness in government and selfishness in commercial exploitation, and has been uniformly a failure. British colonization has proceeded with less system but under a higher grade of administrators, has put justice as the principle of government and equal opportunity as the principle of commerce, and has been almost everywhere a success. The map shows these colonies as they were distributed before the war

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[illegible] of the United States in 1901, yet Canada's imports were actually greater in 1913 than those of the United States in 1901. In other words, Canada's trade was already worth as much to the other nations as that of the United States was when our population was more than five millions. Between 1900 and 1913 the number of passengers transported on Canadian railways more than doubled, the volume of first class mail matter handled increased 4½ times and of postal money orders six times; the freight movement on the railroads of the Dominion increased three-fold and that on the canals seven-fold, while bank deposits and foreign trade increased proportionately. The national opening of the Canadian Northwest, financed by British capital and fostered by the joint patronage of the colonial and imperial governments, has been one of the greatest constructive achievements in the world's history. It is not surprising, in view of these evidences of progress—and the list could be extended for many pages—that the Canadians speak of the Dominion as "the country of the twentieth century," and confidently expect a population of 75,000,000 before the century's close.

On a "continent unknown and shunned by other nations" men and women of British descent have created a Commonwealth that is a republic in all but name. In Australia 97 per cent. of the inhabitants are of British origin—a much larger proportion than in Canada, where there is a considerable French element, or in South Africa where much of the white population is of Dutch descent. In Australia, moreover, colored immigration—including East Indian—is rigidly excluded, so that it is pre-eminently a white man's land. With a population of less than five millions Australia is of far greater importance to the traders of the world than China with its hundreds of millions. Not only is its per capita consumption of imports one of the highest in the world, but these consist of all the products required by the most advanced civilization.

Hence as a market the Commonwealth is of interest to every manufacturer. American wares have always been popular there, particularly our axes and saws in the pioneering days and our motor cars now. In Australia many of the public utilities are owned by the State, and upwards of $1,100,000,000 of British capital has been lent to the colony for vari-

ous purposes. As an offset to this assistance the people of the Commonwealth have subscribed more than $400,000,000 to the war loans that have been issued thus far. During the war it has been the policy of the Imperial Government to purchase outright the entire available surplus of wheat, wool and other leading export staples at prices considerably higher than those that prevailed before the war. The wool clip for the 1916-17 season, for example, was commandeered at 31 cents a pound —an advance of 55 per cent. over pre-war prices. As a result of this policy the colony has been exceptionally prosperous throughout the war, and the working classes and farmers have never had so much money to spend.

NEW ZEALAND, A WHITE MAN'S LAND

New Zealand is another white man's land, peopled with British stock exclusively—apart from the small Maori element. With a population in 1916 of 1,099,394 the Dominion has a foreign trade that would be a credit to a country ten times as large, the exports for 1916 amounting to nearly $155 per capita and imports to $130. It has been estimated that the private wealth of the white New Zealanders, exclusive of debts and of Government property, exceeds $1,350,000,000, and this is distributed with remarkable equality. There are no colossal fortunes, while the great bulk of the population enjoys a modest competence. There are upwards of 116,000 distinct land holdings, showing that the majority of the citizens in the four large towns own their homes and the majority of the ruralists their farms. The Imperial Government, as in Australia, has purchased the chief export staples of the Dominion during the war, resulting in an increase in bank deposits of nearly 50 per cent. from 1914 to 1916—a convincing evidence of the general prosperity.

The formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 signalized the final attainment of the goal for which Cecil Rhodes had worked all his life, the unfinished task of that great empire builder being carried forward to successful completion by Lord Milner. In the stormy history of South Africa both Britons and Boers made many mistakes, but in the period of reconstruction following the Boer War the British policy proved so magnanimous and just that the two formerly hostile races have since lived in complete accord. In the present war the Boers have not only been completely loyal to the Empire, but the Premier of the Union, General Louis Botha, is himself a Boer and has fought as gallantly in behalf of the Empire as he did in the earlier conflict against it. Economically the British have done as much for South Africa in proportion to its white population—for of the six million inhabitants of the Union only a fourth are white—as for any of the other three self-governing colonies. The country has an excellent system of railroads and four well-equipped seaports. The gold and diamond mines represent the last word in the skilful investment of capital in large undertakings, while steady progress is being made in developing the other natural resources of the region and making the most of its agricultural and pastoral possibilities.

THE TREASURES OF INDIA

In proceeding to consider what the British colonial policy of commercial freedom has done for the numerous dependencies of the Empire one naturally begins with India. It is as mistress of India that the greatness of England is measured by other nations, and it is in India alone that the title of the British sovereign is emperor. To India British rule has brought security, justice, religious freedom, and the repression of all religious conflicts, together with a vast material progress made possible by the substitution of law and order for the medieval anarchy that preceded it. It has literally created the great seaports of Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras. The increase in India's imports in the last half century from one hundred to six hundred million dollars is not, perhaps, a sure index of progress, since to some extent it represents the decay of native industries, but in recent years there has been an industrial renaissance along modern lines. While the markets of India are free to all the world, more than two thirds of the imports come from the United Kingdom or from other parts of the empire. This is because the great trading houses have hitherto been chiefly English, while the 150 languages spoken on the peninsula serve as a bar to any direct exchange between manufacturer and consumer. At present there is a tendency, encouraged by the governing authorities, for strong native houses to take over a share in the foreign trade. These are inclined to buy wherever they can do so most advantageously, and there seems to be no disposition on the part of the Government tc restrict in any way their freedom in this respect

In Ceylon the achievements under British

rule have been less spectacular than in India, but the progress has been none the less substantial and permanent. The island was for 150 years under the rule of the Portuguese, and for an equal period under the Dutch, but neither left any trace—either in the form of permanent improvements, or in elevating the standards of native civilization. The English in 120 years have accomplished much of permanent value, despite the fact that the European population (principally British) is less than eight thousand in a total of nearly four millions. Colombo is to-day a fine modern port where, prior to the war, more than fifteen million tons of shipping entered and cleared annually. It is one of the maritime junction points of the Far East. Under British guidance more than 3,000 miles of fine highways have been constructed and some 700 miles of railroads. In the seventies Ceylon was a great coffee growing country, but disease killed the trees. Cinchona was then tried, but failed to do well, while the price of quinine fell in the world's markets. The island was jestingly likened to Westminster Abbey, as "the grave of many a British sovereign." The planters, however, with indomitable pluck, next tried tea raising and finally scored a brilliant and lasting success. Tea is now the island's principal export staple. Another notable success in tropical agriculture is the cultivation of rubber, first tried in Ceylon and now extending to many other localities. Rubber ranks as the island's second export staple. The people are prosperous and seem contented under British rule, which gives them a degree of justice and tranquility they never enjoyed before.

THE MIRACLE OF HONG-KONG

Hong-Kong affords one of the most striking examples of the effects of British rule. When the island was ceded to Great Britain by China in 1842 it had a population of about five thousand, "made up of pirates, fishermen, farmers, and granite workers living in huts made of baked-mud bricks and holding no intercourse with the outside world beyond Canton." This is the picture that Alleyne Ireland contrasts with the Hong-Kong of to-day. It now has a population of nearly 500,000, "a fine city for its capital, splendid roads, schools, churches, banks, hospitals, clubs, hotels, newspapers, electric light, tram cars, while it is connected with the outside world by cable and by the most extensive system of steamship lines converging at any single port in the world." This amazing record of growth is due to the fact that Hong-Kong is a free port and serves as the gateway between the teeming millions of South China and the rest of the world. Barely two per cent. of the population is European, 97 per cent. being Chinese and the remainder Asiatics of other races, yet the English administration of the colony has been so successful as to be cited by many writers as an object lesson of white man's work in the tropics.

Singapore is another noteworthy example of British colonial statesmanship. First occupied in 1819 by Sir T. Stamford Raffles, who clearly perceived its strategic importance, it was made a free port and at once became one of the greatest distributing centres for maritime traffic in the Orient. Originally a place of no commercial importance, port statistics prior to the present war showed an average of more than ten thousand merchant vessels and twenty thousand native craft clearing annually, with a tonnage of over twelve million for the former and upward of 800,000 for the latter. It is the trade centre for the whole of the Malay Peninsula, Siam, the southern provinces of French Indo-China and the entire Malay Archipelago. Its exports in 1914 amounted to $189,500,000 and imports to $222,000,000, and in this vast traffic the vessels of all nations were free to participate. Before its establishment the Straits of Malacca and adjacent waters were the haunt of the boldest pirates that ever menaced merchant shipping, whereas for the last forty years these seas have been as safe as Long Island Sound or the British Channel.

MALAYSIA REDEEMED

The Federated Malay States afford another interesting study of constructive achievement. As a result of the perpetual quarrels of the native states conditions in this region in the early seventies were bordering on anarchy. By appealing to the self interest of the local chiefs Sir Andrew Clarke was able to establish a system of oversight and control through British Residents, the results of which were thus described by a contemporary French observer, M. de la Croix:

> The old state of things, exclusively feudal and tyrannical, has given place to a *régime* of justice and liberty in conformity with our social ideas. Piracy has been suppressed, slavery has been abol-

ished. . . . Schools have been everywhere established, spreading instruction among the native classes. . . . We shall see that the civilized world has only to be proud of the initiative taken by England in the Malay Peninsula. She has opened new and rich regions, established a solid government which assures complete security and gives the heartiest welcome to all well-meaning workers, whatever their nationality, and gives them the support and encouragement which one meets with in all English colonies.

The work thus admirably begun was carried still further by Sir Frank Swettenham, another of England's great pro-consuls, with the result that the Federated Malay States now have some 2,000 miles of metalled roads and 600 miles of railroad, while the foreign trade of the four Federated States, which amounted to barely $1,500,000 under native rule, now exceeds $110,000,000 annually.

In East Africa British colonial enterprise has accomplished a transformation that is surprising to those who have not followed African developments closely. As a result of the construction of the $28,000,000 Uganda Railway from the port of Mombasa to Lake Victoria the commerce of this region, peopled almost entirely by blacks who were utter savages when Sir Henry Stanley discovered them less than a generation ago, has increased with great rapidity. Imports in 1914—the last before the war dislocated world trade generally—showed a gain of 19 per cent. over that of 1913, which in turn was 49 per cent. greater than 1912. Towns are springing up bearing native names but buying the manufactures of Europe and America in wide variety, with electric lights and modern stores, and showing every evidence of a sound and enduring progress toward civilization.

OUR NEIGHBORS, THE WEST INDIES

These examples of the work that Greater Britain has been doing for its dependencies by its policy of freedom must suffice, for the complete list would fill a volume. The instances cited are typical, although naturally the material progress achieved has not been equally marked everywhere. In the British West Indies, for example, various economic factors have in former years retarded the commercial growth of communities depending upon sugar as the chief basis of their prosperity. The war has reversed this situation and sugar planters just now are enjoying a brief return to the good times that prevailed before continental beet sugar with its bounties deprived them of their best markets and forced prices down to the very margin of existence. Throughout her West Indian possessions Greater Britain has given the colonists good roads, railroads, in the larger islands admirable public schools, churches, hospitals, newspapers, electric lights and a considerable measure of self government. The freedom of trade permitted cannot be better illustrated than by stating the percentage of the imports supplied by the United States in each of these possessions just before the war:

Bermuda	57	per cent.
Bahamas	71.5	" "
Jamaica	46.8	" "
Turks and Caicos Is.	60.6	" "
Leeward Islands	32.2	" "
Windward Islands	45	" "
Barbados	28.2	" "
Trinidad and Tobago	28.8	" "

British private enterprise has done even more toward building up the colonial empire of Greater Britain than the Government. There are, in the first place, the hundreds of steamship lines, without which the very maintenance of colonies oversea would be impossible. Then there are the powerful colonial banking corporations with their hundreds of branches in the cities and market towns of their respective territories. These afford the machinery for extending credit to traders, for investing British capital in colonial enterprises and for financing the requirements of the colonies and dependencies generally. Next come the thousands of colonial mercantile houses, with stately head offices at London and branches in anywhere from one to a score of colonial cities. Lastly, there are still other thousands of development enterprises—railroad companies, tramway and electric lighting companies, mining companies, rubber companies, sugar companies, and companies engaged in raising all kinds of agricultural staples in a thousand localities. It is through these channels that the British manufacturer develops his colonial markets and the British capitalist makes his colonial investments. It is to this intelligent and sustained support of the business men at home that the success of Greater Britain's colonial policy is largely due.

THE BRITISH–AMERICAN ADVENTURES TOWARD LIBERTY

How the British Fleet Three Times Kept Autocracy Out of the Mississippi Valley—Jefferson's Wish for an Alliance with England to Safeguard Liberty—How Napoleon III and the Kaiser Revived the Ideas of Napoleon I and the Holy Alliance and Found England Still Coöperating with the United States

BY

RALPH W. PAGE

THE serious discussion of our relations with Great Britain in the advance toward democracy in comparison with that of any other country on earth is, to a descendant of the Revolution, almost an absurdity. To retail what we actually owe Great Britain would be like the endless narrative of the Scotchman giving credit to his father that he was not a Mohammedan, or black, or that he didn't wear a pigtail or talk Choctaw. For the great body of Americans—the larger part of those descended from the original stock which formed the Union—are of British descent, and our political and social ideals are of British origin.

For this fact we are not under obligation to Great Britain, perhaps. But the Irish and the Germans to the contrary notwithstanding, our ideals, our sympathies, our morals, our religion, our prejudices, our viewpoint, our virtues and our vices are of British origin. This is a plain matter of fact. Our stories and history, traditions, songs, hymns, laws, and our love of liberty are the product of the British mind. Any one doubting that our very conceptions of right and wrong, our notions of fair play, of humor, justice, sport, even expressions of emotions and actions are British, let him try to tell what they are in any other country under the sun. If he is an American born in the United States he cannot do it. He cannot think like Germans. Not to save his life. He doesn't understand them. He may study up the doctrine of blood and iron and try to master it intellectually; but by himself he couldn't have conceived it. He has inherited or been trained in the atmosphere of the British mind, or, calling it what you like, it is the mind bred of five centuries of struggle for freedom in the British Isles with two centuries of struggle here. This fact, then, we do not put into the category of debts. But

Thomas Jefferson's Advice to President Monroe Concerning the Announcement of the Monroe Doctrine

"The question presented by the letters you have sent me is the most momentous which has ever been offered to my contemplation since that of independence. That made us a nation; this sets our compass and points the course which we are to steer through the ocean of time opening on us. . . . America, North and South, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe. She should, therefore, have a system of her own, separate and apart from that of Europe. While the last is laboring to become the domicile of despotism, our endeavor should surely be to make our hemisphere that of freedom.

"One nation, most of all, could disturb us in this pursuit; she now offers to lead, aid, and accompany us in it. By acceding to her proposition, we detach her from the bands, bring her mighty weight into the scale of free government, and emancipate a continent at one stroke which might otherwise linger long in doubt and difficulty. Great Britain is the one nation which can do us the most harm of any one, or all on earth; and with her on our side we need not fear the whole world. With her, then, we should most sedulously cherish a cordial friendship, and nothing would tend more to knit our affections than to be fighting once more, side by side, in the same cause."

AMERICAN TROOPS IN THE WAR FOR DEMOCRACY PASSING THE CRADLE OF FREE INSTITUTIONS

The British Parliament, in which was born representative government, for the first time in its history passed by regiments from across the Atlantic on their way to the battlefields of Europe to do their part in making the world free for democracy—a proof that while we have no concern in other affairs in Europe, in the defense of liberty the American Army and Navy is as omnipresent as the British fleet

WILLIAM PITT

The great commoner, who conducted the Seven Years' War, the first struggle between autocracy and free institutions for the Mississippi Valley in which England and the American Colonies drove the soldiers of the French king from the American continent. Pitt fought not only foreign autocracy but British autocracy as well; for, recognizing the colonial opposition to King George III as a fight for liberty, he said in Parliament: "I rejoice that America has resisted. . . . If ever this nation should have a tyrant for a king, six millions of freemen, so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would be fit instruments to make slaves of the rest"

THE DUKE OF ROCKINGHAM

One of the group of British statesmen believing in free institutions who took over the control of the British Government when the surrender of Yorktown finally forced the fact home to King George and his following that not only had he failed to limit the rights and freedom of the colonists but, in trying to do so, he had lost them as colonists. The king, moreover, had lost control of his own Government into the hands of men who sympathized with the colonists—their sympathy found utterance in Parliament and even in his own household—and who were firm and powerful enough to put him within proper constitutional limitations from which neither he nor any of his successors have ever emerged

we are proud of our origin and our history all the way back, and of our race.

The United States of America is an independent World Power, not only a congregation of people. And this power is an immense cooperative company dedicated to the proposition of freedom from political, personal, or intellectual slavery. And as a corporate body it has had its struggle in a world swayed by many evil and hostile as well as ignorant and misguided forces. It has had its existence to defend, its noble aspirations to fulfil, as well as its material and not always ideal ambitions to satisfy.

In an international crisis threatening the very existence of complete civilization, if not races, in which we as a people and a government are called upon to take part, it is a question of the utmost importance for us to know not only who our relatives are and where we got our notions, but what countries have in the past threatened, and what countries defended, the ideals and the territory we are here to maintain. It is to these last that we shall have to look for comfort in the show-down coming. And by virtue of the very standards of conduct that we profess it is to them that we owe our utmost assistance in time of need. Active national gratitude is a virtue hitherto unknown. But until recently so was good faith and frankness and forbearance. If the principle enunciated by Roosevelt that in international affairs the United States will act precisely as a strong and honorable man does in private life, and maintained by Wilson in his patient, unselfish, and just attitude toward all mankind—if this principle has any real meaning and value, it signifies the advent of an entirely new era in the realm of diplomacy. If this is a living force, gratitude has its place beside self-

GEORGE III

The last king of England who tried to maintain autocracy. The battle-ground he chose was the American Colonies. He not only found opposition there in arms but such opposition at home among the liberal elements which recognized the struggle as one for liberty that he was unable to raise armies in England and had to hire Hessians and had to put up with public rejoicing even in the House of Commons over his defeats in America. The success of the Revolution was accompanied and helped by the success of the liberal-minded in England, and the independence of the Colonies was marked also by the end of the king's effort to restore the "royal prerogative" in England

COUNT DE VERGENNES

The able minister of Louis XVI who worked assiduously against the rising tide of republicanism. He was willing to aid the rebellious colonies of the most liberal country in Europe to independence, but he had so little sympathy with democracy that he wished to limit the United States to the seaboard and to establish colonies under the autocratic rule of France and Spain in the Mississippi Valley and farther west to prevent the growth of free institutions. He proposed this plan to England, but what might have appealed to George III did not appeal to the British ministers who had succeeded in reducing monarchy to its constitutional limits

interest in determining the course of our actions. It is my purpose to examine the record and disclose exactly what part the British people and Government have played in our own national development, and the actual influence they have exerted upon our struggle for stable existence and progress in democracy. In doing this I shall stick to the historical drama and disregard some of the subtle and powerful forces that have moulded our life. Yet it remains true, that in all probability a few simple heartfelt traditions, memories, and ties such as the Knights of the Round Table, the courage of Richard Coeur de Lion, and the homilies of Lord Bacon have had more to do with our life, liberty, and conceptions of happiness than all the wars and alarums, ultimatums, and high counsels of state, to be found in the library.

For instance: I know a boy whose entire stock of historical information on the relations between the United States and Great Britain consists of these alleged facts: That Major Pitcairn used contemptuous expressions regarding his ancestors while he stirred the punch in Lexington. That Andrew Jackson refused to black the dirty boots of a British tyrant. That we licked the English twice and would do it again for two cents, or any other reason.

And yet he knocked down a perfectly well-behaved Bavarian in a barber-shop for expressing his opinion that England would be invaded. His heart and soul were on fire. His life was saturated with the pride and splendor of a conception he had found in these lines, when first he learned to read:

> And ever upon the topmost roof the banner of England blew.

You could tell him all you pleased about the

Battle of Bunker Hill and the cunning villainy of Lord North. But he will not release his ownership of the Black Watch at Waterloo, or his inheritance of the sea, handed him from his cradle in the ballads of the fleet. The long bowmen of Agincourt and the Light Brigade at Balaclava belong to him, with Little John and the Black Prince. This is the stuff that we are made of.

To the serious student of our government and to the statesmen whose privilege it has been to mould its course, the outstanding fact of all our history has been that the Nation was founded for the express purpose of maintaining those rights which our forefathers claimed as Englishmen. They conceived that their inheritance included Magna Charta, the bill of rights, and the writ of habeas corpus. That a thousand years of battle for independence of personal action, liberty of conscience, and freedom of speech conducted by their forebears and witnessed by the Reformation and the flight of the Stuarts, and the collapse of the royal prerogative and the divine right of kings, belonged as much to them as to their brethren overseas. It was in order to put into practice in America the selfsame principles that Chatham and Pitt announced as the cornerstone of British existence that the minute men lined the Lexington highway. The United States became the champion of British liberty, having no greater or different aim than the exercise of the inherent rights of the Anglo-Saxon race, the pursuit of a common ideal, based upon the common law, and six centuries of conflict with arbitrary power culminating in the challenge of Burke, and the ultimatum of no taxation without representation.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

The first citizen of his time, in whom the liberal leaders of France, England, and America had complete confidence. During the Revolution he was in regular correspondence with the British liberals in Parliament—Shelburne, Rockingham, Burke, etc. —and when they came into power they were in such close accord with his views that when Vergennes, the minister of Louis XVI, tried to limit the United States to the country east of the Alleghanies (the second attempt of autocracy to control the Mississippi Valley) he counted on British support against our former allies and received it, so that the Treaty of Versailles gave the United States not only the seaboard but the Northwest Territory

A careful survey of our state documents reveals one striking fact at the outset. This is that without exception those countries which have had liberal and parliamentary governments have ever regarded us with favor. And it is equally true that not only have we never been attacked by such, but there never has been the slightest inclination on the part of any one of them to challenge either our supremacy in this hemisphere or the principles of our system of government. This is the more emphasized by the fact that the attitude of the rulers of the selfsame countries have changed from friendly to hostile as the control passed from republican to royal hands. It is not a new or whimsical notion, this aversion we have for kings. Nor, as we shall see, is a crafty, long-planned, and treacherous scheme to undermine all liberal government and seize upon the golden wastes of America to add a diadem to an autocratic crown a novelty.

Even before we became an independent nation the spread of free institutions into the interior of this continent was threatened. Louis XIV meant to extend his autocratic sway over the region of the Mississippi. Pitt, on the other hand, believed in colonies of freemen as opposed to the colonial system of the European monarchies. When he took the reins of government the war in America was to settle the fate of the continent—whether the great interior of America was to become a feudal colony of the French king or commonwealths of freemen. The fall of Quebec ended the menace

of the French king for the time and the free institutions controlled the continent. This was the first round in the struggle to extend freedom to the Mississippi Valley. But the king of England did not understand either England or America and began his long and disastrous effort to build up the "royal prerogative." The means he tried was the Stamp Act.

"It is the glory of England," says our great historian Bancroft, "that the rightfulness of the Stamp Act was in England itself a subject of dispute. It could have been nowhere else. The king of France taxed the French colonies as a matter of course; the king of Spain collected a revenue by his own will in Mexico and Peru, in Cuba and Porto Rico, and wherever he ruled; the States General of the Netherlands had no constitutional scruples about imposing duties on their outlying possessions. To England exclusively belongs the honor that between her and her colonies the question of right could arise; it is still more to her glory, as well as to her happiness and freedom, that on that contest her success was not possible. Her principles, her traditions, her liberty, her constitution, all forbade that arbitrary rule should become her characteristic."

DAVID HARTLEY

Who signed the Treaty of Versailles in 1783 for Great Britain. Hartley and his predecessor in the negotiations, Richard Oswald, were not officers of the Government, their chief qualifications as British plenipotentiaries being that they sympathized with the struggle made by the colonies for political liberty, and that Oswald in particular, who had put up $250,000 as bail for the American, Henry Laurens, who was imprisoned as a rebel, had long been a friend of Franklin, the chief American plenipotentiary. Oswald and Hartley belonged to the party that had opposed the king of England; Franklin, Adams, and Jay belonged to the party that had fought him in the colonies. Both were agreed on the fundamental belief in free institutions

In the struggle between freedom and the king business the revolutionists in the colonies and the supporters of liberty in England fought King George, the colonists on the field of battle and the English in Parliament.

When America refused to submit to the Stamp Tax in 1766, Pitt rose in the House of Commons and said:

"I rejoice that America has resisted. . . . If ever this nation should have a tyrant for a king, six millions of freemen, so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would be fit instruments to make slaves of the rest."

If King George III of Hanover had had the united support of all Englishmen, and if his ideals were those unanimously held on the British Isles, our adventures toward democracy with the English would have ended in 1775. Ignorant of the stormy history, sturdy character, and stubborn independence of the men he intended to subdue, King George undertook to strengthen the arbitrary power and the "royal prerogative" of the House of Hanover.

He struck a snag in the military ability of George Washington and the French Alliance. But what scuttled his ship were his subjects at home. When King George failed in his designs to insure the royal power the colonies had their independence and the British had ended the last attempt of a British king to become an autocrat.

These simple, undeniable facts absolutely change out of recognition the popular conception of the Revolution. This is of enormous importance in considering our relations with the English. If it had been true that the people of Britain were of a mind to enslave the American Colonies, and had attacked them with all their might upon their rebellion, there would not only be a great gulf between them now, but independence would not have been accomplished as it was. And if the British nation had been united against us, even after a successful war, our diplomacy would not have been able to form a state of

the consequence and promise of the American union in 1783.

These facts are the A. B. C. of real history.

In his attempt to turn the overwhelming power of the British Empire against America, King George failed miserably and utterly. All attempts to raise volunteers to fight us raised nothing but jeers. In the face of great popular support for the Colonies throughout the British Isles, voiced openly and violently, not only in tavern and highway, but unanimously by the strongest minds in the kingdom, and finding utterance in Parliament and even in his own household, he was powerless to conscript armies. He was confined in his military operations to such mercenaries as he could hire in Germany and the professional army under his orders at the beginning of the trouble. Nor was he able to count fully on the professional army. A great many of the best officers, some of them sons of the greatest families in the Empire, refused to serve. It was thoroughly understood by many in England that George Washington was fighting one of the great chain of battles that have marked the progress of civil liberty in the Anglo-Saxon world. The fall of Yorktown marked the fall of George III. Control of events passed from his hands into the hands of British ministers whose convictions were one with those of Hamilton, Adams, and Benjamin Franklin. And this explains the unique circumstances under which the peace was concluded. An understanding was reached upon a basis of mutual confidence and fair dealing that has had no parallel in the history of the world. The astounding spectacle was presented to the amazed courts of Europe of the great Empire of Great Britain sending as peace commissioner to Paris a private gentleman, Richard Oswald, who had placed his fortune at the disposal of the rebellious Colonies, and whose only qualification, as stated by Lord Shelburne, was that he was an intimate and trusted friend of Benjamin Franklin. Moreover, Shelburne wrote Franklin that if Richard Oswald wouldn't do, to let him know who would. Oswald, and later David Hartley, another confidante of Franklin and champion of the Colonies, concluded the negotiations.

THE ACME OF AUTOCRACY

Napoleon intended to conquer not only Europe but America as well. In 1800, having forced Spain to give him Louisiana, and having established a base in Santo Domingo, he prepared an army under Marshal Victor to land at New Orleans and take the interior (the third attempt of autocracy on the Mississippi Valley). Rule by representative bodies he disliked as hostile to his designs and despised as "the rule of chatter," and he expected little difficulty from the United States, which at that time had almost no army or navy. But the expedition never started because, as he told his brother, "the English, who have seen the colony (Louisiana) given back to us with great displeasure, are aching for a chance to capture it, and it will be their first *coup de main* in case of war"

It was as well for the infant republic that Shelburne and Pitt and Fox and Rockingham believed in its destiny and sympathized with its ideals. These hailed the coming expansion and power of an American democracy. Their avowed policy was to yield the utmost, that the United States might be friendly to the mother country without fear or complaint; and to give it every encouragement to grow powerful and great, against the time when every son of William the Norman and Harold the Saxon should face the final struggle with autocracy. The cause of liberty to-day is reaping the benefit of the coöperation of the two countries in its defense. In the great councils of Europe where the world was being partitioned, those dark days of 1783, it was the support of the liberals in Europe that made us a nation instead of a sea-coast province.

The king of France, through his minister, Vergennes, and the king of Spain, our allies in

the fight against King George, had no intention of making a free giant out of a rebellious pigmy. They proposed to England that, now the squabble was over, the kings had better divide the spoils. Their purpose was definitely expressed. It would be very dangerous to leave room for the expansion of such heretic and liberal nonsense as the Declaration of Independence. These two Powers would support England in keeping the land between the Great Lakes and the Ohio west of the Alleghanies. Spain was to have the rest to the Gulf of Mexico. The thirteen states could remain thirteen to the day of judgment. They proposed to limit free institutions to the seacoast by a bargain as France had tried to limit them earlier by force of arms. This was the second effort of autocracy to limit free territory in America.

Against such a proposition we were ill-prepared to cope.

That is, if the English had in fact been of a hostile mind. But the forces which to-day have brought into brilliant relief the irreconcilable difference between nations of free people and dynasties of governed slaves had germinated sufficiently in the English mind then for them to prefer an unlimited America to any extension of Bourbon power. The consequence was that Benjamin Franklin—in whose integrity and justice they had the most implicit faith—was practically allowed to write his own terms. And these gave to the United States the Northwest Territory and the basin of the Ohio River to the Mississippi, without which the marvelous expansion of the Colonies into the present World Power would have been impossible.

NAPOLEON'S ANTAGONIST

Thomas Jefferson, the acme of democracy, and an avowed pacifist, when confronted with Napoleon's intention to take Louisiana and plant the standard of autocracy in the great valley of America, instructed the American minister in Paris that if this was carried out to go to London and invite the help of the British fleet to protect Louisiana. As an alternative to this British-American alliance he gave Napoleon the opportunity to sell Louisiana and sent James Monroe as a special representative to make the bargain. Under the pressure of this arrangement Napoleon gave up his plan of conquest and sold Louisiana to the United States for 15 million dollars; for, as he said: "It is certainly worth while to sell when you can what you are certain to lose." So ended the third attempt of autocracy on the Mississippi Valley

Within twenty years the Republic again came face to face with arbitrary autocratic power in command of the familiar formidable military organization, bent upon conquest.

There is something so magnificent, almost sublime, about the figure of the one real superman of the era, that it is impossible to regard him with the contempt and horror which is meted by the Christian world to the rest of the cruel and sordid crew whose creed of might and murder has served their ambitions to stain the world with blood and hatred. Nevertheless, Napoleon Bonaparte, for all his superlative imagination and magnetism, was the supreme champion and example of the military dictator and the absolute tyrant. His contempt for popular assemblies and the voice of the people knew no bounds. And as for the United States—well, his consideration for its feelings and his ideas of its power can be found in the Kaiser's words—that a debating society cannot wage war. "The reign of chatter," Napoleon called it. His unbounded ambition conceived the plan of establishing a province in America to curb this insolent Democracy, whose very existence was a challenge to his will, and to add to the splendor of his reign and the glory of his arms. He acted with his invariable precision and rapidity. By real threats and false promises he wrenched from Spain the great Middle West from the Mississippi to the Rockies, from Canada to the Rio Grande, and the whole coast of the Gulf of Mexico, including the city of New Orleans, that one gate to the richest river basin in the world.

HENRY ADDINGTON

The Prime Minister of Great Britain in 1803, who informed our minister in London that, in case of war with France, Great Britain would take and hold New Orleans *for the United States*. Napoleon and Jefferson were both correct in the belief that the United States could count upon the assistance of the British fleet

He ordered his Minister of Marine to present him with a complete plan of conquest and government, with maps and charts, and details of fortifications and manœuvres; and ordered out the combined fleets of France and Spain to convoy Marshal Victor of the "terrible regiment" and a legion of his invincible army to the shores of Louisiana. Here was the third attempt of autocracy to bound free institutions by the Alleghanies.

Let no American be deceived by the powers of minute men and heroic patriots. This was no Lord Howe or Hessian Brigade. Soldiers the equal of these in training and leadership had never come against us. They were directed by transcendent military genius.

Thomas Jefferson, an avowed pacifist, was President. His fleet consisted of a few frigates in dry-dock, his army of a corporal's guard. However, he cherished no delusion that he could meet this doom with a "million men springing to arms" or an arbitration treaty or an olive branch. One ambassador had informed him that the First Consul discussed nothing. He ordered.

And yet Thomas Jefferson checkmated Napoleon Bonaparte. He met threat with threat, force with a greater force: he threatened Napoleon with the British Navy.

Remember that France and Great Britain were then at peace. If Great Britain harbored any ill-will, or were even indifferent, toward the United States, all it had to do in order to see Napoleon's energies directed out of Europe to America was to produce that virtuous neutrality so recently extolled.

Three documents extant tell the story. One is the report from London made by our minister at the Court of St. James's. It bears the assurance from Addington, the British Prime Minister, that in case of war Great Britain would take and hold New Orleans *for the United States*.

The second is Jefferson's prophetic and far-reaching dispatch to Robert R. Livingston in Paris. In part it said:

"The day that France takes possession of New Orleans, we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation. We must turn all our attention to a maritime force . . . and, having formed and connected together with a Power which may render reinforcements of her settlement here impossible to France, make the first cannon which shall be fired in Europe be signal for the tearing up of any settlement she may have made, and for holding the two continents of America in sequestration for the common purposes of the United British and American nations." And he added that unless Napoleon settled the matter in peace, the minister was at once to repair to England and "invite its concurrence in the war." As an alternative to this Napoleon was invited to sell his Louisiana.

In case there remains any doubt to whom the credit of this salvation belongs, let us quote the third document, the historic statement made by Napoleon when he announced his intention to *sell* Louisiana.

"It is certainly worth while," he said, "to sell when you can what you are certain to lose. For the English, who have seen the colony given back to us with great displeasure, are aching for a chance to capture it, and it will be their first *coup-de-main* in case of war.

"You see our land forces have fought and will fight victoriously against all Europe. But as to the sea, my dear fellow, you must know that there we have to lower the flag—we and all the Powers of the continent. America per-

haps some day—but I'll not talk of that. The English navy is and long will be too dominant; we shall not equal it."

Later, in 1812, when we declared war on England, Napoleon was as eager for us to break the power of the British fleet and establish the "freedom of the seas" as the Kaiser has been in this war and for the same reason. Such action would then, as now, have been the greatest possible aid to autocracy, and as men of the South can now be glad that the Confederacy was not victorious in the Civil War, all Americans can be glad that our fighting frigates of 1812 did not seriously interfere with the British in their great contest for freedom and against Napoleon and autocracy.

This obvious fact, of course, is not an excuse for the ancient and dishonorable practice of impressing seamen from American boats which prevailed at that time in the Royal Navy. Contrary to the popular notion, however, this barbarity was not the principal cause of the war of 1812. This was brought about by the fight to the finish which England had taken up against Napoleon. Both parties issued decrees absolutely forbidding any one to trade with the other. Paper blockades they are called. Napoleon's were the worse and moreover were concealed behind a solid tissue of lies and subterfuges. But by virtue of her triumphant fleet England's was the more effective. In a great many respects the situation, physical, moral, and political, was the same we witnessed in 1914. We protested impartially to both parties—the despot seeking to crush the world

PRINCE METTERNICH

The chief minister of the Emperor of Austria (1822) and the moving spirit of the Holy Alliance, a union of the autocratic rulers of Europe against democracy. The First Article of its agreement reads: "The high contracting Powers, being convinced that the system of representative government is equally as incompatible with the monarchical principle as the maxim of sovereignty of the people with the Divine right, engage mutually, in the most solemn manner, to use all their efforts to put an end to the system of representative governments, in whatever country it may exist in Europe, and to prevent its being introduced in those countries where it is not yet known." One project of the alliance was the restoration of autocratic rule in the revolted colonies of Spain in South America, and after that all signs pointed to an attack on the United States

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON

When he returned from the Peninsula with his 100,000 victorious veterans he was urged to take his army against the United States and wrest from it the Northwest Territory. He answered that the Americans were entitled to their boundaries, and practically at his command Great Britain made the peace that ended the war of 1812 on that basis. In 1822 he was the British representative at the Congress of Verona, and when the plan of the Holy Alliance to reconquer the revolted Spanish colonies in America was broached he showed Great Britain's hostility to the scheme by getting up and leaving the council

to his will, and our kinsmen, then as now holding the last trench in defense of democracy, with the difference that this time the British case had been better handled than it was then. Napoleon had no submarine to define the issue. And regardless of the merits of the fight, we joined the dictator in fury at the mistress of the sea. Technically we were justified. But it certainly cannot be said that we were attacked. Or that we were fighting for democracy. Or that we won. At the end of this "second licking" we gave England, Napoleon was banished to Elba, the English Navy, in its prime, was just one hundred times as strong as our brave little flotilla, and the Duke of Wellington was home in triumph from the Peninsular campaign with 100,000 veterans.

The peace negotiations tell the same story. The jingoes in England suggested that now the Iron Duke should take his army and wring the Northwest Territory from the Americans. Certainly, if he chose to try, the United States was in deadly peril. Not only did he not choose to do so, but he is on record as saying that the United States were entitled to their boundaries and to an honorable peace. And at his command the Treaty was signed, giving us just what we had before, *and without even any mention of a single one of the items for which we went to war.*

I emphasize this, not in order to detract from the everlasting glory of "Old Hickory's" subsequent phenomenal exploit at New Orleans, or the amazing performance of the frigate *Constitution* whose daring advent on the ocean marked, as Charles Francis Adams says, the birth of a World Power; but to show how we actually obtained the abatement of the abuses of visit and search and "impressment." It was by precisely the same method that the English obtained the repeal of the Panama Canal Toll Bill—by the sense of justice and the voluntary honorable abandonment of the injurious practice by the offending party. The last active case of visit and search was the *Trent* affair—in which the United States was the offender, and for which we made immediate reparation, forever burning an evil practice.

GEORGE CANNING

The British Minister of Foreign Affairs who told the American Minister of the plans of the Holy Alliance to attack democracy in America, and, as his predecessor, Addington, had done, assured the United States support by the British fleet in the protection of free institutions on this side of the Atlantic. The Monroe Doctrine, the chief element of our foreign policy, and the size of our navy have been based upon the tacit continuance of that assurance from that day to this

Until within one year the mass of the people of our country have not only taken no interest in foreign affairs, but as a plain matter of fact have been fostered by noble representatives of the people" campaigning for Congress in the belief that they were superior and apart from such concerns. If this was not true, it would be a matter of common information and not an object of incredulous surprise that for a hundred years the American continent has been protected from aggression by the joint action and understanding of Great Britain and the United States.

What is called the Monroe Doctrine is not a doctrine at all of Monroe or of any one else. It is a self-evident fact. To wit, that we do not wish any territory on this continent made into a European colony, and that we do not wish an autocratic monarchical system of government introduced here by any feudal despot. Everybody knows this. But the question was, how to prevent it. In 1823 practically the whole world, except Great Britain and the United States, was under the dominion of absolute monarchs. What we are learning now was a plain axiom to our ancestors—that the only argument known to these gentlemen is cannon and muskets.

And brave as he was, James Monroe hardly harbored the belief that, single-handed, he could dictate to a Christendom of kings. And yet, at that very moment our dream of a continent of independent peoples free to choose their own form of government without the baleful influence of crown princes and dynastic ambitions seemed forever doomed. South America had broken her ties with Spain apparently in vain.

With unerring dramatic instinct the moving picture man has seized upon this situation. In a popular "screen" picture called "The Fall of a Nation" is shown a gilded and regal council chamber in Verona. The Holy Alliance is in Congress assembled. This splendid coalition consisted of every single first class power in the world, prime leaders of which were the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Austria and the Czar of Russia. A document is being signed that might very well scare a timid president out of his wits and at the same time serves to elucidate our natural antipathy to kaisers:

"Article 1. The high contracting powers being convinced that the system of representative government is equally as incompatible with the monarchical principle as the maxim of sovereignty of the people with the divine right, engage mutually, in the most solemn manner, to use all their efforts to put an end to the system of representative governments in whatever country it may exist in Europe and to prevent its being introduced in those countries where it is not yet known."

This holy combination had used its unlimited power to crush every popular whimper heard in Europe. And now at the request of the King of Spain it proposed to come overseas and subdue the territories in Central and South America that had thrown off the Bourbon yoke.

And the question was, what were we going to do about it? It was all very easy to express our ideas. As Adams said, he could answer the argument, but how could he answer the cannon? There has been a great deal of debate whether the "doctrine" was originated by Monroe or George Canning, Secretary of Foreign Affairs for Great Britain. But there is no argument at all on the only pertinent question, of who enforced it. The Monroe Doctrine became a possibility only when the Duke of Wellington walked out of the Congress of Verona and refused to have anything more to do with its proposition. It became an invisible force when George Canning not only proposed that it should be adopted by the United States, but backed up by England. On August 20th, he proposed to Richard Rush, Minister from the United States, that Great Britain and the United States should jointly announce that they could not see any South American territory transferred to any Power "with indifference."

JAMES MONROE

Who, in 1824, on the basis of the assurance given by Canning that we should have the British fleet to support us, announced his famous doctrine that "it is impossible that the allied Powers should extend their political system" (autocracy) "without endangering our peace and happiness." There was precedent in Monroe's mind for this for it was he who had been sent by Jefferson in 1803 to buy Louisiana from Napoleon and prevent autocracy coming to North America, using the British fleet as a club in the transaction. With the same club and with the advice and approval of his old chief, Jefferson, he stated the principle on which they had acted before, and this time publicly announced it as an enduring national policy

The nature of the danger threatening us at this juncture hardly needs comment. It was expressed this way by John C. Calhoun:

"The Holy Alliance had an ultimate eye to us; they would, if not resisted, subdue South America—and we should have to fight upon our own shores for our own institutions." This was the fourth attempt of autocracy to limit the spread of free institutions in America.

The attitude of Britain changed the whole situation. A moment before, we stood unprepared and alone to champion liberal government against the overwhelming odds of Powers professedly banded together to stamp it out. Now we could promulgate a ringing challenge to the world. For the whole world could scarce attempt to cross the Atlantic in the face of the admirals of England.

QUEEN VICTORIA

In the critical days of the Civil War, when our blockade was far more damaging to England than the British blockade has been recently to us and there were many causes of friction from tariffs to privateers like the *Alabama*, the Queen is reported to have said to her prime minister: "My Lord, you must know that I will sign no paper that means war with the United States"

NAPOLEON III

Who seized the opportunity made by our Civil War to try in Mexico what Napoleon I had failed to accomplish in Louisiana—to push in a wedge of autocracy in America. In this fifth attempt of kings to lay hands on American territory an effort was made, as it had always been made, to gain British support in the attack on free institutions, and, as before, it failed

There is no use in slurring over the two vital forces in our history which came into being at this time. Johnson, the historian of American diplomacy, says that our understanding with the British is the one fundamental basis of our foreign relations. And yet even a blind man can perceive that although this has been the bulwark and security of every administration from that day to this, it has been seldom that an Executive has dared to admit it, much less give credit for it. There are some things no American politician has the courage to do. For instance, in spite of the fact that for fifty years every single President has known and deplored the graft and dishonesty in a great deal of our pension legislation, only one has been found with the daring to veto a pension bill. The country has suffered an admitted national scandal for fear of the pension vote. For sixty years the politician's abject terror of the Irish ward boss and the Kaiser's agents in St. Louis, Milwaukee, Hoboken, and Little Germany has rendered taboo any mention of our actual situation and understanding. Even Grover Cleveland was no exception. Justice Hughes's recent campaign bears the brand of the same terror.

Until he came face to face with immediate danger of destruction from the forces of despotism, Thomas Jefferson leaned toward a popular attitude of complacent criticisms and abuse of the English people. The arrogance of Britain was one of his favorite themes. This makes him a most valuable witness. For upon him and not upon Monroe or any other man, fell the re-

sponsibility of determining our policy at this juncture—of setting our compass and pointing the course which we were to steer through the ocean of time. Since writing the Declaration of Independence nearly fifty years before he had moulded the Republic with his own hand, held every office in its gift, and had retired with tremendous power and prestige to watch and advise the successor he had named to the White House.

And to him Monroe repaired for advice in his difficulty. Monroe's letter shows that he understood, quite as well as we understand today, how the forces of the world were aligned:

"I transmit to you two despatches which were received from Mr. Rush which involve interests of the highest importance. They contain two letters from Mr. Canning suggesting designs of the Holy Alliance against the independence of South America, and proposing a coöperation between Great Britain and the United States in support of it against the members of that alliance—has not the epoch arrived when Great Britain must take her stand either on the side of the monarchs of Europe or of the United States, and in consequence either in favor of despotism or of liberty?

"My own impression is that we ought to meet the proposal of the British Government . . . ."

It stands as the highest credit to the memory of Thomas Jefferson that he threw both his political and personal prejudices to the wind, and laid not only the cornerstone, but the architectural design, of the whole of our future national policy, in a reply which might have been written yesterday, so little have the essentials of the one great question changed:

"The question presented by the letters you have sent me is the most momentous which has ever been offered to my contemplation since that of independence. That made us a nation; this sets our compass and points the course which we are to steer through the ocean of time opening on us. . . . America, North and South, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe. She should therefore have a system of her own, separate and apart from that of Europe. While the last is laboring to become the domicile of despotism, our ex-

RICHARD COBDEN—JOHN BRIGHT

The leaders of liberalism in Great Britain in 1860, believers in increasing political liberty, in free trade, and firm supporters of the United States in its struggle for the freedom of the slaves. It was their power which kept the great industrial centres in favor of the Union despite the suffering caused by the blockade of the Confederacy.

LORD PAUNCEFOTE

The British Ambassador in Washington who made the treaty with Mr. Hay giving us a free hand in the construction and control of the Panama Canal, and who also frustrated an attempt instigated by the Kaiser at the time of the Spanish War to put European pressure upon us and in favor of Spain

deavor should surely be to make our hemisphere that of freedom.

"One nation, most of all, could disturb us in this pursuit; she now offers to lead, aid, and accompany us in it. By acceding to her proposition, we detach her from the bands, bring her mighty weight into the scale of free government, and emancipate a continent at one stroke which might otherwise linger long in doubt and difficulty. Great Britain is the one nation which can do us the most harm of any one, or all on earth; and with her on our side we need not fear the whole world. With her, then, we should most sedulously cherish a cordial friendship, and nothing would tend more to unite our affections than to be fighting once more, side by side, in the same cause."

It was upon this advice from his chief that James Monroe promulgated the famous message. The message has been in the mouths of our statesmen and behind our marines incessantly ever since. But it has not been common knowledge that its very existence is due to the fact that Great Britain "offered to lead, aid and accompany us in it" nor, in the words of the one man in a position to know, that she brought her mighty weight into the scale of free government, and emancipated a continent at one stroke.

The understanding created by circumstances in 1823 has not only continued ever since. It has been the *prevailing* force in this hemisphere ever since. Whatever our minor disagreements have been with Great Britain, it is certain that our statesmen have all depended

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JOHN HAY

A firm believer in American and British cöoperation in the defense of free institutions, a belief which he often expressed. Partially at a suggestion from Hay, Joseph Chamberlain, the British Prime Minister, made the following reciprocal expression in a speech on May 1, 1898, at a time when the Kaiser was endeavoring to organize the forces of European autocracy against us: "What is our next duty? It is to establish and to maintain bonds of permanent amity with our kinsmen across the Atlantic. There is a powerful and a generous nation. They speak our language. They are bred of our race. Their laws, their literature, their standpoint upon every question, are the same as ours. Their feeling, their interests in the cause of humanity and the peaceful developments of the world, are identical with ours. I don't know what the future has in store for us; I don't know what arrangements may be possible with us; but this I do know and feel, that the closer, the more cordial, the fuller, and the more definite these arrangements are, with the consent of both peoples, the better it will be for both and for the world—and I even go so far as to say that, terrible as war may be, even war itself would be cheaply purchased if, in a great and noble cause, the Stars and Stripes and the Union Jack should wave together over an Anglo-Saxon alliance"

implicitly upon their coöperation in the defense of free institutions in America. This is the reason that we have never tried to rival England's navy. And most of the time relying on her navy we have not even built a fleet capable of protecting the ambitious programme of Monroe from other powers. That is why in spite of fifty years' howling at Britain no man has been found insane enough to agitate the "menace" of the overwhelming naval superiority of the islands. The fact that this British fleet was devoted to liberal government, the one everlasting item without accounting for which no nation or band of nations on earth could even look with lust upon American shores has been so patent that not even a raving Sinn Feiner could hope to make capital against it.

MODERN AUTOCRACY

"If I had had a larger fleet I would have taken Uncle Sam by the scruff of the neck." This was the Kaiser's remark at the time of the war with Spain, when his effort to organize Europe against us failed and when the attitude of the British Admiral, Chichester, at Manila Bay showed him that the understanding on which the Monroe Doctrine was based covered free institutions even off the American continent. The Kaiser's effort to gain a foothold in Venezuela in 1902 was blocked by Colonel Roosevelt's now famous ultimatum, and the record of another effort in Haiti in 1914 still lies in the files of our State Department

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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT IN 1902

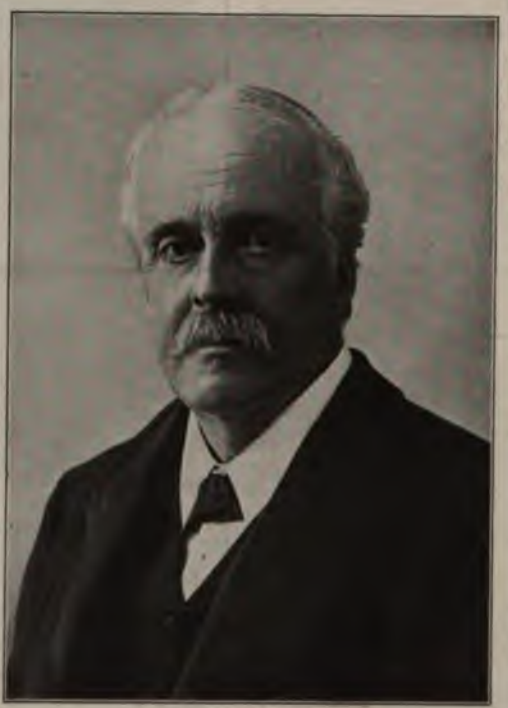
When he told the Kaiser's Ambassador in regard to the Venezuelan controversy: "Arbitrate or I will give orders to Dewey within ten days to proceed to Venezuela and see that no bombarding is done," the Kaiser, contrary to his usual rule, arbitrated

This is not a matter of theory or speculation. Time and again it has been put to the test. And on occasion under very hard circumstances. Napoleon III of France seized the opportunity presented by our Cival War to invade Mexico and establish a monarchy there. This was the fifth attempt of autocracy to invade America. He was quite aware that if the Union won the fight he would be driven out. So he moved heaven and earth to get the English to recognize and make common cause with the Confederacy. And the English had many strong motives for doing so. To the Fourth of July orator it is plain as noon that any one sympathizing with Jeff Davis was an enemy of mankind and totally depraved. But in '61 it was not so simple. There were not one, but two Americas. And there still exist citizens of the United States who do not consider Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson as undeserving of sympathy. And across the seas it was not at all patent who was the oppressor and who the oppressed. Moreover, the fact of rebellion, *per se*, had even thus come to be regarded by

liberal people with toleration, as probably caused by injustice. This is the habitual attitude taken by ourselves. Add to this the natural sympathy and understanding existing between the Cavalier element in Virginia, who had conducted our Government from its origin, and the English aristocracy, and the suffering entailed in England by the blockade and consequent loss of raw cotton, and a barbarous new tariff enacted by Congress which ruined innumerable great businesses, and it is comprehensible that many motives urged the acceptance of Napoleon's proposition.

The facts just recited are the kind of displays made by the German school. They are trotted out as conclusive exhibits of British hostility. They are just the reverse. They are the most powerful proofs of the strength of the Anglo-Saxon understanding. A man's integrity can only be tested, like a wire in a laboratory, under tension. Devotion to a principle can only be measured by the degree of temptation resisted. When, under these circumstances, Queen Victoria said to her prime minister: "My Lord, you must know that I will sign no paper that means war with the United States," not only was the Union saved from foreign attack and the only foothold absolutism had upon this hemisphere doomed, but the good faith of the British nation had stood the crucial test—had withstood the day of temptation, and our hour of adversity.

Hence it was that William McKinley was free to take whatever he chose with regard to Cuba. He knew at the time, what the whole world has since learned, that the rulers of "Mittel Europa" had no intention of permitting the United States to destroy the last vestige of the old colonial system in America, if they could help it. The Queen of Spain was close to the Austrian throne. And the Emperor of Germany had designs of his own in the Caribbean. To fight Spain was one thing. To defy Europe another.



MR. ARTHUR BALFOUR

The first British Foreign Minister ever to set foot on American soil, who came to this country in recognition of the fact that in the defense of free institutions all parts of the Anglo-Saxon race are united

And yet the question was not even discussed. Congress acted as if it didn't exist, as if Von Holleben, ambassador from Germany, and Von Hengelmüller, from Austria, had not urged intervention upon the whole diplomatic corps in Washington—and as if the British Foreign Office was not being besieged by a Prussian messenger literally beseeching permission to flout the Yankee. McKinley and Congress were right. There was nothing to fear. The Kaiser, head of the autocratic family, dared not move in the face of the English stand. He tried the game in a tentative way in Manila Bay. He sent an admiral to fight George Dewey. In all probability Dewey could have kept care of himself. But the German found not only Dewey there. He found Chichester. And not only Chichester, but the British Empire. What we know of the matter can be summarized in the Kaiser's own words: "If I had had a larger fleet I would have taken Uncle Sam by the scruff of the neck." It was the same reasoning that made Napoleon give up his scheme to take over Louisiana. The Kaiser's fleet was large enough to meet the fleet of the United States—particularly in view of the fact that he would have been allied not only with Spain, but Austria. The trouble was that "Perfidious Albion" had its battleships pledged to the cause for which Jefferson had hoped we might fight once more with her, side by side.

This same understanding gave such dreadful force to Roosevelt's later demand upon "myself und Gott" to arbitrate in Venezuela. He threatened the Kaiser with Dewey. Whether the Kaiser was afraid of Dewey or not, I do not know. He had reason to be. But his opinion of the fighting abilities of the United States have been very low, and in the light of subsequent events it seems hardly likely that fear of our military prowess operated very strongly upon him. But off Gravesend lay another force. And the Kaiser knew, if the New York *American* didn't, that it was dedicated to the curtailment of the conquest of America.

This article is an honest analysis of our past adventures with Great Britain in the cause of liberty. I have no intention of passing over the many prolonged and vexing controversies that have embalmed the murky memory of Major Pitcairn and his insults. Cheap and truculent oratory filled with aspersions on "British tyranny" punctuated the settlement of these differences. The Maine boundary dispute: the interminable question of the Newfoundland fisheries; the Oregon debate, "fifty-four forty or fight"; the Alabama claims, the Venezuela arbitration.

But even a bare reading of the actual record reveals that instead of a cause of abuse and rancor, these disagreements have in fact had a result that reflects the greatest possible credit upon both England and America. They have been the means of establishing a spirit of equity and the mutual trust and confidence which renders a conflict between the countries impossible for all time.

Tense as these strained situations were, and high as ran the feeling, they were all settled by arbitration, and, win or lose, both countries stood by the awards. These controversies constitute the origin and development and establishment of the principles of international arbitration. They provided the only tangible steps yet taken in the world for the substitution of justice and reason for the rule of war. And it is worthy of notice, too, that our differences with England have never, since George III failed to restore the royal prerogative, been over the fundamental question of democracy. In this most vital of all issues to the two peoples, since the Revolution as before, we have stood together the great bulwark of liberty in the world.

BRITAIN, MOTHER OF COLONIES

How an Enormous Empire of Subject Peoples Has Been Built Up by the Tact, Intelligence, and Good Faith of a Handful of Administrators Who Treat the Natives as Human Beings

BY

POULTNEY BIGELOW, F.R.G.S.

(Author of "History of the German Struggle for Liberty, 1806–1848".)

YOU have paid me the compliment of requesting an opinion on the Colonial administration of our Mother Country and to such a request I yield cheerful obedience. But let me warn the reader that an opinion on so vast a theme is dangerous—much like asking a sailor his opinion of the Atlantic or a politician his estimate of the American voter. True—I have traveled and studied in almost every British Colony; have visited also many dependencies of France, Spain, Portugal, America and Germany; have made four journeys round the world in search of light on this vexed problem, and yet feel that the best I can do is to enter the stand as a witness, tell what I saw and let the reader think for himself.

In the year of the Spanish War (1898) Germany proved herself our enemy by sending to Manila Bay a squadron of war ships with orders to intimidate Admiral Dewey and secure from Spain the remnant of her insular possessions in those Far Eastern waters. The sailor of Uncle Sam however, declined to play the part assigned to him by the Kaiser; on the contrary, although much inferior in war strength, he cheerfully stripped for the fight, whereupon Admiral Von Diederich tucked his pennant between his legs and disappeared to Kiao-Chau.

To Kiao-Chau I followed him and found a

German colony one year old. It was a colony on the Prussian plan—barracks and batteries—drill ground and goose step. The Chinese population had been forcibly dispossessed to make room for administrative quarters and avenues of Berlin breadth and symmetry. The colony had been conquered by the sword and was held by the sword alone. The natives were compelled to labor at prices fixed by the conqueror; all signs and legal notices were in Gothic type; it was *verboten* to use any language other than the German tongue. In short, although I was received with civility by the Governor and entertained by the garrison mess, it was clear that this colonial venture was a failure from the start—it was a colony in name but there were no colonists; much military but no merchants; many barracks but no warehouses.

For twenty years Kiao-Chau flew the flag of the Hun—twenty years of perpetual pettiness in administration and brutality in the execution of unjust laws. Nothing was omitted that could humiliate the natives of the soil or create Mongolian sympathy with other victims of Prussianization in Poland, Denmark, Alsace—to say nothing of blacks in Africa and Papuans in New Guinea.

Parenthetically permit me to say that I visited every station of German New Guinea after more than a quarter century of Prussian rule and found everywhere struggling replicas of Kiao-Chau—hundreds of notice boards warning the naked natives to keep off the grass—all in the unintelligible script of the conqueror. Every Colonial station was conspicuously recognizable because of the geometrical pattern of its administrative landing stage, its path leading to the Governor's palace, the jail, barracks and drill ground. Everywhere sullen silence amongst the wretched natives and harsh gutturals from the homesick officials of the Fatherland. The jails and barracks were active—all the rest was suggestive of that ominous obedience which precedes the signal of a popular insurrection. To be a German was to be an enemy in every part of the Archipelago—to speak English was to carry a passport honored in every hut.

Without going further for illustration—East or West Africa for instance—let me carry you from this theatre of perpetual punitive expeditions and administrative failure to any territory you may select where the British flag proclaims equal rights or at least fair play for the native.

At Hong-Kong in that same year of the Kiao-Chau visit, Great Britain added a large area as hinterland to that splendid port. This matter I studied with much personal interest because it followed closely on the Russian seizure of Port Arthur and the Prussian conquest of Kiao-Chau—both of which were accomplished as acts of war and as grievous insults to the Chinese Government. Not so in the case of England—not a shot was fired, scarce an angry word exchanged. A quiet young Scotchman, Lockhart by name, who happened to be Colonial Secretary of Hong-Kong and who like the rest of his craft understood Chinese character and speech, made an excursion into the territory about to be annexed. He did not draw his sword—or even lead a military escort. He went with his life in his hand to talk the matter over with the different heads of districts and villages.

The Chinaman is the most reasonable and intelligent of men. He despises mere brute strength but is quick to appreciate justice and commercial opportunity. And thus it happened here that my quiet friend (now Sir Stewart Lockhart) annexed to the British Empire in a few days and without firing a shot a territory more valuable to the world's commerce than all the colonies of the Kaiser with all their sunken millions and discontented natives.

HONG-KONG THE CONTENTED

From Hong-Kong go thousands of Chinese annually to labor under contract in the mines of the Malay islands; the rubber plantations of Borneo; the tobacco fields of Sumatra or the sugar estates of the West Indies. Indeed, contract laborers sign cheerfully from any Eastern port to any part of the world so long as they have the word of the British Government that their contract will be honestly enforced against employer no less than employee. You can find in South Africa and the Caribbean no less than in the Eastern tropics British subjects of every color and creed from Bombay or Calcutta; Penang or Singapore; Wei-Hai-Wei or Hong-Kong cheerfully signing themselves away for a five year labor term in Jamaica or Trinidad; Natal or Demerara. They are confident that the conditions under which they embark will be observed; that the wages mentioned will be punctually paid; that the food will be adequate and the housing according to the sanitary rules; that the labor will be

done under wholesome conditions—in short that after five years of enlistment as a laborer the Chinaman, Hindoo or Kaffir may count upon a return to his home satisfied that the British Commissioner of native labor has paternally watched over his interests and encouraged others to follow in his steps.

No other country of my ken can point to such victories in the field of peaceful colonial conquest as England for the last three quarters of a century. There is no other colonial field of my acquaintance where I would feel safe in walking from end to end with no weapon more destructive than a bamboo cane.

Far be it from me to pretend that the bungling tourist cannot find ample scope for blood curdling adventure and many pages of profitable romance. One has but to outrage the religious practices of Brahmins or Mussulmans to gather material for many thrilling chapters; and if the survivor still yearns for fictional fame he has but to tamper with the women of a Malay Head Hunter or sneer at the crest of a Samurai of Dai Nippon. But the tame walking stick of my wanderings has little to record. To me the patient observing of animals has more charm than their slaughter; I marvel at my contemporaries who have waded in blood amidst scowling savages where my more commonplace eyes and ears have been refreshed by native dance and gentle hospitality. In the jungle of German New Guinea where successive administrators with fiercely elevated mustache tips assured me that the natives were hopelessly addicted to ferocious cannibalism I have wandered unarmed and unattended —safe so soon as the native knew that I was not German.

Basutoland has been the habitat of the most warlike of Kaffir tribes and when I visited that country (1896) I found scarce half a dozen Englishmen ruling over a quarter of a million black savages in a country with not a single road, or bridge, or telegraph pole or newspaper —not a single sign of what we call progress save this lonesome but fearless handful of British Colonial administrators who lived in the midst of these turbulent tribesmen with the same unconcern that we have noted in the veteran soldier who is ready at any moment to fall asleep even whilst the artillery is roaring its message of prospective hand to hand battle.

It was Sir Godfrey Lagden who ruled Basutoland twenty years ago. He is now retired, but Basutoland continues prosperous and quiet because the system of the Mother country brings forward an abundance of men qualified for just such unobtrusive tasks. In my lifetime no shot has been fired in anger throughout that territory and to-day, should any chief dare to prove insubordinate, there is no punishment that would be more keenly felt by the nation at large than the mere threat, on the part of the British Governor, that he would pack up and abandon them. Such administrative rule as this calls for men who are not tied up with red tape, who have infinite good sense, and no fear of death.

Germany had a most efficient system, but it did not work. England has had no very distinct system, but it has worked admirably. Of the many causes which have procured this result perhaps the most important is the broad fact that men for the Colonial service are carefully selected; that they are handsomely paid; that they are trusted; that they are promoted without any regard to politicians and that after a certain number of years devoted to their country they may retire on an adequate pension. The practical effect of this system is to create a body of administrators whom the natives trust. All men respect truth and courage. Small wonder then that a simple sport loving Briton can rule millions of Hindoos by merely a hint to their Rajah who bows before that hint because he knows it is the hint of an official who speaks true and cannot take a bribe.

In the days of the old Sultan of Brunei I visited that sanguinary potentate's capital which lies between Sarawak and British North Borneo and is inhabited by head hunting Malays very expert in predatory warfare. In this most lonesome quarter of our globe I met (1906) a clear eyed sport loving young Briton who had a bungalow and a war canoe and apparently nothing to do but look indifferent and wait for the moment when some Dyak should run amuk in his path. He was the only white man in the Sultan's savagery save a few traders who came for cocoanut fibre. He told me that he had no authority—was simply sent there to look about—that he belonged in the Colonial service at Singapore.

WHAT YOUNG McARTHUR DID

This was all true; but what he did not say and what I learned from other lips was that whenever his Sultanic and Satanic majesty was guilty of some project needlessly

outrageous my simple young sportsman from Singapore would whistle for his war canoe crew; paddle over to the Imperial Palace; sip coffee; smoke an enormous Sultanic cheroot; exchange a very few words with this august representative of Mahomet and then once more mount his war canoe and paddle back to his bungalow. All this was purely a pleasant piece of every day platonic politeness. No sabre was rattled, no mailed fist unveiled, no harsh words uttered. Our listless British visitor (his name was McArthur) merely remarked in a careless way—referring to some murderous or thieving project—"Yes—it has its good points, *but*, I wouldn't do it just now—it wouldn't look well on paper—they don't like those things in London—queer people, the English—yes—very—good day—etc.!!"

Now this little episode has no particular importance unless you read on and learn that when the old Sultan died a few years later his empire became part of an English colony so quietly that few noticed what happened; and none regretted the change, least of all the natives.

Only those of superficial thinking talk of England as "*gobbling up*" or "*conquering*" colonial territory. This view is Prussian by origin and American by adoption. The truth is that in the last three quarters of a century Britain has had colonial responsibilities thrust upon her; has sought to divest herself of them but has been finally forced to expand not merely by the call of her countrymen but by that of the natives.

In 1898 Stewart Lockhart was Colonial Secretary in Hong-Kong—the same who incorporated the adjacent territory of Kowloon. He is now Governor of Wei-Hai-Wei ruling another Chinese area, about 100 miles from Kiao-Chau. Here as in the southern post, not only does he find the Chinese contented under the British flag, but desirous of fighting under it and against the hated German.

LUGARD'S WORK IN CHINA

During my last visit to Hong-Kong (1910) the Governor (General Sir Frederick Lugard) laid the foundation stone of a Chinese University. The money for this important seat of learning was contributed largely if not entirely by Chinese merchants and officials. The three faculties of medicine, morals and engineering were represented and the purpose was to save Chinese students the cost of the journey to England by arranging for examinations in Hong-Kong that should entitle the candidates to degrees equal to those of the London University. Here then was the military governor of a British colony on Chinese territory commanding so completely the confidence of the public, no less than the officials, that they reared under the guns of his fortress a purely Chinese school of learning in perfect reliance on the word of an English administrator.

So far I have met no one who ever heard of this Hong-Kong University, but I venture to think that in the history of our race no prouder page could be written than that which recorded this proof of British uprightness in her dealings with China. To be sure Sir Frederick Lugard deserves much credit; but without the system which permits the rise of such men, there would be in Hong-Kong the same dull colonial routine that has made Germany lose all her million square miles of colony at the first sound of a bugle proclaiming war against Prussianism. The name of Lugard was honored already some thirty years ago when first I had the honor of grasping his honest hand. He was then a young and very impecunious captain thirsting for an opportunity of getting killed or anything else that would keep him alive. He went to Eastern Africa, soon showed that he had in him the stuff of the empire builder and has risen from one post to another until now he is to Africa what Lord Roberts was to India.

The word system I have used for want of a better. Perhaps I might say with more exactness that England's colonial success has been due to the fact that she never has had any system—at least in theory. Had the London Colonial office formulated a scientific theory of Colonial administration akin to that which Berlin has for thirty years applied to her tropical dependencies, the result might have been almost as disastrous. Fortunately for British fame, the very absence of uniformity or system permitted each Colonial administrator to apply to each native territory the rules most conformable to native custom or prejudice. It is the mania of the orthodox official to simplify his work by making rules to which all must conform. Now we know that no two people are alike even in our own state or village; yet a Prussian Minister will send out a book of paragraphs according to which all natives are to be ruled whether Mahommedan or Buddhist; Bantu or Papuan. The Berlin official cannot see why the drill

regulations of the Potsdam garrison are not equally applicable to the Kanaka of Samoa or the Herero of West Africa.

Nor can the German people penetrate the careless generosity of a British parliament capable of permitting one million square miles of colonial territory to pass under the Kaiser's yoke merely because Queen Victoria was partial to things German and the British public dreamed the dream of the Pacifist and believed that the rule of William II meant the Rule of Peace throughout the colonial world.

Germany gladly seized the colonies which England released and ever since that time has waged a campaign of hatred and slander against her benefactor. Yet to-day England can arm the natives in any one of her dependencies and turn them against our common enemy, whereas after thirty years of Prussianizing not a colony of the Kaiser but rejoices when the black eagle drops from over the governor's gate-way.

INDIA A HUGE SUCCESS

Is India an exception? Germans have wearied me for many years by their tales of alleged native discontent, and their groaning under the heels of British military boots! But how many military boots would be needed, think you, in order to successfully trample down a discontented population of 400 millions of intelligent people? These are matters so elementary that they are not to be discussed in the pages of such a review. The reader has but to consult the "Statesmen's Year Book" or any respectable almanac and there learn that in all India Britain maintains a military establishment so minuscule as to deserve the name of a merely nominal police force. It is some years since I was in Delhi and Calcutta (1910) but it needed no special training for any observer to note that the emissary of the Kaiser was at work there as in this country working up a propaganda hostile to the government. In every German colony Englishmen have been hampered if not wholly prevented from doing business. On the contrary, German commercial agents have been accorded equal rights and generous treatment wherever they moved under the British flag and this hospitality has been shamefully abused for the purpose not merely of spying but of organizing sedition under the specious cloak of socialistic pacifism.

So far I have referred only to British Colonial rule as affecting black, yellow, brown or alien races. We have known of German machination and money widely distributed for the purpose of compelling the mother country to employ her army in quelling rebellious natives rather than helping Frence on the western front. We have seen the Prussian plot a failure and the duplicity of the Berlin cabinet exposed. We have had the profound joy of seeing generosity rewarded; of seeing the natives of every creed, color and climate raising their voices in one common chorus of disgust at the cruelty, the treachery, the sacrilegious mutilations done by a Prussian monarch who dared to proclaim himself the apostle of Kultur! The Afghan from the Khyber; the Hindoo from Benares or Madras; the Zulu, Matabele or Basuto; the swarthy men of the Malay Archipelago; millions of Chinese and every island from the Bahamas to Trinidad—not a race, not a religion but would unite with Great Britain in driving back to his Baltic swamps and pine barrens the desecrater of Rheims—the unmistakable offspring of Europe's traditional enemy who have for near twenty centuries plundered on the outskirts of white man's civilization—their name has varied—now Goth, now Vandal—now Hun—now Hohenzollern.

Shall I say yet a word of the white man's greater Britain—Australia, New Zealand, North America, South Africa? Do we not all recall the monotonous assurances of Prussian professors that this war would be the signal for every colony to throw off the British Yoke! Alas, poor Prussia! When God distributed his gifts to the races of mankind he gave quick wits to the Yankee, laughter to the Negro and infinite patience to the Chinaman. But to thee, as to the donkey, he gave an impenetrable hide and total absence of humor. So go on with the war—it has made the Boer and Briton march together like brothers against the man who wrote the Kruger despatch; it has made Canada and Australia glad to pour out their blood in the trenches of France but above all, O Prussian donkey, I bless thy pachydermatous propaganda for thou hast at last opened the eyes of this good natured nation to the snake like quality of thy professions and the deadening effect of thy Kultur. The war is costly; the war is deadly and the end is not in sight; but however costly in death or dollars it can never be a price too high to pay if it restore to us our dignity as a nation and our manhood as Americans.

THROUGH THE HOSTILE LINES

A Zeppelin Attack on the Civilian Part of Antwerp and the Damage It Did—Hazards of Going Through the German and Belgian Lines—The Journal of an American Diplomatic Officer

FOURTH INSTALMENT

BY

HUGH GIBSON

(Formerly First Secretary of the American Legation at Brussels)

BRUSSELS, August 27, 1914.—The day after my last entry [August 22d], I started on a trip to Antwerp, got through the lines, and managed to wriggle back into Brussels last night after reëstablishing telegraph communication with the Department and having a number of other things happen to and around about me.

All I can remember now of the 23d is that it was a Sunday and that we could hear cannonading all day long from the east. It was hard to tell just where it came from, but it was probably from the direction of Wavre and Namur. It was drizzly all day. The German troops continued to pour through the city. From time to time during the last few days their march has been interrupted for a couple of hours at a time—apparently as a result of a determined attempt on the part of the French and English to stop the steady flow of troops toward the French frontier. Each time we could hear the booming of the cannon—the deep voices of the German guns and the sharp, dry bark of the French. At night we have seen the searchlights looking for the enemy or flashing signals. Despite the nearness of all this fighting and the sight of the wounded being brought in, the streets barred off to keep the noisy traffic away from the hospitals, and all the other signs of war, it has still been hard to realize that it was so near us.

Our little German General von Jarotzky has kept clicking his heels together and promising us anything we chose to ask; we had run around day after day with our telegrams, and not one had got further than the Hôtel de Ville. Being naturally somewhat touchy, we got tired of this after a few days and decided that the only way to get any news to Washington was for me to go to Antwerp and get into direct communication over the cable from there. We told General von Jarotzky what we intended to do and he was all smiles and anxiety to please. At our request he had an imposing passport made out for me signed with his hand and authorized with his seal. The Burgomaster wrote out an equally good letter for use when we reached the Belgian lines.

We wanted to get away during the morning, but one thing after another came up and I was kept on the jump. We had to stop and worry about our newspaper correspondents who have wandered off again. Morgan came wandering in during the morning and announced that he and Davis had set out on foot to see whether there was any fighting near Hal. They had fallen in with some German forces advancing toward Mons. After satisfying themselves that there was nothing going on at Hal or Enghien, Morgan decided that he had had enough walking for one day and was for coming home. Davis felt that they were too near the front to give up, and with a Sherlock Holmes sagacity announced that if they stuck to these German troops they would succeed in locating the French and British armies. Morgan thought this so probable that he was all for coming back and left Davis tramping along behind an ammunition wagon in search of adventure. He found it.

After getting out of their trouble at Louvain, McCutcheon, Cobb, and Lewis set forth on another adventure. There are, of course, no motor cars or carriages to be had for love or money, so they invested in a couple of aged bicycles and a donkey cart. Cobb perched gracefully on top of the donkey cart and the other two pedalled alongside on their wheels. They must have been a funny outfit, and at last accounts were getting along all right.

After formally filing all our telegrams with the German General, Blount and I got under

way at half past two. We pulled out through the northern end of the city toward Vilvorde. There were German troops and supply trains all along the road but we were not stopped until we got about half way to V. Then we heard a loud roar from a field of cabbages we were passing, and, looking around, discovered what looked like a review of the Knights of Pythias. A magnificent looking man on horseback, wearing several orders, surrounded by a staff of some ten or twelve others, was riding toward us through the cabbages, waving angrily at us to stop. The whole crowd surrounded the car and demanded hotly how we dared venture out of town by this road. While they were industriously blowing us up, the Supreme Potentate observed the sign on the front of the car, GESANDTSCHAFT DER VEREINIGTEN STAATEN, whereupon he came straightway to salute and kept it up. The others all saluted most earnestly and we had to unlimber and take off our hats and bow as gracefully as we could all hunched up inside a little racing car. Then I passed out our pass, which the Chief of Staff read aloud to the assembled notables. They were all most amiable, warned us to proceed with great caution, driving slowly, stopping every hundred yards, and to tear back toward town if popping began in our immediate neighborhood. They were so insistent on our not getting in the way of bullets that I had to assure them in my best rusty German that we were getting into this ragged edge of their old war simply because it was necessary, for business reasons, and not because of any ardent desire to have holes shot through us. They all laughed and let us go our way with a final caution. From that time on we were in the midst of German patrols. We religiously observed the officers' advice to drive slowly and keep a look-out. Five minutes later we began to meet peasants running away from their homes in the direction of Brussels. They reported fighting near Malines and said that we were running straight into it. They were a badly frightened lot. We decided that the only thing to do was to go ahead, feeling our way carefully and come back, or wait if things got too hot for us. We were stopped several times by troops crossing the road to get into trenches that were already prepared, and once to wait while a big gun was gotten into place. It was a ticklish business to come around a turn in the road and light on a hundred men sneaking along behind a hedge with their rifles ready for instant action. Just beyond Eppeghem we met a troop of cavalry convoying a high cart filled with peasants who had evidently been taken prisoners. The officer in charge was a nervous chap who came riding at us brandishing his revolver, which he had tied to the pommel of his saddle with a long cord. He was most indignant that we had been allowed to come this far and reluctantly admitted that our pass was good. All the time he talked with us and told us of the skirmishing ahead he kept waving that large blunderbuss in our faces. I tried a little humor on him by saying as nearly as the unwieldy structure of the German tongue would permit: "Please point that thing the other way; you can never tell when it may go off and hurt somebody." He was quite solemn about it, however, and assured us that he had perfect control over it, emphasizing his remarks by shaking it under our noses. I was glad to get out of his range, for I verily believe that if somebody had shouted *boo!* he would have let that gun off with a bang.

The German officers we talked with from time to time said that the Belgians were advancing and that several skirmishes had taken place; that a big engagement was expected during the night or in the morning. We passed the last of the German outposts about two miles this side of Malines, but for fear we might tell on them they would not tell us whether we had any more of their kind ahead of us. We shot along through the open country between the last Germans and the edge of Malines at a fairly good rate and kept a lookout for the English flag which we had been given to understand was flying from the tower of the Cathedral. That is what we had been given to understand in Brussels; but along the road they were very noncommittal about the whereabouts of the British troops. When we finally did get a clear view of the Cathedral spires we saw the Belgian flag standing straight out in the good breeze that was blowing, and while that showed that the English troops had not taken over the place it at least convinced us that the Germans were behind us. As we drove through the little suburb on this side of the canal which runs through the edge of the town, we found that all the houses were battened up tight. One lone man who came out from a little café told us that the Germans had been through about fifteen minutes before and had shot up the town until they were driven

off by a small force of Belgian cavalry which had appeared from nowhere and had as quickly gone back to the same place. Not knowing what forces were ready to start in again on short notice, all the inhabitants who were fortunate enough to have cellars were hiding in them, and the rest were trying to get into town as best they could, leaving their belongings.

When we reached the canal we found that the drawbridge had been taken up and that there was no way to get across. There were a few gendarmes on the other side of the canal and a few carts on our side. All hands were anxious to get across, but the Burgomaster had ordered traffic suspended until things had quieted down. We prevailed upon a genial gendarme to run back and get orders to govern our special case. After waving our credentials and showing how much influence we had with the local administration we were quite popular with the panic-stricken peasants, who wanted to get into the town. Orders came very soon and we made straight for the Hôtel de Ville to thank the Burgomaster for letting us in—and also to pick up any news he had as to conditions. We did not get any great amount, however, as he could not get over the fact that we had come straight through from Brussels without having been shot by the German or the Belgian patrols who were out with orders to pick up strays like us. We tried several times to get information out of him, but he could do nothing but marvel at our luck and above all at our *prouesse*, which left him quite bowled over. We gave him up and went our way. He has had other things to marvel about since.

Not far out of Malines we ran into the first Belgian outpost. When we were about fifty yards from them they surged across the road and began brandishing rifles, swords, lances, a veritable armory of deadly weapons. Blount put on the emergency brakes and we were bracing for quick and voluble explanations when we saw that they were all grinning broadly and that each one was struggling to get our particular attention. We had our *laisser-passers* in our hands and waved them in the air; no one would pay the slightest heed to them. From the hubbub that was seething about our ears we learned that ten minutes or so before they had finished a little brush with the Germans and that the articles they had been waving in our faces were the trophies of the combat. Each fellow was anxious to show us what he had taken and to tell just how he had done it. They seemed to take it for granted that we were friends and would enjoy the sight and share their delight. One of the boys—a chap about eighteen—held aloft a huge pair of cavalry boots which he had pulled off a German he had killed. It was a curious mixture of childish pride and the savage rejoicing of a Fiji Islander with a head he has taken. We admired their loot until they were satisfied, and then prevailed upon them to look at our papers, which they did in a perfunctory way. Then, after shaking hands all round, they sent us on with a cheer. We were hero-curiosities as the first civilians who had got through from the German lines since the occupation of Brussels. And perhaps we were not glad to be safely inside the Belgian lines! It was nervous work that far, but once inside we found everybody friendly and got through without any trouble, although we were stopped every kilometre or so. Soon after we passed the first outposts we began passing Belgian troops advancing toward Malines in large force. They seemed in good spirits and ready for anything. Our position here has gone steadily up since the beginning of the hostilities, and everywhere we went the flag was cheered and we got a warm welcome.

We had a slow time of it working our way through the fortifications and convincing posts every fifty yards that we were all right.

This forward movement of the troops was a part of a concerted operation by which the Belgians were to attempt to retake Malines and Brussels while the main German army was engaged in attacking Mons and Charleroi.

About twelve kilometres out of Antwerp we were stopped at a little house and asked if we would take a wounded man into town to the hospital. He had been shot through the hand and was suffering from shock and loss of blood but was able to chew on a huge chunk of bread all the way into town. He had no interest in anything else, and after trying one or two questions on him I let him alone and watched the troops we were passing. They were an unbroken line all the way in and a lot of them had not left town. The whole Belgian army and a lot of the Garde Civique were inside the ring of forts and were all being put on the road with full contingents of supply wagons, ambulances, and even the dog artillery. These little chaps came tugging along the road and turned their heads to bark at us.

For a mile or so outside the *enceinte* which has been thrown up around the town the roads are heavily mined and small red flags planted between the cobbles to warn passers-by to tread gently and gingerly. We did not require the urging of the sentries to make us proceed with caution over these places, which were so delicately mined that heavy carts were not allowed to pass. I breathed more easily when we were once out of this.

We found the military hospital and handed over our wounded soldier to the attendants, who bundled him inside and then rushed back to hear what we could tell them. They had not heard a word from the outside world—or rather from our part of the outside world—since the withdrawal of the Belgian army to Antwerp, and they greeted us as they would greet fellow-beings returning from a journey to Mars. They had a few newspapers which were being published in Antwerp and handed them over to us, we being as anxious as they for the news that we had not been able to get.

From the hospital we drove to the Hôtel St. Antoine and asked for rooms. The proprietor was very suspicious of us, and we had a tremendous time convincing him that there was nothing the matter with us. He *knew* that we could not have come from Brussels, as nobody had been able to make the trip. Our papers were *en règle* but that made no difference. German spies and other suspicious characters had managed to get forged papers before that.

Fortunately for us, all the other diplomats were living in the hotel, and I asked that he hunt up some of them and verify what we had to say for ourselves. Webber of the British Legation was brought out and acted as though he had seen a ghost. He calmed down enough to assure the proprietor that we were respectable citizens and that he could safely give us rooms.

All the other people were away from the hotel for the moment, so we deposited our things in our room and made for the Consulate General. It was then half past six and the Consul General had gone for the day. A well trained porter refused to tell where either he or the V. C. G. lived, but we managed to find out and got to the V. C. G.'s house after a hunt with a *chasseur* of the hotel on the box. He was not at home, but his wife was there and came down. We talked with her for a few minutes and then went back to the hotel to await Sherman's (V. C. G.) coming. He called in the course of a few minutes and we made arrangements to go to the Consulate after dinner and get off our telegrams.

By the time we could get ourselves ready for dinner the crowd had come back, and when we set foot on the stairway we were literally overwhelmed by our loving friends. First I met Sir Francis Villiers and accepted his invitation to dine. He and Prince Koudacheff, the Russian Minister, a lot of other colleagues, and goodness only knows who else fell upon us with demands for news. I took refuge in Sir Francis's office and saw as many people as I could until dinner time. Baron van der Elst, the Secretary-General of the Foreign Office, and M. Carton de Wiart, the Minister of Justice, forgetting all about the requirements of the protocol that I should make the first call upon them, came tearing around to see if I had any news of their families. Luckily I had and was able to tell them that all was well. I did not know that I had so much first-hand knowledge of the people in Brussels, but was able to give good news to any number of people. It became a regular joyfest and was more fun for me than for anybody else.

By eight o'clock we got out to dinner, but I was still besieged for more information and hardly got two consecutive bites without interruptions. In the midst of soup, General Yungbluth, Chief of Staff to the King, came around in full regimentals and wanted to get all sorts of news for the Queen. Before we got much farther others began to arrive and drew up chairs to the table, filling up all that part of the room. As we were finishing dinner several Ministers of State came in to say that the Prime Minister wanted me to come to meet him and the Cabinet Council which was being held—just to assure them that all was well with their families and to tell them, in the bargain, anything that I felt I properly could. However, I had my real work ahead of me—getting off my telegrams to Washington. I tore myself away from the crowd and, joining Sherman, who was waiting for me in the hall, I made for the Consulate General. The C. G. was already there anxious to hear the news. I had to get before the Department all the news I could and as comprehensive a statement as possible of all that had happened since communications had been cut. I pounded away until after eleven and got off a fat bundle of cables, which Sherman took to the office for me.

then made tracks for the General Staff, where the Cabinet Council was waiting for me.

I have never been through a more moving time than the hour and a half I spent with them. It was hard to keep from bursting out and telling them everything that I knew would interest them. I had bound myself with no promises before I left about telling of the situation, but none the less I felt bound not to do it. I was able to tell them a great deal that was of comfort to them and that could give no ground for objection if the Germans were to know of it —and on these subjects I gave them all they wanted. After telling them all I could about their families and friends, I let them ask questions and did my best to answer those that I could. The first thing they wanted to know was how the Germans had behaved in the town. The answer I gave them was satisfactory. Then they wanted to know whether the Royal Palace had been respected or whether the German flag was flying over it; also whether the Belgian flag still flew on the Hôtel de Ville. Their pride in their old town was touching, and when they heard that no harm had as yet been done it you would have thought that they were hearing good news of friends they had lost. Then they started in and told me all the news they had from outside sources—bits of information which had reached them indirectly via Holland and the reports of their military authorities.

We stayed on and talked until nearly half past twelve, when I got up and insisted on leaving.

Perhaps it is just as well. They did not want to break up the party, but when I insisted they also made up their minds to call it a day's work and quit.

We brought van der Elst back to the hotel, and with his influence ran our car into the Gendarmerie next door. Then to bed.

A CALL FROM A ZEPPELIN

Blount and I had a huge room on the third floor front. We had just got into bed and were settling down to a good night's rest when there was an explosion the like of which I have never heard before, and we were rocked as though in cradles. We were greatly interested but took it calmly, knowing that the forts were nearly four miles out of town and that they could bang away as long as they liked without doing more than spoil our night's sleep. There were eight of these explosions at short intervals, and then as they stopped there was a sharp purr, like the distant rattle of a machine-gun. As that died down the chimes of the Cathedral—the sweetest carillon I have ever heard—sounded one o'clock. We thought that the Germans must have tried an advance under cover of a bombardment and retired as soon as they saw that the forts were vigilant and not to be taken by surprise. We did not even get out of bed. About five minutes later we heard footsteps on the roof and the voice of a woman in a window across the street asking some one on the sidewalk below whether it was safe to go back to bed. I got out and took a look into the street. There were a lot of people there talking and gesticulating, but nothing of enough interest to keep two tired men from their night's sleep, so we climbed back into bed and stayed until morning.

Blount called me at what seemed an unreasonably early hour and said we should be up and about our day's work. When we were both dressed we found that he had made a bad guess when he looked at his watch and discovered that it was only a quarter to seven. Being up, however, we decided to go get breakfast.

When we got down we found everybody else stirring, and it took us several minutes to get it through our heads that we had been through more excitement than we wotted of. Those distant explosions that we had taken so calmly were bombs dropped from a Zeppelin which had sailed over the city and dropped death and destruction in its path. The first bomb fell less than two hundred yards from where we slept—no wonder that we were rocked in our beds! After a little breakfast we sallied forth.

The first bomb had been in a street around the corner from the hotel and had fallen into a narrow four-story house which had been blown to bits. When the bomb burst it not only tore a fine hole in the immediate vicinity, but hurled its pieces several hundred yards. All the windows for at least two hundred or three hundred feet were smashed into little bits. The fronts of all the surrounding houses were pierced with hundreds of holes, large and small. The street itself was filled with débris and was impassable. From this place we went to the other points where bombs had fallen. As we afterward learned, ten people were killed outright; a number have since died of their injuries and a lot more are injured and some of these may die. A number of houses were completely wrecked and a great many will

have to be torn down. Army officers were amazed at the terrific force of the explosions. The last bomb dropped as the Zeppelin passed over our heads fell in the centre of a large square—la Place du Poids Publique. It tore a hole in the cobble-stone pavement some twenty feet square and four or five feet deep. Every window in the square was smashed to bits. The fronts of the houses were riddled with holes and everybody had been obliged to move out, as many of the houses were expected to fall at any time. The Dutch Minister's house was near one of the smaller bombs and was damaged slightly. Every window was smashed. All the crockery and china is gone; mirrors in tiny fragments; and the Minister somewhat startled. Not far away was Faura, the First Secretary of the Spanish Legation. His wife had been worried sick for fear of bombardment, and he had succeeded only the day before in prevailing upon her to go to England with their large family of children. Another bomb fell not far from the houses of the C. G. and the V. C. G., and they were not at all pleased. The windows on one side of our hotel were also smashed.

THE TRAIL OF THE AIRSHIP

We learned that the Zeppelin had sailed over the town not more than 500 feet above us; the motor was stopped some little distance away and she slid along in perfect silence and with her lights out. It would be a comfort to say just what one thinks about the whole business. The purr of machine-guns that we heard after the explosion of the last bomb was the starting of the motor which carried our visitor out of range of the guns that were trundled out to attack her. Preparations were being made to receive such a visit, but they had not been completed; had she come a day or two later she would have met a warm reception. The line of march was straight across the town on a line from the General Staff, the Palace where the Queen was staying with the royal children, the military hospital of the Elisabeth filled with wounded, the Bourse, and some other buildings. It looks very much as though the idea had been to drop one of the bombs on the Palace. The Palace itself was missed by a narrow margin, but large pieces of the bomb were picked up on the roof and shown me later in the day by Inglebleek, the King's Secretary. The room at the General Staff where I had been until half an hour before the explosion was a pretty ruin, and it was just as well for us that we left when we did. It was a fine big room with a glass dome skylight over the big round table where we were sitting. This had come in with a crash and was in powder all over the place. Next time I sit under a glass skylight in Antwerp I shall have a guard outside with an eye out for Zeppelins.

If the idea of this charming performance was to inspire terror, it was a complete failure. The people of the town, far from yielding to fear, are devoting all their energies to anger. They are furious at the idea of killing their King and Queen. There is no telling when the performance will be repeated, but there is a chance that next time the balloon man will get a warmer reception.

In the morning I went around and called at the Foreign Office, which is established in a handsome building that belonged to one of the municipal administrations. The Minister for Foreign Affairs took me into his office and summoned all hands to hear any news I could give them of their families and friends. I also took notes of names and addresses of people in Brussels who were to be told that their own people in Antwerp were safe and well. I had been doing that steadily from the minute we set foot in the hotel the night before, and when I got back here I had my pockets bulging with innocent messages. Now comes the merry task of getting them around.

The Minister showed me a lot of things that he wanted reported to Washington, so I went back to the Consulate-General and got off some more telegrams. The trip was worth while.

Blount and I were for lunching alone but —— —— would not hear of it and insisted that we should sit at their table as long as we stayed on in Antwerp and whenever we came back. They were not only glad to see somebody from the outside world but could not get over the sporting side of our trip, and patted us on the back until they made us uncomfortable. Everybody in Antwerp looked upon the trip as a great exploit and exuded admiration. I fully expected to get a Carnegie medal before I got away. And it sounded so funny, coming from a lot of Belgian officers who had for the last few weeks been going through the most harrowing experiences, with their lives in danger every minute and even now with a perfectly good chance of being killed before the war is over. They seem to take that as a

matter of course, but look upon our performance as in some way different and superior. People are funny things.

I stopped at the Palace to sign the King's book and ran into General Yungbluth, who was just starting off with the Queen. She came down the stairs and stopped just long enough to greet me and then went her way; she is a brave little woman and deserves a better fate than she has had. Inglebleek, the King's Secretary, heard I was there signing the book and came out to see me. He said the Queen was anxious I should see what had been done by the bombs of the night before. He wanted me to go right into the houses and see the horrid details. I did not want to do this, but there was no getting out of it under the circumstances.

We drove first to the Place du Poids Publique and went into one of the houses which had been partially wrecked by one of the smaller bombs. Everything in the place had been left as it was until the police magistrate could make his examination and report. We climbed to the first floor and I shall never forget the horrible sight that awaited us. A poor policeman and his wife had been blown to fragments, and the pieces were all over the walls and ceiling. Blood was everywhere. Other details are too terrible even to think of. I could not stand any more than this one room. There were others which Inglebleek wanted to show me, but I could not think of it. And this was only one of a number of houses where peaceful men and women had been so brutally killed while they slept.

And where is the military advantage? If the bombs were dropped near the fortifications it would be easy to understand, but in this instance it is hard to explain upon any ground except the hope of terrifying the population to the point where they will demand that the Government surrender the town and the fortifications. Judging from the temper they were in yesterday at Antwerp they are more likely to demand that the place be held at all costs rather than risk falling under the rule of a conqueror brutal enough to murder innocent people in their beds.

The Prime Minister told me that he had four sons in the army—all the children he has—and that he was prepared to give every one of them and his own life and fortune into the bargain, but that he was *not* prepared—and here he banged his fist down on the table and his eyes flashed—to admit for a minute the possibility of yielding to Germany. Everybody else is in the same state of mind. It is not hysterical. The war has been going on long enough and they have had so many hard blows that the glamor and fictitious attractiveness of the thing has gone and they have settled down in deadly earnest to fight to the bitter end. There may not be one stone left upon another in Belgium when the Germans get through, but if these people keep up to their present level they will come through—what there is left of them—free.

Later in the afternoon I went to the Foreign Office and let them read me the records of the commission that is investigating the alleged German atrocities. They are working in a calm and sane way and seem to be making the most earnest attempt to get at the true facts, no matter whether they prove or disprove the charges that have been made. It is wonderful to see the judicial way they can sit down in the midst of war and carnage and try to make a fair inquiry on a matter of this sort. If one one thousandth part of the charges are proven to be true . . .

The rest of the afternoon was spent seeing people who came in for news of Brussels and who had messages to send home. I had had to tell the hotel people that I would be there from four to seven to see people and that the rest of the time I must have free for my own work. They came in swarms, all the diplomats, the Cabinet Ministers, and the Ministers of State, army officers, and other officials—a perfect mob. I had a package of cards on which I noted names and addresses and the messages which were to be delivered. These messages have been sent out to-day after being submitted to the military authorities, some of them in writing and some by word of mouth, and if they have afforded one tenth the comfort that I hope, the sum total of misery in this town has been reduced a good deal this day.

Colonel Fairholme left for the front with the King early in the morning and was with him during the battle at Malines. He thought we were going back during the day, as I had told him the evening before. About noon he called up from the telephone and told Sir Francis that under no circumstances was I to be allowed to start, as the town was being bombarded with heavy siege pieces and all traffic was absolutely stopped; that we could not only not get by but that any part of the trip

by the regular road was extremely dangerous. I was just as glad that we had decided to stay over. The Colonel stayed out all that night and had not returned to Antwerp when we left yesterday. During the morning he called up again and asked about us, again advising against our starting. Pretty decent of a man who had as much to think of as he had to be worrying about us enough to telephone us as to the dangers of the road.

To make sure of offering no unnecessary chances for Mr. Zeppelin, the authorities had ordered all the lights on the streets put out at eight o'clock. It was dark as midnight and there was no use in thinking of venturing out into the town. The Cathedral clock was stopped and the carillon turned off for the first time in Heaven only knows how many years. It was a city of the dead. Guns were posted in the streets ready for instant use in case the airship should put in another appearance. As a result of this and the searchlights that played upon the sky all night, our friend the enemy did not appear. Some people know when they have had enough.

Yesterday morning I looked out of my window at the Cathedral clock and saw that it was twenty-five minutes to ten. I tumbled through my tub and rushed downstairs to get through my morning's work, only to find that it was half past six. I had forgotten that the Cathedral clock had been stopped.

It was just as well that I was up early, however, for there was plenty to be done. I found a lot of telegrams waiting for me at the Consulate and had to get off another string of them. Then an orderly held me up on the street to tell me that the King's Secretary was hunting for me all over the place and that I was wanted at the Palace. When I got there he had started off on another hunt for me. He finally got me at the hotel and kept me for half an hour.

By the time that I got through with him there was word that the Minister for Foreign Affairs wanted to see me, so I made a bee-line over there; then there was another call to the Consulate to answer some more telegrams. After attending to various matters at the Palace, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Consulate-General, and seeing a few more people at the hotel, the morning was gone and it was time for lunch and a quick get-away.

All hands came out and bade us farewell. You would have thought we were on our way to Heaven except for the fact that they urged us to come back.

As we could hear the cannonading we decided that we would avoid the Malines road and would try to skirt round the zone of trouble and work our way into Brussels from the west. We got ferried across the Scheldt on a terrible tub of a steamer that looked as though she would go down under the weight of the military automobiles that she had to get across so that they could get ammunition to the front. We all got away in a bunch from the other side, but we drew ahead of them, as we had not such a heavy load, and within three quarters of an hour we were outside the Belgian lines. Van der Elst had secured for us a most imposing *laisser-passer*, which took us through with practically no trouble except that it was so imposing that we were held at each barricade while all the men on duty took turns reading it. The only ticklish part of the trip to the Belgian outposts was working our way through the villages which had been mined in anticipation of a German invasion. It is bad enough working one's way through them in a motor with everybody helping you to keep out of harm's way, but it must be a trifle worse to do it in a mass with a man on a hill a little way off waiting for you to come up to the signal post so that he can touch a button and send you in small pieces into the next world.

We struck out through St. Nicholas, Hamme, Termonde, and Assche, and got into Brussels from the west without mishap. We have got quite used to having people poke bayonets in our faces and brandish revolvers at us, so the latter part of the trip with only that to contend with seemed quiet and almost boring.

On the road in from Assche, we passed near Eppeghem and Vilvorde, where the fighting had been going on for a couple of days. After news had been received in Antwerp of the defeat of the French and English at Mons and Charleroi, the Belgians had been ordered to fall back on Antwerp and had left these little villages to be occupied by the Germans. As they occupied them they had set them afire and the flames were raging as we came by. They were quaint little towns and had excited our admiration two days before when we had gone through—despite the fact that we had other things on our minds besides admiring the beauties of architecture. Now they are gone.

The Germans gave us no trouble, and we got back to the Legation by a little before five.

All hands poured out to meet us and greeted us as prodigal sons. When we had not come back the day before they had about made up their minds that something dreadful had happened to us, and the rejoicing over our return was consequently much greater than if we had not whetted their imaginations just a little.

I found that the situation in Brussels had undergone big changes while I was away. General von Jarotzky had been replaced by General von Lütwitz, who is an administrator and has been sent to put things in running order again. There was no inkling of this change when I left and I was a good deal surprised. Guns have been placed at various strategic points commanding the town, and the Germans are ready for anything.

Some of the subordinate officers have since told us that Von Jarotzky was a fighting general and had no business staying in a post requiring administrative ability. The new man is cut out particularly for this sort of work and is going to start a regular German administration. Functionaries are being brought from Berlin to take things over, and in a short time we shall to all intents and purposes be living in a German city. The first trains ran to-day in a halting fashion to Liège and the German frontier. Perhaps we shall have a newspaper.

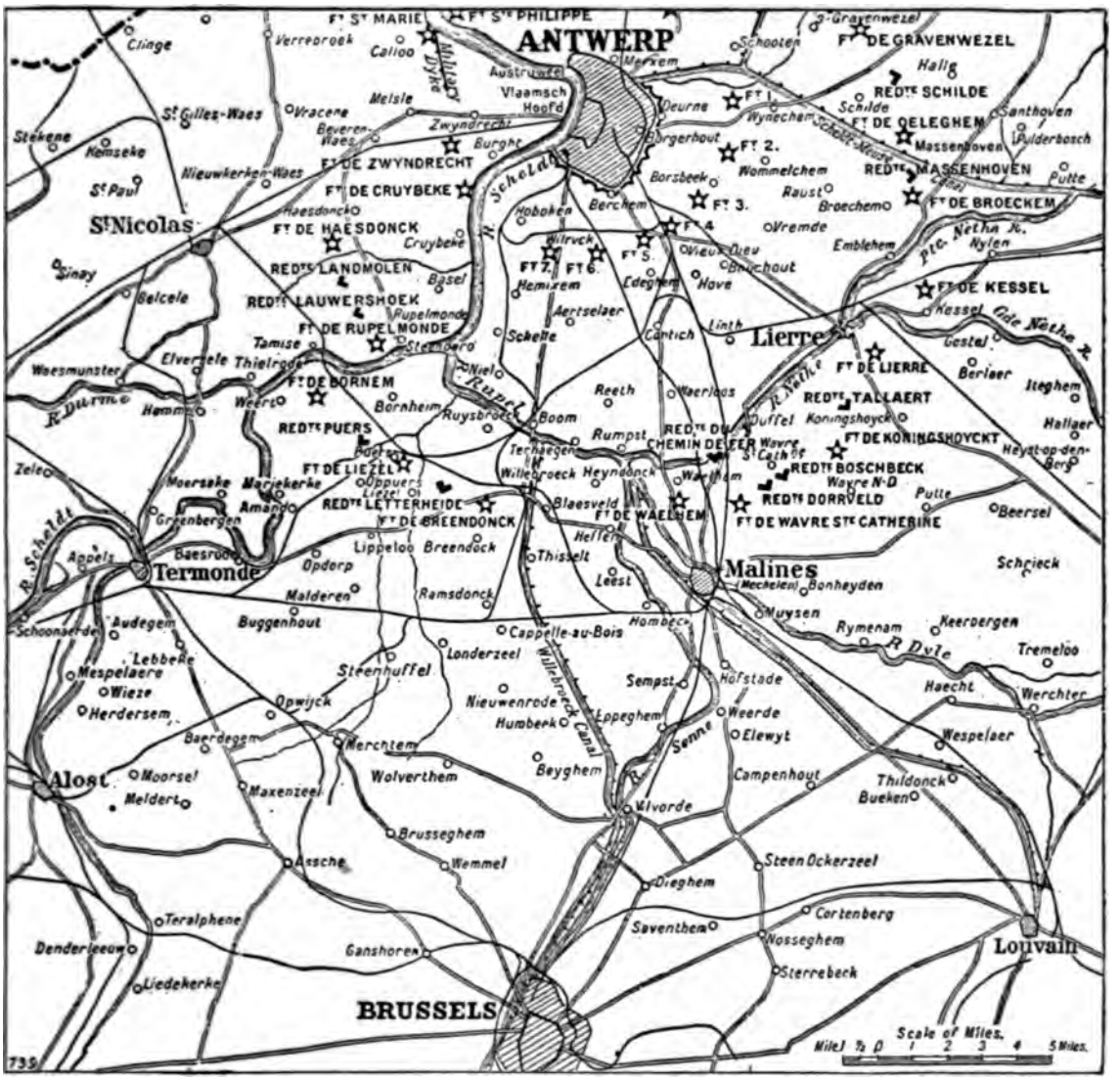
Davis* got back yesterday from his trip to the front, and we learned that he had been through a perfectly good experience that will look well when he comes to writing it up, but one that gave him little satisfaction while it was in process. He started off to follow the German army in the hope of locating the English. After leaving Hal, some bright young German officer decided that he was a suspicious looking character and ought to be shot as an English spy. As a preliminary they arrested him and locked him up. Then the war was called off while the jury sat on his case. One of the officers thought it would be a superfluous effort to go through the forms of trying him, but that they should shoot him without further to-do. They began considering his case at eleven in the morning and kept it up until midnight. He was given pretty clearly to understand that his chances were slim and that the usual fate of spies awaited him. He argued at length, and apparently his arguments had some effect, for at three o'clock in the morning he was routed out and told to hit the road toward Brussels. He was ordered to keep religiously to the main road all the way back on pain of being shot on sight, and to report at headquarters here immediately on his arrival. By this time he was perfectly willing to do exactly what was demanded by those in authority and made a bee-line back here on foot. He turned up at the Legation yesterday morning footsore and weary and looking like a tramp, and told his story to an admiring audience. I was still away on my little jaunt and did not get it at first hand. The Minister took him down to call on the General and got them to understand that R. H. D. was not an English spy but on the contrary probably the greatest writer that ever lived, not

*Editors' Note.—*The late Richard Harding Davis, in his book, "With the Allies," makes the following interesting comments upon Mr. Gibson:*

"Hugh Gibson, secretary of the American Legation, was the first person in an official position to visit Antwerp after the Belgian Government moved to that city, and, even with his passes and flag flying from his automobile, he reached Antwerp and returned to Brussels only after many delays and adventures. Not knowing the Belgians were advancing from the north, Gibson and his American flag were several times under fire, and on the days he chose for his excursion his route led him past burning towns and dead and wounded and between the lines of both forces actively engaged." . . .

"Gibson is one of the few men who, after years in the diplomatic service, refuses to take himself seriously. He is always smiling, cheerful, always amusing, but when the dignity of his official position is threatened he can be serious enough. When he was chargé d'affaires in Havana a young Cuban journalist assaulted him. That journalist is still in jail. In Brussels a German officer tried to blue-pencil a cable Gibson was sending to the State Department. Those who witnessed the incident say it was like a buzz-saw cutting soft pine."

"Gibson saw more of actual warfare than did any or all of our twenty-eight military men in Paris. It was his duty to pass frequently through the firing lines on his way to Antwerp and London. He was constantly under fire. Three times his automobile was hit by bullets. These trips were so hazardous that Whitlock urged that he should not take them.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Ft DE BORNEM
Ft DE LIEZEL
Ft DE BREENDONCK
Ft DE WAELHEM
Ft DE WAVRE Ste CATHERINE
Ft DE LIERRE
Ft DE KONINGSHOYCKT
Ft DE KESSEL
Ft DE BROECKEM
Ft DE OELEGHEM
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Ft DE SCHILDE
Ft DE TALLAERT
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Ft DE HEYNDONCK
Ft DE BLAESVELD
Ft DE HELLEN
Ft DE THISSELT
Ft DE LEEST
Ft DE HOFSTADE
Ft DE SEMPST
Ft DE LOPPEGHEM
Ft DE WEERDE
Ft DE ELEWYT
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Ft DE GANSHOREN
Ft DE WEMMEL
Ft DE ASSCHE
Ft DE BRUSSEGHEM
Ft DE WOLVERTHEM
Ft DE MERCHTEM
Ft DE BEYGHEM
Ft DE OPWIJCK
Ft DE NIEUWENRODE
Ft DE HUMBEEK
Ft DE LONDERZEEL
Ft DE CAPPELLE-AU-BOIS
Ft DE HAMBEEK
Ft DE RAMSDONCK
Ft DE MALDEREN
Ft DE LIPPELOO
Ft DE BREENDOCK
Ft DE OPDORP
Ft DE BAESRODE
Ft DE GREENBERGEN
Ft DE AMAN
Ft DE MOERSEKE
Ft DE MARIEKERKE
Ft DE OPPUERS
Ft DE LIERDE
Ft DE STEENHUFFEL
Ft DE BUGGENHOUT
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Ft DE SCHOONSEIDE
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Ft DE WESPELAER
Ft DE THILDONCK
Ft DE BUEKEN
Ft DE SCHRIECK
Ft DE BEERSEL
Ft DE TREMELOO
Ft DE KEERBERGEN
Ft DE RYMENAM
Ft DE MUYSEN
Ft DE BONHEYDEN
Ft DE MALINES
Ft DE TERMONDE
Ft DE ALOST
Ft DE LOUVAIN
Ft DE BRUSSELS
Ft DE ST NICOLAS
Ft DE ST PAUL
Ft DE ST GILLES-WAES
Ft DE STEKENE
Ft DE KEMSEKE
Ft DE SINAY
Ft DE BELCELE
Ft DE WAESMUNSTER
Ft DE ELVERGELE
Ft DE THIELRODE
Ft DE HEMMEN
Ft DE WEERT
Ft DE NIEL
Ft DE SCHELLE
Ft DE TAMISE
Ft DE STEENBERG
Ft DE RUPELMONDE
Ft DE BASEL
Ft DE AERTSELAER
Ft DE VRACENE
Ft DE BEVEREN-WAES
Ft DE BURGHT
Ft DE NIEUWKERKEN-WAES
Ft DE HAESDONCK
Ft DE CRUYBEKE
Ft DE MELSLE
Ft DE VLAAMSCH HOOFD
Ft DE AUSTRUWEEL
Ft DE CALLOO
Ft DE VERREBROEK
Ft DE CLINGE
Ft DE SCHOOTEN
Ft DE HALIG
Ft DE SANTHOVEN
Ft DE PULDERBOSCH
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Ft DE GESTEL
Ft DE BERLAER
Ft DE ITEGHEM
Ft DE HALLAER
Ft DE HEYSTOP-DEN-BERG
Ft DE PUTTE
Ft DE WAVRE
Ft DE WAVRE N-D
Ft DE WAVRE Ste CATHERINE
Ft DE LIERRE
Ft DE LIERRE
Ft DE LIERR

THE VOSGES SECTOR

The Eastern End of the Battle Front in France, Where the French Made Their Offensive into German Territory in the First Weeks of the War and Where They Have Held the Line Without Yielding for Three Years

[The following maps and photographs complete the series covering the western front, begun in the WORLD'S WORK for September.]

© International Film Service

I. OUR SOLDIERS IN PARIS

Marching to the railroad station on July 5th to leave for the training camp where they have been receiving their final instruction in trench fighting

© Paul Thompson

II. OUR SOLDIERS IN PARIS

Parading in the court of the Invalides, where the remains of Napoleon lie. These men are regulars and among the first of our troops to reach France

Photograph by courtesy of *L'Illustration*

IN THE RUGGED VOSGES MOUNTAINS

Trench warfare prevails here as well as on the flats of Flanders and in the rolling hills of North France, but it is complicated by steeper slopes and greater heights and by the dense forests that cover the ridges

Photograph by courtesy of *L'Illustration*

GERBÉVILLER, AS SEEN FROM AN AIRPLANE

Near the frontier of Alsace and Lorraine, which it is the dearest hope of the French to regain after their long exile as German crown provinces since the War of 1870

Photograph by courtesy of *L'Illustration*

BOMBARDING A VALLEY IN THE VOSGES

These heights, which in earlier wars were a great obstacle to artillery fire, have lost much of their value as hiding places for batteries since airplanes made all landscapes level for aërial observers

Photograph by courtesy of *L'Illustration*

HARTMANNSWEILERKOPF

Here the French distinguished themselves in the summer campaign of 1915, when they took this difficult position from the Germans

Photograph by courtesy of *L'Illustration*

THE VOSGES MOUNTAINS IN WINTER

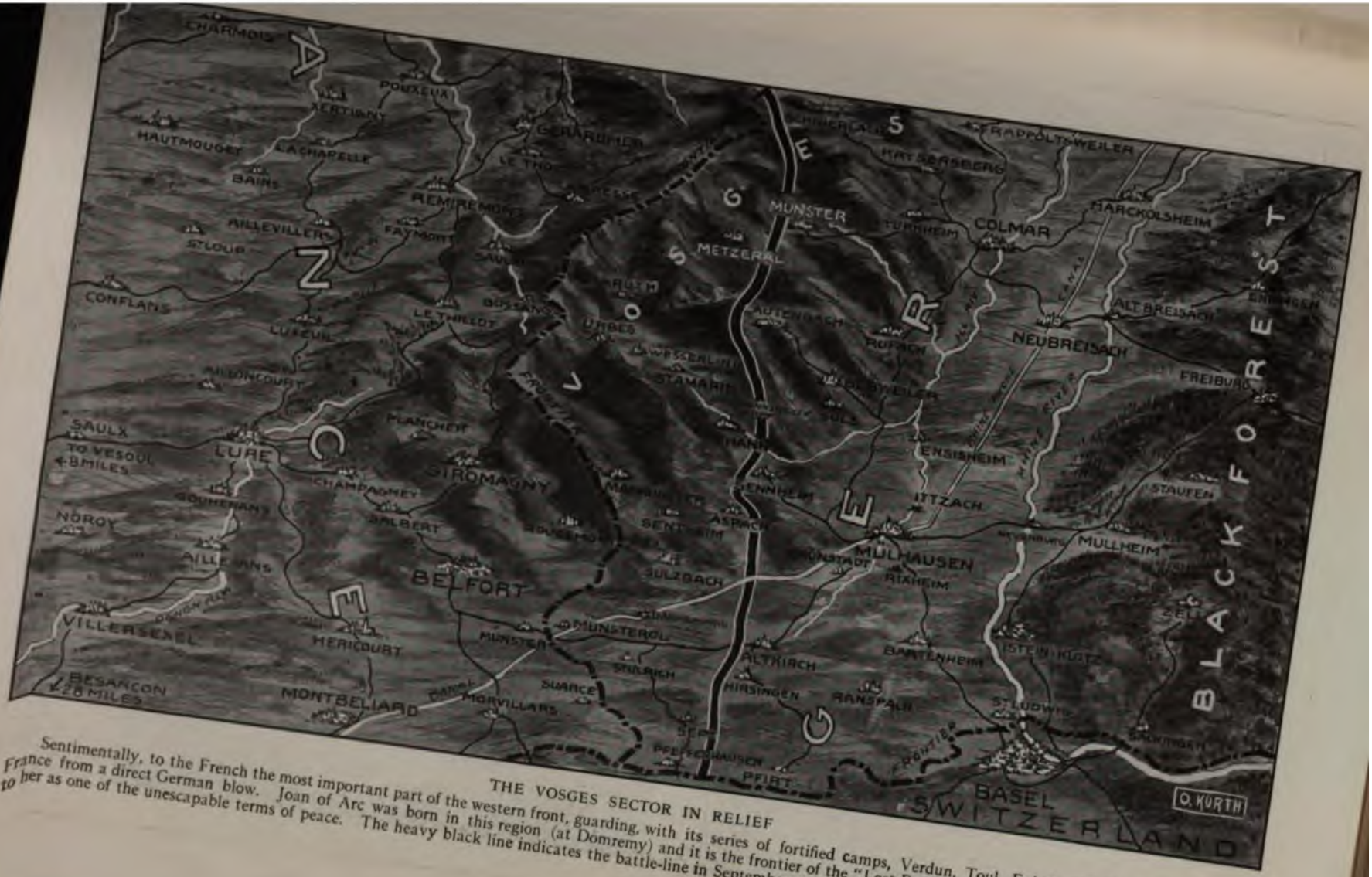
In this sector the troops experience the lowest temperatures of any part of the western front, though the climate is more healthful than the climate of Flanders

Photograph by courtesy of *L'Illustration*

WHERE FRENCH TROOPS HOLD "GERMAN" SOIL

A village in the southern part of Alsace, where the French have regained a narrow strip of their own territory that had been in German hands since 1870—from Markirch to the northern boundary of Switzerland

BELGIUM
LUXEMBURG
FRONTIER
MEZIERES
SEDAN
MONTMEDY
LONGWY
THIONVILLE
(DIEDENHOFEN)
TRIER
ZWEIBRUCKEN
LANDAU
ETAIN
VERDUN
VIONVILLE
METZ
STAYDLD
FALKENBERG
SAARBRÜCKEN
ZWEIBRUCKEN
PIRMASENS
BITSCH
WEISSENBURG
TRAUCOURT
ST MIHIEL
REMILLY
PAGNY
NOMENY
BENDORF
SAARGEMUND
INGWEILLER
CHATEAU SALINS
PEALZBURG
HAGENAU
BAR LE DUC
15 MILES
COMMERCY
PONT-A-MOUSSON
DIEUZE
SAARBURG
ZABERN
BRUMATH
TOUL
FRONTIER
PIXINGEN
HEMING
MAROON
NANCY
BLAMONT
WASSELNHEIM
STRASSBURG
ST PAGNY
LUNEVILLE
CIREY
DONON
MOLSHEIM
BLAINVILLE
BADONVILLER
GERBEVILLER
RAON
SCHIRMECK
ROSHEIM
DOMREMY
HARQUE
BAYON
VILLACOURT
BACCARAT
SAALES
ERSTEIN
COUSSEY
SENONES
BARR
NEUFCHATEAU
WEILER
BENFELDEN
CHARMES
RAMBERVILLERS
MIRECOURT
LEBERAU
ST DIE
MARKIRCH
TNAON
BRUYERES
BULGNEVILLE
EPINAL
ST LEONARD
ST PILT
SCHLETTSTADT



THE VOSGES SECTOR IN RELIEF

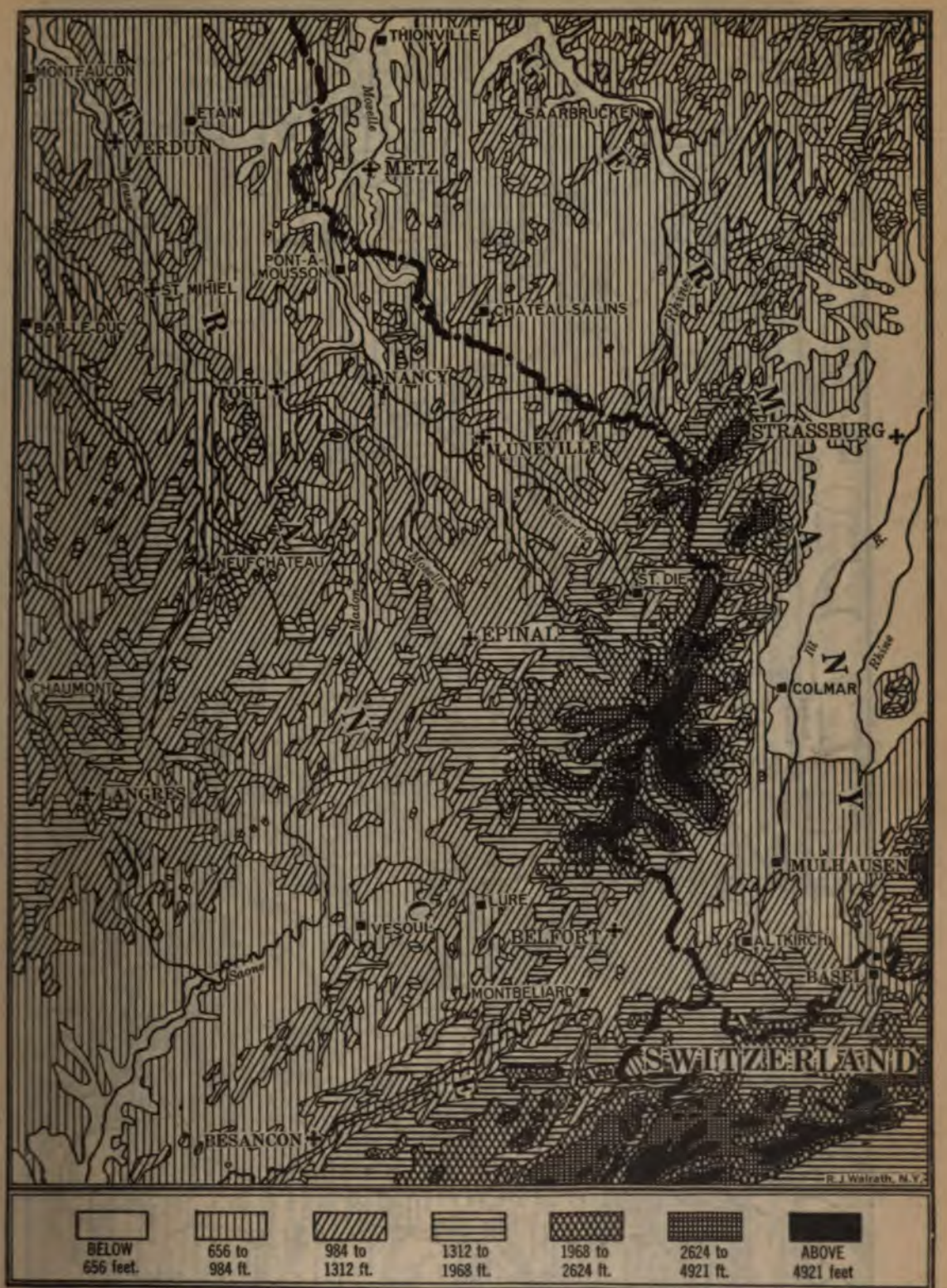
Sentimentally, to the French the most important part of the western front, guarding, with its series of fortified camps, Verdun, Toul, Epinal, and Belfort, the body of France from a direct German blow. Joan of Arc was born in this region (at Domremy) and it is the frontier of the "Lost Provinces" which France insists must be restored to her as one of the unescapable terms of peace. The heavy black line indicates the battle-line in September, 1917

I. OUR SOLDIERS STUDYING THE TRENCH GRENADE IN FRANCE
Receiving instruction from French officers in the art of throwing it by hand

© Underwood & Underwood

II. OUR SOLDIERS STUDYING THE TRENCH GRENADE IN FRANCE

French officers exhibiting a grenade gun in action for the instruction of our regulars. The American troops sent to France have received their final training from officers of the Chasseurs Alpins, who are the soldiers that have held the French line in the Vosges since the beginning of the war



CONTOUR MAP OF THE VOSGES SECTOR

Because of the general ruggedness of the country as it approaches the foothills of the Alps in Switzerland, its defense presents less difficulties and involves fewer men and artillery than perhaps any other sector of the western front.

Saarburg
Merzig
Birkenfeld
KAISERSLAUTERN
Saarlouis
Zweibrücken
Pirmasens
Sarreguemines
Hagenau
Bar le Duc
Commercy
Lunéville
STRASSBURG
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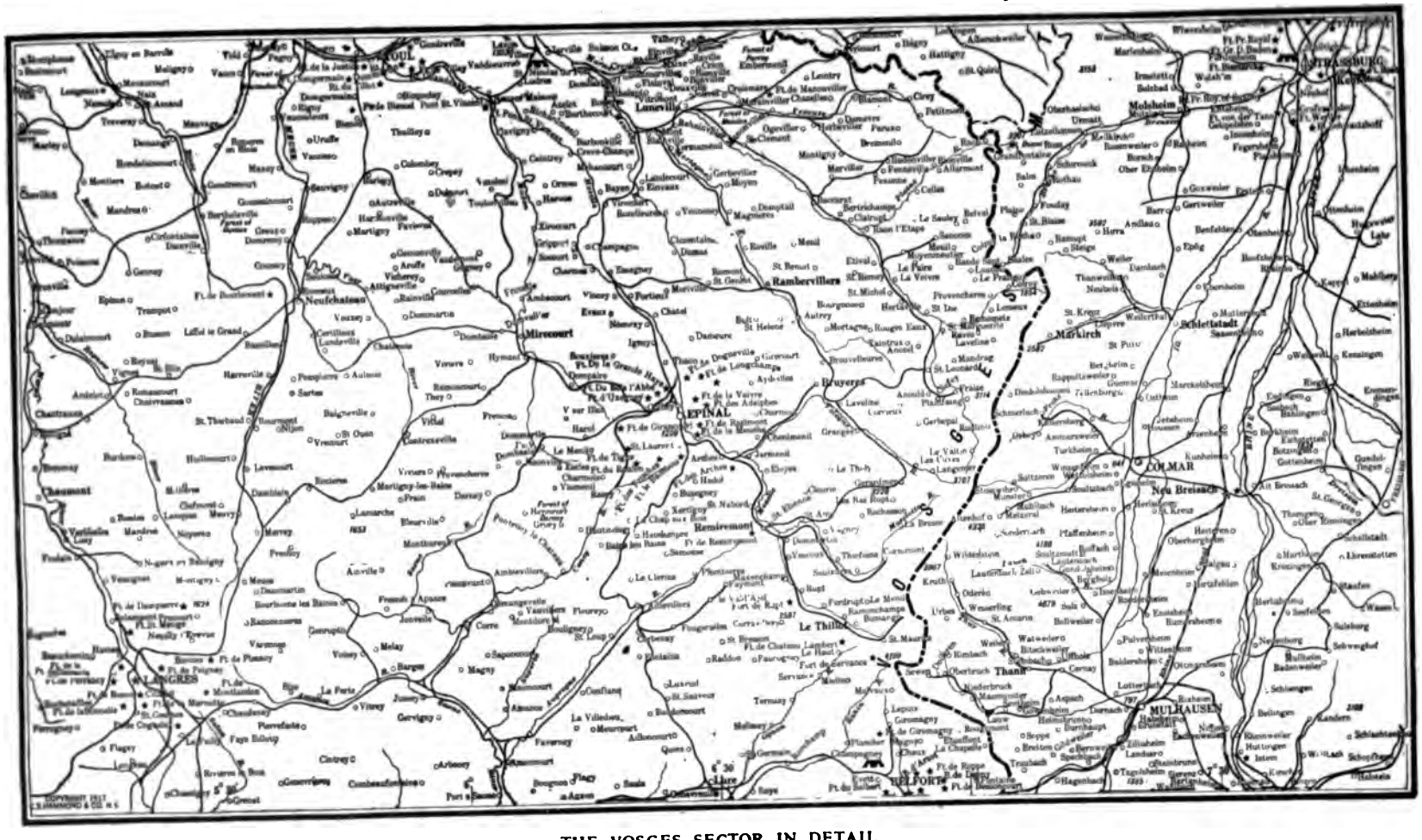

THE VOSGES SECTOR IN DETAIL

The easternmost end of the Western front, which was the scene of some of the most severe fighting in the first months of the war, now held by relatively few men on either side but still a vital link in the chain of the Allied defense

FEEDING BELGIUM VIA CANALS

How an Organization of Young Men From the United States, Created by the Relief Commission, Worked Out the Traffic Arrangements on Water That Put American Wheat into Belgian Towns When It Was Needed

BY

VERNON KELLOGG

(Of the Belgian Relief Commission)

WHEN the New York and London offices of the Commission had purchased the supplies and seen to their transportation overseas, and the Rotterdam office had received and transshipped them into canal boats or railway cars, and started them on their way to Belgium and North France, they were thereafter in charge of that part of the Commission organization which was within the German-occupied territory. Everything that was later done by the Commission with the food and clothing was done by that part of it working in Belgium, and it was done under formal and informal agreements and arrangements with the German authorities in control of Belgium. The more formal of these agreements have already been explained.

But also all that was done inside of Belgium was done in agreement and close coöperation with the extensive and highly developed volunteer Belgian relief organization, composed at bottom of the (approximately) three thousand communal committees, then, above them, the regional committees representing groups of communes, then, still over these, the provincial committees, one for each province in the country, and finally, at top, the Belgian national committee.

To define, as well as might be defined in words, the special functions and position of each of the two parts of the combined relief organization, and the general relations to be maintained between them, various formulations of agreement have been drafted from time to time. The first written-out general scheme of organization bears date of December, 1914. Before that, of course, had come the all-important meeting in London, in October, 1914, between Mr. Hoover and M. Francqui, the organizing and directing heads of the two groups, at which a general agreement as to fundamentals was reached.

The last general agreement was written out in December, 1916, and was drawn up in the light of all the experience of two years of work. It was intended to do away with any possible future misunderstandings concerning any phase of the relations of the two groups, and was drafted and signed as a formal agreement between the directing heads.

In any complete history of the Commission's work these agreements with our Belgian coworkers must be fully given. No space for that is possible here. But certain essential points of the arrangements must be given in order that the important and delicate position of the Americans working in Belgium can be in some measure understood.

I quote from the "general scheme" of December, 1914, which was drafted chiefly to point out the position of the Commission's provincial representatives:

> As the *Comité National* will control its work through ten sub-committees, or *Comités Provinciaux*, each covering a province of Belgium [one province, Brabant, is subdivided for purposes of food administration into two, one being Greater Brussels, and the other all of Brabant province outside of Brussels] and each having its own president and working organization, the Commission for Relief in Belgium proposes to station an authorized delegate (with one or more assistants) in each province, at the point where the principal office of the *Comité Provincial*, with its president, is located. The *Comité National* will also station a delegate or two delegates, as the case may require, at the same office, who will represent the central organization at Brussels.
>
> The head delegate of the C. R. B., the delegate of the C. N., and the president of the C. P. will form the three principals for the affairs of the relief work in the province.
>
> But as it has been clearly stipulated that the grain or other merchandise introduced into Belgium by the C. R. B. is under the responsibility of their Excellencies the Ministers of the United States and of Spain, who are the protectors of the Commission, it

is essential that the merchandise remain the property of the C. R. B. until the same is distributed to the communes. . . . Therefore, in spite of the fact that the merchandise may be entrusted for handling to the Provincial Committee . . . the delegate of the C. R. B. is still responsible for its safety until it is delivered to the communes.

The various provincial delegates of the Commission were responsible for the protection of the supplies from possible German seizure, for seeing that all plans proposed by the Provincial Committee in no way contravened the general principles and plans of the Commission regarding fair distribution; they visèd all directions of the Provincial Committee as to milling, storage, distribution, etc.; they checked up all shipments coming into their provinces to see that they corresponded as to weight, quantity, and character with the advices from Rotterdam; kept the Brussels office informed constantly and in utmost detail of all receipts, movements and distribution of supplies in each province; they took regular monthly inventories of all stocks on hand, made representation of all general and special needs of each region and people, saw to an efficient inspection and control of the use and abuse of the food, even to the degree if necessary of using their power of absolute prohibition of movement of the food stocks under their control to correct abuses.

As a matter of fact, the Commission province-delegate acted as no tyrant; he cooperated rather, in all ways with the well-organized devoted, and hard working provincial regional and communal Belgian committees struggled for them and for the people generally with the German authorities and came to be the loyal and energetic protector and helper of all in his province.

MEN OF A MILLION DUTIES

These are the bald and meagre statements of the responsibility, duties and activities of the American *helpful* in Belgium. But no statement could ever be drafted that would set out in full what really were their responsibilities and duties, what their work and behavior were to be, what delicacies of situation were to be met, what discretion was to be exercised, what kind of extraordinary experience all—whether they were to meet and meet acceptably for the sake of the maintenance of the lives of Belgian men, women and children, and the honor of American humanitarian achievement.

Let us turn our attention to some details of the work, to some of its difficulties, and some of its successes and satisfactions. But, first, just a few things concerning the personnel of the Commission.

Who were these young—and few older—Americans? How were they selected? What did their personality mean to the Belgians, and what did Belgium mean to them? The answers to these questions should some day be told by a man of vision, dramatic instinct, sense of humor and well-trained hand—another Richard Harding Davis. They could be so answered by this man as to make a story to be read with fascination. But here there can be no question of a story. We must be matter-of-fact and concise.

The total roll of these men, successive resident directors, assistant directors, head delegates, assistants and all, makes a list of hardly one hundred and fifty. Other men of the Commission were as busy, did as faithful and as important work in the Rotterdam, London, and New York offices, but it was the men privileged to work inside of Belgium and North France who had the personal experiences they can tell to their wondering children in future years; who lived something that already seems almost unreal, almost impossible.

WHO THE DELEGUÉS WERE

The few older men of the Commission, from among whom most of the directors and executive officers of the New York, London, Brussels and Rotterdam offices were drawn, although some took their places among the younger men as province delegates, were successful engineers—Mr. Hoover drew his volunteers first of all from his engineer friends—half a dozen college professors, a lawyer of large practice, a clergyman of practical turn of mind, a well-known explorer and sportsman, a dietetic expert, an architect of high repute, a magazine editor, a famous forester, a stock broker, a consul, an expert in children's diseases—altogether a whole medley!

But the majority of the men, especially those who served in Belgium and North France, were young men representatives of an American type. They came from forty-five different American colleges and universities, more from Princeton than any other one. Twenty of them had been selected by their colleges and their states to be Rhodes Scholars in Oxford University. These twenty had

been thus already selected on a basis of youthful scholarship, energy, general capacity, and good-fellowship. They had not, however, been selected on a basis of experience in business or —least of all—relief work. And the rest of the one hundred and fifty were selected by us on about the same general grounds, adding the more special one of a usable, or buddingly usable, knowledge of the French language. Several could read German, a few speak it. That was also useful. But the Commission asked primarily for intelligence, character, youthful vigor, and enthusiasm, rather than specific attainments or experience.

CURTIS AND THE GERMANS

Two things most of these men had that I have not mentioned. But they were two important things, namely, idealism and a sense of humor; a supporting idealism, and a saving sense of humor. Curtis, the first of our Brussels-Holland couriers, had to have these qualities to stand his seventeen arrests by German sentries, and Warren his three days in a military prison at Antwerp, and yet keep unconcernedly on with their work. Curtis's sense of humor was fortunately well matched by a German's—a single German's—when the young American, a little annoyed by an unusual number of stoppings on the road one day, handed his pass to the tenth man who demanded it, with a swift, highly uncomplimentary personal allusion to his tormentor, in pure Americanese. The sentry handed it back with a dry, "Much obliged, the same to you." He was probably a formerly-of-Chicago reservist who knew the argot.

Later, to save much fumbling in pockets, many of our men carried their passes spread out in leather frames with transparent celluloid covers, suspended by a strap around the neck. For this they earned the name of "*Les Aveugles*" among the Belgians.

In the early days of the work, when matters went with some irregularity and the German petty rigidities made more irritation than they did when we had become more hardened to them, the American delegate at Liége is said to have written his confrère at Namur as follows:

DEAR DELEGATE:

I started three canal-boats last week for Namur. I thought it safer to send three in order that one should finally reach you. The "*Attends Je Viens*" has already been stopped—the towing horse had no passport. I hear that the "*Marchons Toujours*" is also not likely to get through, as the skipper's wife has given birth to a baby *en voyage* whose photo is, naturally, not on the passport. Betting is strong, however, on the "*Laisse-Moi-Tranquille.*" Be sure to take up the bottom planks when she arrives, as I understand Rotterdam thinks she may be carrying contraband.

But not all the humor came from the Americans—though perhaps all the conscious jesting did. How is this contribution from the German side? The military commander of the village of Marchiennes sent this telegram to a superior:

(Translation)

August 28, 1915.

Flora Roch, age 20, of Boevry, hair fair, eyes blue, nose and mouth ordinary, has till now supplied Marchiennes district with yeast, indispensable for baking but not obtainable in district; the Etappen-Kommandatur requests permission for Flora Roch to continue supplying this Etappen district with yeast from Tournai in Belgium.

(s) ET. DKTR. MARCHIENNES.

On the back of the telegram was this endorsement by the superior officer:

(Translation)

According to determined rules of June 9, 1915 between A O K 6 and the Gen. Government—Section 1b 4317—the request of the Etappen-Inspection Marchiennes seems legitimate.

But mostly the humor was only the flash of bright moments in days that had much darkness in them. The stern necessities of the work and the distressing scenes of the soup-lines and cantines filled most of the hours, and gave most of the color to the days and weeks and months that seemed always to be leading, but never quite coming up to, the peace and end of it all that we persisted in seeing just ahead. If it had not been for this confidence in the near coming of peace, shared by Americans and Belgians alike, a confidence curiously persistent despite the constant passing of the successive dates set by us for the peace-coming, I doubt that we could have carried on. The difficulties of a permanent maintenance of the relief seemed every now and then quite too serious to be overcome—but we could always make shift to go along for a few weeks or months longer, that is, until peace came.

THE HOME-COMING OF THE DELEGUÉS

The spirits of the American group could always rebound from the effect of each disap-

pointment. One thing that helped was the activity and movement demanded of the delegates by the nature of their work. Only the few of us who were kept close to the central office in Brussels felt the depression of physical inaction. Our relief came from the constant coming in from the provinces of the busy and excited delegates with reports of new troubles or new successes.

Sometimes one or more of the men would not be allowed by the German military authorities to come in to Brussels for some time; the delegate stationed at St. Quentin was once held for seven weeks, during a time of active military operations along the front of his district. The men, especially those from North France, often had exciting tales to tell of their proximity to shell fire or bursting bombs from raiding French and English fliers which, instead of discouraging other young men from any desire to work in North France—as they might have discouraged older ones—only increased the list of candidates for the North France positions!

As for details of the work itself, they crowd forward for recognition. How begin? How choose among the many phases of the work the few that may be touched on? For choose one must. Perhaps the matter of internal transport and distribution comes properly first in order. For the food had certainly first to be carried to all parts of the country before it could be given out to the people.

We already know—I have already said it several times—that when the supplies reached Rotterdam in the overseas ships, they were transshipped into canal-boats and railroad cars and sent on through Holland into Belgium and Northern France. Nothing easier to say, but perhaps nothing harder to do in all the Commission's undertaking. Seven thousand canal-boat and several thousand railroad-car loads of food and clothing—altogether nearly three million tons; an average of almost one hundred thousand tons a month for two and a half years—to be moved distances varying from eighty-five to two hundred and twenty-five miles, through a country disorganized and impotent as regards the desire of its own people to help, and very much over-organized and brutally potent as regards the attitude and control of the invaders, who seemed stupidly antagonistic, even when they pretended to be willing to help. And all these boats and cars with their life-saving loads to be moved on time. Tons of wheat and beans and bacon are perfectly useless to people just dead of starvation.

TEN COMMANDMENTS IN ONE

The Ten Commandments for the American Commission and the Belgian National Committee were all concentrated in one: Feed the People Regularly, no matter the cost in energy, in compromise, in money; no matter the difficulty or the sore discouragement; keep the food coming in; keep it going to the mouths of all. That the Commission managed to obey its Ten Commandments in one, the fact that no commune of all the 5,000 in the Belgian and French occupied territory missed for a single day its ration of bread, from the time the Americans came in until they went out, is the sufficient evidence.

But I want to point out a few details of the difficulties under which the Commission labored, and the methods used by it, in solving a single one of its problems, namely, that of internal transportation, which was the basic problem in all the work after the supplies had once reached Rotterdam.

In doing this I avail myself of certain notes recently prepared by Mr. Prentiss Gray, for nine months assistant director of the Commission in Brussels, and director for that last strenuous month of April of this year after America had declared war, and all but a small group, left to close up accounts and turn over affairs to the Spanish and Dutch neutrals who succeeded us in Belgium, had gone out. Mr. Gray had a large share in the successful maintenance of the transport system during the whole time of his service.

First is to be remembered the complete paralysis of all means of transport in Belgium immediately following the occupation by the German arms. A large number of Belgian canal-boats had been requisitioned by the Germans. Another large number had fled the country before the advancing armies had overrun the whole of it, and all these, until some agreement of future non-requisition had been reached, steadfastly—and wisely—refused to return for fear of seizure. The canals in many places had been broken, locks blown up, and many barges had been sunk in the narrow waterways. Most of the rolling-stock of the Belgian railroads had been run off into France in front of the advancing German armies, and many railroad bridges destroyed. All lines of communication not rendered in-

operative were taken over by the army and restricted to military transport. All freedom of movement of the people was withdrawn; the use of telephones interdicted and most lines cut; the telegraph was limited to army use.

For months after the incoming of the invaders it was impossible to learn the actual conditions of the canal, or to keep in constant touch with the canal-boats in their progress along the few waterways that were usable and were used by the Commission in its first movement of supplies. It was not until the end of December, 1914, two months after the work began, that the Commission had been able to collect the necessary accurate data concerning the conditions of all the canals, and the width, depth, and length of all the locks. Nor was it possible for some time to get a definite understanding of the conditions of movement that the German authorities intended to impose on the canal boats and boatmen engaged by the Commission.

Finally, matters were arranged with some approach to definiteness, and an organization of the canal-boat service of a workable kind was effected.

The canal boats used were Dutch as well as Belgian and were first chartered either for single trips or for various time periods in which several trips would be made. Finally, because of constant difficulties in the matter of chartering, due principally to constant interference by the German authorities, the Commission arranged for the organization of a "ship owning department," which, although essentially a Belgian organization in connection with the Provincial Committee of Antwerp, acted as the agent of the Commission in purchasing, time-chartering, and managing canal boats and tugs. This arrangement, put through only after overcoming much opposition from the German authorities and suffering heart-breaking delays and interference on their part, resulted in giving us a fleet of 500 canal-boats and 35 tugs under our own control.

HOW THE WHEAT WAS PASSED ALONG

The work of internal transport followed—when it went according to programme—the following general course.

On the receipt of advices from the Commission's New York or London office that a ship had sailed with a given cargo, the Rotterdam office immediately made out a division list of the cargo in accordance with the needs of the various Belgian provinces. These needs, co stantly compiled in Brussels, were as constant made known in Rotterdam, and served basis for the assignments of each cargo.

The canal-boat department of the Rott dam office would arrange to have sufficie boats ready for the transshipment of the ov seas cargo immediately on its arrival. T boat inspectors examined them to see th they complied with all of the regulations of t Holland customs, and to see that there was means of entering the hold of the canal bo when once it had been sealed after loadi The boat was preparing for a long trip throu a country filled with hungry Belgians—a hardly less hungry Germans—and the one surance that the cargo would arrive intact the hands of the American delegate at t point of destination was the absolute seali of the boat. Our men were not allowed to company a canal boat, but they could insp it at almost every point on its journey. Brussels a large chart indicated the positi every day of every moving canal-boat.

On arrival, then, of the overseas ship Rotterdam, the allotted canal-boats were i mediately put alongside and the rapid a often record breaking transshipment of car occurred. It was done under the eyes of Dut Customs officials and Commission inspecto who watched every phase of the work and ve fied the weighing of the cargo with great actitude.

GETTING PASSES FROM THE GERMANS

Simultaneously with the loading, the p formalities were complied with. A phot rapher made photographs of all members of t crew for the passports. The passes were different kinds, according to whether the can boats were Dutch, and hence not subject seizure in Belgium by the Germans, or B gian (except those that had escaped from B gium before a certain date, and had been cepted from seizure if they returned, a were hence known as "free boats") which w subject to seizure and for return of which Belgium after going at any time to Holla for a cargo, the Commission was responsi to the German authorities. In the event the refusal of any such boat to go back in Belgium, the Commission was to pay its f value to the Germans. To insure this pa ment the Germans compelled us to keep sum of 100,000 francs ($20,000) in their han

Each canal-boat flew a large flag marked "Commission for Relief in Belgium," and a larger canvas banner bearing the serial number of the shipment.

Thus equipped and ready for their journey, the boats were arranged in strings for towing. This towage was done chiefly by tugs under charter to the Commission. On certain canals, however, only horse or man towage was allowed, and as the Germans were constantly sweeping the country of horses, the pulling of the boats on these canals was done chiefly by men. From Rotterdam, then, the strings of boats would start over their first or main routes; via the Ghent Canal for Ghent, Bruges, Courtrai, Western Hainaut, Lille, and Valenciennes; via the Antwerp Canal for Antwerp, Brussels, Louvain, or for transshipment at these points to rail for Luxemburg and Northern France (except Lille and Valenciennes); or via the Liége Canal for Hasselt, Liége, Namur, and Eastern Hainaut. After the boats passed the Belgian border they came under the immediate control of the Brussels office, which could change their course and destinations if the exigencies of the situation inside the country demanded.

WHY SOME GIFTS WERE SOLD

During the early days of the work, gifts of food of extremely various kinds poured into Rotterdam for the Commission from America and Great Britain. This variety of food came to be a source of much trouble. It made it difficult to load the canal boats to best effect, and it was almost impossible to distribute it fairly. A single canal boat departed from Rotterdam one day with forty-eight different kinds of food. It was this difficulty of economical transport and fair distribution that led the Commission to adopt the policy, sometimes criticized by unthinking persons, of selling most of the gifts of food miscellany and luxuries to those in Belgium who could afford to buy them, and using the money for the purchase of the much more necessary staples to be given to the destitute.

The distribution of the canal-boat cargoes in Belgium and North France was determined by the Brussels office on the basis of inventories taken in the first part of each month, showing the stocks on hand and the rate of consumption in each region. The ration was not made uniform over the whole country, but varied according to the special needs of different regions. It was felt that the agricultural communities, where green vegetables and potatoes were grown and could be had, should not receive as large a quantity of imported foods as the large cities and industrial regions. The fairness of the distribution, came, indeed, to be a burning question in all the relief work.

Often, when the stocks in the provinces approached low ebb, all the earlier plans of distribution had to be cast aside and the canal boats shunted about the waterways to relieve those sections most in need of immediate help. Hardly a day passed, as a matter of fact, that some readjustment did not have to be made in the distributing situation. In various crises the possibility of issuing a bread supply in certain regions for the following week depended entirely on these swift readjustments.

KEEPING TABS ON THE HUNGRY

In order to keep in closest possible touch with the situation in every part of the country a daily sheet was kept at Brussels, showing in detail for each province the stocks on hand, rate of consumption, the date to which the province had sufficient food to last, and the last date when additional supplies should leave Rotterdam in order to arrive on time to make no break in the feeding. This statement for all the principal commodities was sent to Rotterdam weekly for their guidance in making shipments, and was followed by them as closely as possible.

The system was further complicated by a special importing programme of foodstuffs destined exclusively for the popular soup kitchens. As these "*soupes*" furnished the backbone for the system of feeding the destitute it was imperative that they should be supplied first. A careful census of all people utilizing this form of public feeding was tabulated from month to month, and the available supplies divided from Rotterdam according to a percentage table based on these records. These cargoes were specially labeled and billed and had precedence over all other shipments.

The varying conditions in the provinces and the consequent many rearrangements necessary in our "*soupes*" programme are best indicated by the fact that, while in January, 1917, 15 per cent. of the 396,023 people in the City of Antwerp were dependent on the public *soupes*, by April 15th the number had increased to 54 per cent. of the population, which required that three and one half times as much food

must be shipped to Antwerp for this special branch of the work in April as in January.

Just as Belgium's magnificent network of canals was of inestimable value to the Commission in its distribution of food supplies by canal-boat so the fact that Belgium has more miles of railroad in proportion to its area than any other country was equally helpful.

The Belgian railroads are of two types. The standard-gauge main trunk lines are owned and operated by the Government, and consequently passed over into the hands of the occupying authorities. Connecting practically every small village with the large centres are narrow-gauge steam roads that wander over the face of the level country as if they were following cattle trails. These roads are partly governmentally, partly municipally, and partly privately owned and their management was but little interfered with by the Germans until the spring of 1917, when they began to dismantle some of these roads, carrying the tracks and ties off to the front to build up the transport service behind the lines.

These narrow-gauge roads did much of the hauling for the Commission of supplies from the provincial or regional warehouses to the points of distribution, and as the main roads became more and more congested by movement of troops and army supplies, the importance of these smaller roads increased. The Dutch Government generously gave the Commission free railroad transport on all the Dutch railroads, and an agreement was reached with the German Government whereby only one half the regular tariff should be paid by us for freight inside of the occupied territory.

Each winter we had feared that the canals and rivers of Belgium might freeze and thus shut off all traffic by waterways. Such a serious freezing had not occurred for fifteen years, but, to be safe, a careful plan was worked out in advance and negotiations carried on with the Dutch and German authorities for the supply of the necessary railroad cars should this event ever come to pass.

In February, 1917, our fears were realized. Every river and canal was blocked with ice, which gradually attained a metre in thickness, and defied all efforts of our ice breakers.

Our plan called for the despatch to Rotterdam from Belgium empty, and the return loaded, of two hundred German cars per day, beginning four days after the freeze-up, and the gradual increase of this number up to three hundred cars per day. This programme was never fully lived up to because of the movement at this time by the Germans of large supplies for their armies, in anticipation of the summer offensive, but our shipments from Rotterdam reached as high as 3,000 tons per day, and by them we were able to carry on the supplying of the country without serious interruption during all the forty days that navigation was closed.

The difficulties that had to be overcome were tremendous: breaking barges out of the ice in Rotterdam harbor so that they might come alongside the loading wharfs or elevators; keeping canals open in Belgium up to the last minute so that barges en route might get to the nearest unloading ports; checking, unloading and diverting railroad cars as the needs required. All called for the hardest work imaginable, and a complete transformation overnight of the existing system based on shipments by water. All custom of the port of Rotterdam in the manner of loading cars was upset. The Dutch had never heard of loading wheat in bulk in cars, but sacking it was a slow process, and could not be tolerated. Therefore the cars were first made tight, which was a serious job, because the rolling-stock was in a badly run down condition. It kept men working day and night. Some of the gear of the elevators had to be rearranged so that the grain would run down the spouts into the cars at low tide. Basket cranes had to be rigged, and thirteen loading stations in the port of Rotterdam created.

To meet the changed conditions and permit the discharge of cars, the unloading gear of all the mills in Belgium had to be changed, and where this could not be done the wheat was ground in a central mill and the flour sent on to destination. Our transport and handling organization, which had taken more than two years to build up, was disrupted and disorganized in a day. But only for a day, for out of a maritime organization appeared in twenty-four hours a railroad organization, which daily increased its handling capacity up to 3,000 tons per day.

But no sooner was it created than we began to plan to turn it back again into the handling of canal boats and tugs, and when finally the thaw set in after six weeks of ice, and water transport was resumed again, we were prepared to pick up the canal boats where they had been frozen in, and to despatch newly loaded boats from Rotterdam.

DR. GARFIELD, FUEL ADMINISTRATOR

Lawyer, Business Man, College President, and Man of Action, Who Controls the Coal Supply of the United States for the Period of the War

BY

THOMAS R. SHIPP

IN WASHINGTON, D. C., they call him "The Coal Dictator!" but the Ohioan professor, Harry Augustus Garfield, hates the term, though he performs the task, and when he has occasion to speak of the wartime work he is so earnestly engaged in, he calls himself by the title that President Wilson conferred, "Fuel Administrator."

Congress, by a special act of August 10, 1917, handed over to the President of the United States large, almost plenary, powers over the distribution of food products and fuel. It was patent, from the first, that the President would be forced to delegate these powers to some man with expert knowledge, high executive ability, the courage of his convictions, and of undoubted patriotism. As controller of the Nation's fuel, he chose Dr. Harry A. Garfield, the son of former President Garfield.

With a strange and rather unusual admixture of business attainments, scholastic achievements, and experience as a lawyer, Dr. Garfield had long been known to President Wilson, who, in 1903, called him from a lucrative law practice in Cleveland, O., where, a member of the firm of Garfield, Garfield & Howe, he was treasurer of the Cleveland Humane Society, director and president of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce. He had been one of the organizers of the Cleveland Trust Company and was one of its directors; he was the first president of the Municipal Association; and of most of the enterprises which he was successful in launching, his firm was the attorney.

Yet when he was summoned by the President of Princeton University to take the Chair of Politics there he did not hesitate.

But even before going to Princeton, Dr. Garfield had shown an interest in the coal industry. He had been instrumental in the opening of a rich coal field in southeastern Ohio and, associated with Mr. Calvary Morris, he organized a syndicate that formed a combination between two small railroads and built thirty miles of new road to bring to market the output of the Piney Fork Coal mine.

In assuming the duties of Fuel Administrator for the United States, Dr. Garfield evidently recognized at once that there was much more to be accomplished than merely to fix, arbitrarily and equitably, the price at which bituminous and anthracite coal should be sold at the mines. That was a necessary task, but it was by no means the greatest one. He characterized the work that lay before him thus: "The task of the Fuel Administration is to secure the largest possible production of fuel at prices just to the producer and reasonable to the consumer."

It was President Wilson himself who fixed the prices of coal at the mines. Provisional prices they are, subject to reconsideration when the whole method of administering the fuel supplies of the country shall have been satisfactorily organized and put into operation. These prices run as low as $1.95 a ton, to as high as $3.25 for bituminous; and from $4.00 to as high as $5.30 for anthracite. When these prices were finally announced about the middle of August, President Wilson stated that "they are based upon the actual cost of production and are deemed to be not only fair and just, but liberal as well. Under them the industry should nowhere lack stimulation."

But, in wartime, a month may bring many changes, and Fuel Administrator Garfield has been busy arranging new schedules of prices. He is a hard worker himself and his energy and patriotic fervor have attracted to his side the leading experts of the coal business in the country. Rembrandt Peale, president of many coal companies, of which the chief was Peale, Peacock and Kerr, of Pennsylvania and New York, with its chief mines at St. Benedict, Cambria County, Pennsylvania, resigned the presidency of all his coal companies to take a position on Dr. Garfield's staff. And the same day the Fuel Administrator added to his staff

Mr. John P. White, president of the United Mine Workers of America.

Early it became plain to the Fuel Administrator that it would be a difficult, if not an impossible, task arbitrarily to fix, from the central office in the Nation's capital, prices for all localities. Special knowledge of local conditions had to be sought. So Dr. Garfield evolved the plan of appointing local committees which were asked to investigate and report upon costs. In each state, Fuel Administrators were chosen. Leading citizens of ability and integrity were placed upon the local committees, but in every case the local coal dealers were excluded. This was not meant to discredit the local dealers. As Dr. Garfield said: "The rule was made rather to save the local coal dealers from the kind of embarrassment that inevitably arises when men are called upon to pass judgment upon others in their own line of business, and to pass upon conditions which are intimately concerned with their own livelihood."

With this machinery organized and efficiently working throughout the several states, the Fuel Administrator was able, thus, to get a birds-eye view of the entire field and to follow up the work of President Wilson in fixing the price of coal at the mines, by himself fixing the price of coal at the retail dealers, and for the small manufacturing plants which have relied upon "spot" coal.

FROM LAW TO TEACHING

As, in 1908, Dr. Garfield was welcomed to the Presidency of Williams College, succeeding Henry Hopkins, so he has been welcomed to Washington; a distinct and forceful addition to the District's official life. He was one of the dominant figures of his time at Williams—for it was his alma mater of which later he became President.

He seemed to be cut out for a teacher and his early inclination was that way, so when St. Paul's made a request for his services he went there, as to his chosen vocation, and taught Latin and Roman History for a year. But by now the study of law had its appeal for him and he entered the Columbia Law School. Thence he carried his search for legal knowledge to England, to Oxford University and to the London Inns of Law.

Dominant in his character are the traits of the fighter. When he settled down with his brother, James R. Garfield, in Cleveland, to the study of law, it was inevitable that he should become the leader in that city's fight against corrupt politics. His formation of the Cleveland Municipal Association was simply a step in enlisting the active participation of honest and intelligent men in the government of the city. It was a fight against boss rule, and against the McKisson ring, which dominated municipal politics, Dr. Garfield fought with his customary vigor and strength. A two years' fight of great bitterness it was, but, at the end the Garfield faction won out and the city was purged of an evil that had checked Cleveland's growth and crippled its industries.

Another fight which he made and which has had far-reaching results was that in which he strove for a better, more efficient, higher-class consular service. During this fight he was a frequent visitor to Washington and so came in close touch with scores of legislators and statesmen.

It is hard to think of a more difficult situation than Dr. Garfield will have to face this winter. Even as this is written, the United Mine Workers of the Central Competitive Field are in session in Washington and it is no secret that the entire power back of them is to be employed in an effort to secure a higher wage. At the same time, there has been formed an association of the leading coal operators of America, known as the National Association of Coal Operators, whose purpose it is to avoid, so far as possible, any consequence that may ensue from a shortage of coal for domestic uses during the coming winter.

The United Mine Workers have a plea for a higher wage that is not entirely specious. The coal operators, professing a patriotic desire to do all that they may to aid Dr. Garfield in his governmental activities, still maintain that they can mine all the coal the country needs, but that they are powerless to get it to market. So, in assuming the duties of the Fuel Administrator it will be seen that Dr. Garfield has many other things to fight about than simply the mining of coal. His task calls for expert knowledge of mining; for expert knowledge of the various kinds of coal to be used in the various industries; for expert knowledge of diplomacy and the handling of men whose vital interests are involved in the present war.

THE AMERICANS ABROAD CLUB

Letters from Americans in All Parts of the World, Describing Their Life and Adventures in Strange Lands and Among Other Peoples

THE Nation is now fast emerging from its insular position in the world's affairs, and is taking a large place and responsibility as a great Power. As the readers of the WORLD'S WORK know, this great expansion should find its reflection in this magazine. The very name of the WORLD'S WORK certainly indicates a field beyond the activities of our own country.

A vast number of Americans are going abroad, as soldiers, as sailors, as engineers and doctors, as well as commercial men, and they are spreading throughout the entire globe. Many of these Americans are among the most adventurous and interesting people one can imagine, and the WORLD'S WORK is fortunate in receiving letters from them, telling very often the reasons that led them to go to foreign countries and what they did when they got there.

Under the head of the AMERICANS ABROAD CLUB we hope from time to time to print letters and stories from these people who claim some part of the United States as their home. The WORLD'S WORK offers awards for the best of these letters, They come from every country—Siam, China, South America, India, Switzerland, Belgium, Japan, the South Sea Islands, the Caribbean Islands, Cuba—and we value them all.

Here, for instance, is a letter from a subscriber in Apia, Samoa—Mr. H. J. Moors, who sailed for the South Seas many years ago. He says:

At the age of twenty-one and fired with that adventurous spirit and romantic turn of mind instilled by reading "Typee," "Omoo," and similar productions, and anxious to meet a new "Fayaway" and recline in dreamy content under the shade of the traditional banana tree, with just a little trading to relieve the monotony of an easy life, I took passage on a little 84-ton schooner for Apia some 42 years ago, bringing with me on her deck a good sized whaleboat to aid me in my ventures.

I had received more or less advice from an old resident of the islands who had himself chartered the vessel we sailed in, and who owned her assorted cargo of provisions, calicoes, prints, and knicknacks, which latter included an assortment of fishhooks, spears, jews'-harps, and the like.

We had a long passage of forty-two days without sighting a thing. During the voyage my adviser suggested that I buy from him all his potatoes and onions as a speculation, saying that if he sold them to the residents on arrival some of them would not pay up for months, while if he sold to me, and I, a stranger, resold to them, I would get immediate settlements.

This statement was correct. I took the produce and did well out of it.

Within a week's time I set off with a crew of two men and a half-caste interpreter for the Island of Savaii, some 30 miles distant, to look up a good situation for a trading station. My interpreter's wife was a sister to Malieatsa, the reigning King of Samoa, and this lady accompanied us, and so on arrival on Savaii feast followed feast wherever we went, and, of course we had to make some small returns as we proceeded. At every stopping point the natives were anxious that I should locate and trade with them, but the whites already settled on this island were just as anxious that I should move on and not interfere. Some of these gentry were rather truculent, and one known as "Spanish Mike" let me understand that he was rather handy with his knife, which he assured me he could throw quite a distance with remarkable accuracy.

Even at twenty-one I was none too amiable if I felt my rights were being trespassed upon, and so I finally fixed upon a location which seemed to please me very well. And now a serious negotiation commenced for the hire of two native houses—one to be used as a store and the other as a copra shed.

Before deciding on the terms they would demand, the natives held several rather acrimonious meetings, and finally I was summoned to attend.

The chief who presided was moderated and corrected occasionally by the native pastor. He stated that while they wanted me to stay and trade with them, they also wanted a fair rental for their property, which I had asked them to alter a good deal to suit my purposes, and on this account they thought I ought to be fairly liberal with them, so his highness apologized for the lofty terms they were about to propose; but the parson interposed that if I differed from their views, I was to correct them in a kindly way. This sort of palaver went on for some time until I bluntly asked them to proceed and state the weighty business. No one seemed willing to get down to figures. Deathly silence ensued for a time; none wanted to state the bad news, until one old chap, after repeated urgings on my part, finally blurted out, as if deeply shamed, that they thought I should pay a dollar a month for the two houses.

My prompt acceptance restored confidence and good will, and these people now set up another proposition, namely: I came there with two boatmen who were to be my servants—I had no land—had nothing that grew. How would I like it if they were to provide my two boatmen and myself with the best native cooked food which they would have in abundance? Yes, that would be a good idea—what would be the charge? Another short discussion and a pause, and some one ventured to say in a hesitating way, "Another dollar a month," but that if I differed, they would amend the price to suit my views.

I stayed with these good people about six months and they treated us splendidly and were extremely honest, and the food they supplied was ample and satisfying to my boys and made up the chief part of my own diet.

I had little difficulty in acquiring the native language, which I spoke fairly well within three months' time. I traded for copra, paying cash or goods for it as the vendor pleased to have, and whenever I accumulated a boatload of this I took it to Apia and sold it and replenished my stock of trade.

My financial rating in those days would have been rather low had it been investigated, for my whole stock was packed in two pine trunks, and these were not over-full either. Of course, I had a case or two of kerosene to be bottled and retailed, and some great tins of biscuits as well, but the bulk of my wealth was stored in the two trunks, and these were secured by flimsy locks which almost any key would open, and during my frequent absences on long journeys to Apia they were left in a doorless open house, sometimes for several days at a time.

Occasionally while I was absent customers came along, and in the presence of the chief or parson my boxes were opened and the goods overlooked, so that when I returned the customer came to me and stated just what he or she wanted—for after viewing my stores the goods were carefully repacked to be left so until I personally made the sale.

I can look back over those early years with much amusement and considerable satisfaction. . . .

GERMAN NEW GUINEA

—that is, until the war, this land of tropical charm south of Australia and near the English and Dutch colonies was expected to be a great German stronghold in the East. It has now been taken over by the English, and Mr. Thomas J. McMahon sends us this interesting account of present-day conditions as he saw them:

The madness of the Germans in forcing the present war, and the losses they are to sustain by defeat, is in no way more accentuated than in what they have done in bringing, or the money they have spent to bring, their colonial possessions to the state of prosperity and perfection which they, assuredly, in a sense had done before the war, and the loss of which must bring the extreme of bitterness. To many travelers it is almost incomprehensible that such efforts should have been made, that millions of pounds should have been expended, with the one object of making these possessions successful, and yet apparently without any due amount of foresight and calculation as to an adequate means of defending and holding such valuable commercial assets, as in all instances they promised to be, and now have passed into the hands of the Allies after the weakest opposition or in some cases without any attempt at defense. For the last half century Germany has been grabbing for places "in the sun" and into the grab have fallen some particularly desirable places, but evidently the forty years of preparation for this frightful war never included the protection of any place but the Fatherland.

A BRITISH AND GERMAN COMPARISON

What the Germans have accomplished in German New Guinea is of its kind praiseworthy, but it is of true German fashion, limited in extent and defective in effect, and the comparison that is often made, not only about German New Guinea, but about German Africa, anent the thoroughness, smartness, and liberality of German methods in colonization over the slow, sentimental, red-tape progress of British methods, is, after experience and searching, found very much unwarranted and most absurd. The British may be slow, but their colonization is always successful. The Germans have made a great deal of outward show as to colonizing, and their manner of rushing colonies into existence has blinded the world to many gross imperfections which a little scratching of the surface very soon reveals. For German methods are for repression, not progression. Hence the passing of German rule in German New Guinea is a blessing that can only be fully appreciated and realized by those who have seen the horrors of the German methods; its

BRUTALITY WITH COLORED PEOPLES;

its tyrannical nursing of the full meaning of the "mailed fist"; its failure in democratic and general ideals; and its selfishness in commercial achievement and ambitions. The record of German atrocities with her subject races of Africa is one of the foulest, cruelest, and most lurid records the world could possibly read, and the deeds easily outvie the Congo revelations which at one time shocked mankind. In all German possessions the humanitarian system is not only unknown but accounted contemptible, and the folly of weak administration. It is inconsistent and impossible to German ideals. Not one of the tropical possessions of Germany can show its native races happy, contented, and progressive.

The British administration has called a halt to the wanton and cruel abuse and exploitation of the natives, and the German with all his sullenness does

not deny the workableness of it, and is finding that after all brutality does not bring forth the full working capability of the native worker.

German thoroughness is good in gaudy display, and if the towns of German possessions were accepted as an indication of German prosperity, then Rabaul, the capital of German New Guinea, would make that territory one of the richest in the tropics. This town, with its fine avenued streets, through which one can motor for miles, the ornate architecture of its public and private buildings, and the really magnificent Botanical Gardens—now being improved under British directorship—of which the Germans were so proud and which are undoubtedly the finest and largest in the Southern Hemisphere—all these things show a groove of German thoroughness; but the glamor is dimmed when to build up such a fine town it is a fact that so much human life has been slaughtered. The natives of German New Guinea have always hated their German masters and had cause to do so, for mercy never entered into their dealings; endless taxation and endless slavery had almost crushed the spirit of the poor people, and to-day in the freedom of the British rule they seem like a new set of human creatures.

THE BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

British ideals have, since the occupation, brought about an amelioration of affairs, especially for the natives, which is much to their liking, and the remark is often heard from them: "German no good."

Quite naturally, the change of government, but more so the change of ideals, is not pleasing to the German settlers, and probably taking advantage of the British privilege of freedom of speech, they publicly announce that the slights, insults, and curtailment of natural inclinations which imagination appears to have forced on them by certain British regulations will be borne with patience but one day.

No slights or insults have been put upon the German, merely constraints for the safe and smooth working of the administration in carrying out the most patient and kindest form of government. The various administrators, and particularly the present capable man, General Sir S. A. Pethbridge, have done all that is in accordance with true British sentiments, and if at any time severity was necessary, it has been in the vigilance that has been exercised for the safeguarding of the British occupation, for at times the Germans were not only troublesome but dangerous.

The tactfulness of the present Administrator has done wonders, and to-day of 1917 there is a freedom for the Germans which many contend is not their due. Martial law has ceased. A prominent Berlin journal, in remarking the passing of German Southwest Africa, says: "Let us see, when the fighting is over, if at all events in one respect we cannot sit at the feet of the English and learn from them the secret of wringing from conquered people some of that confidence which has stood the English in such good stead in dealing with such sturdy races as the Boers and the natives of Northern India." The assumption that this confidence must be wrung from conquered people will jar British susceptibilities and is quite a German idea.

A friend in China, Mr. Peyton Stephens, tells us how to live in the Far East:

There are a few precautions which ought to be observed out here, and in the East generally. 1st, don't drink unboiled water; 2d, eat nothing with the peeling on that has not been washed or sterilized; 3d, wear a cholera band summer and winter; 4th, be in bed by nine o'clock P. M.

KEPT OUT OF POLITICS

Even in cases of persecution, have absolutely not asked our Consul or Government to protect native Christians. But you say as an American Consul once said: "Sometimes the screws are brought down tight on the Christians."

Even if that be true, and I don't doubt it in some cases, to try to prevent such persecution would tend to weaken the very bedrock of Christianity and hurt the very man you are supposed to help. For ten years here in Chefoo not a case of any kind of persecution or any other nature has ever even been mentioned that would bring us into any kind of interference with church and state.

The result is that our work is founded on the true bedrock principles of Christianity.

My relationship with the Chinese in a business way has been most harmonious. As a member of our building committee, have had to do considerable business with the Chinese. Where a contract is properly drawn and agreed upon by both parties, have never had the Chinese go back on their written words, or fail to make good all that was agreed upon. My principle has been to trust them as far as I could, and that is the way to get the best results in any kind of work. The man that cannot trust his fellow men is not trusted by others.

"Be just and fear not" has worked well through all the years. My first experience in catching on to

THE TRICKS OF THE TRADE

was that two eyes are not enough to catch on to some ways that are vain. The Western brain needs the Eastern man to quietly tell him some things.

In remodeling a Chinese house, for the first two weeks all the masons and carpenters drew, say, twelve cents per day. The Chinese teacher one day told me that most of these men were coolies and not entitled to so much. "Well, then, I will tell them that you said they should get less." "Oh," he said, "if you do, they will beat me." Then I said: "How can I find out who are full fledged masons and who are coolies?" "Put them all on the roof of the house when they get to that part of the work.

and only the full fledged masons can stand erect on the top of the house."

Out of about twenty, only four could stand erect. These were kept on at the regular price, and those who were only coolies got less. Even then they suspected that my Chinese teacher had told me, for they said no Westerner who had been in the East less than two years would know so much, but their evidence was not sufficient to cause them to beat the teacher.

Many letters come from the Far East. We wish we could print more of them. Here is a letter from Orlando L. Flye, from Colombia, South America. We are sorry we can print only a part which describes the working of a conscription plan of "volunteering":

COLOMBIAN VOLUNTEERS

Our Americans at home are not the only ones that are pleased with the President of the United States. We, away out here, keep in touch with what is going on in the most greedy manner, and only wish this Government had shown some of the acuteness in his administration during the last revolution. Instead of having conscription on discovering that the men would not volunteer (many of the young men explained that they were quite willing to do so, but that their family objected till they lost their enthusiasm) they took what men they could catch by force, still calling them "volunteers!" Age had nothing to do with it, for it was not a strange sight to see quite young boys here and there in a string of men marching to the front; these crying as though their hearts would break. If they were too small to fight, they were put to other work. Each and every village, as well as plantations, was periodically raided; that is, they would slip up on it, when the men had begun to get a little slack and off their guard, and by surrounding the town take each and every man that did not get away. As a rule each road was well guarded, but sometimes these men would sleep at their post, especially as the Government would send out one man with a bottle of Rum, which no peon can resist, and soon lay out the "Watch." Once caught, the men would be tied together with a long rope around their necks, and their hands being also tied behind their back, they would be turned over to one officer to be sent to the front, walking all the way. On arriving, the General was requested to return the ropes for more volunteers!

If a village got word that a "commission" was coming, you would see the men run in every direction for the woods. Once we saw a man jump over his back-yard fence with only his "birthday" suit on. Was evidently just taking a bath but never stopped for his clothes!

All during this time we were treated with utmost consideration, and were allowed to retain so many men for our work, having the papers to show who they were, so when any others tried to hide away in the plantation, they could be taken. We often had commissions arrive, for as this plantation is quite away in the mountains, the men knew they could never be caught once they could be hid there, and during the time the commission was not around they were fed by the men that were working.

Once during this time we had five friends arrive. These men belonged to the best families in Colombia and we were paying them especial attention. Just as we were about to dine, a cry arose of "Commission coming," when to our astonishment all five of these chaps rushed off from the house and away to the mountains. Not even waiting for a piece of bread or a blanket! They had just arrived from the lowlands where they wear thin linen suits, which were quite unsuited to the cold of the highlands, and especially in the mountains, where the temperature is around fifty at night. The soldiers told us if they had been caught they would have been executed, for they were plotting against the Government. No wonder they did not await dinner! This commission stayed around for a day and a half, not attempting to find the men in the mountains, but hoping they would come here for food. After the commission left we sent out some trusty men who knew the mountains to find these lost chaps, for lost they certainly were, and only by firing off signals—our way of finding any one lost in these mountains—and getting answers could we find them. They had fallen in small streams during the night, were wet to the skin, with their clothes nearly torn off them. In one instance the chap had to wait out in the clearing till we sent him a suit, so he could present himself, his being completely torn off. You can believe these fellows enjoyed their long-delayed dinner. As two were more than fifty years of age they were almost overcome with the exposure, and it took us quite a few days to bring them back to their usual good health. To us they were men, and each and every one that came to us was treated with respect, whether for the Government or against it, and we never interfered in any way with the soldiers' duty, but took the officers into the house and treated them to the best we had.

MAN AND HIS MACHINES

THE EQUIPMENT OF A SOLDIER

Each infantryman is supplied with two O.D. uniforms, three sets of underwear, two pairs of service shoes, one pair of dress shoes, three blankets, one O.D. overcoat, one pair of woollen gloves, and his field kit, (fighting equipment and eating utensils.) The field kit (including the rifle) weighs fifty-four pounds

THE KIT SPREAD OUT

The soldier's field kit includes a rifle, a bayonet and scabbard, bacon can, condiment can, meat can, canteen and cup, cartridge belt and suspenders, haversack, pack carrier, one half of a shelter tent and five shelter-tent pins, poncho, blanket, entrenching tool, ammunition and rations, if issued, identification tags, and personal effects such as underwear, soap, tooth brush, comb, and socks. Extra uniforms, blankets, shoes, etc. are kept in the squad (or barracks) bag

THE BAYONET IN ITS SCABBARD—

The old National Guard style. It is now worn in a canvas scabbard hung vertically over the right hip. On the march with pack it is carried in its scabbard (when not attached to the rifle) on the left-hand side of the haversack

—AND ATTACHED TO THE RIFLE

The rifle in the picture is a Springfield .30, and without the bayonet attached weighs about nine pounds and is slightly more than forty-three inches long. The Lee-Enfield rifle has recently been adopted by the War Department to facilitate the supply

BLANKETS AND EATING UTENSILS

FIRST-AID PACKET

It contains two antiseptic gauze pads and bandages, two safety pins, and printed directions for using the packet

THE CANTEEN

Capable of holding a liquid quart. It is carried under the rear pocket of the right-hand section of the cartridge belt

"A WALKING ARSENAL"

Each infantryman is furnished with a cartridge belt, which contains 100 rounds of cartridges, and two bandoliers (cloth cartridge-carriers) containing six pockets apiece. As the cartridges are packed five to a clip and two go in each pocket, the soldier carries 220 rounds of ammunition in all

THE ENTRENCHING TOOL

Used by the soldier to protect himself from enemy fire by "digging himself in." Ten inches' thickness of dry sand will protect him from rifle fire, according to "The Soldier's Catechism"

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THE IDENTIFICATION TAG

When the pomp of the parade grounds gives place to the stern realities of the battlefield the identification tag performs a most useful service, whether the soldier is killed or injured

© Kadel & Herbert

STEEL HELMETS FOR OUR SOLDIERS

Before the American' troops actually go into the trenches they are supplied with what is now an essential of trench warfare but which is a development of the present conflict—the trench helmet

MAKING GOOD AT THE TABLE OF THE AMERICAN FAMILY

BY
F. BURNHAM McLEARY
(of The Examinations Corporation, New York)

WHEN it became my privilege last August to visit Wilson & Company's headquarters at Chicago, to mingle freely with the different members of the organization, to go here and there throughout the different plants and to acquaint myself with many an unsuspected and bewildering process, I entered upon the adventure with a light heart and an eager and receptive mind. . . .

For the task, from a number of viewpoints, made vigorous appeal to me.

First, and quite naturally, I pictured Wilson & Company as a great provider. Rampageous steers, I viewed, being changed into roast beef rare, unsuspecting sheep into shoulders of mutton, frisking porkers into succulent hams and bacon; while at the same time I beheld man's table laden with chops and cutlets and spare ribs and oxtail soups and other good things innumerable. Whisk! these good things must be transported to the four corners of the earth; in ice-packed cars they must travel to Everyman's door. For the human family, in hunger assembled, has need of viands both fresh and appetizing. Quite naturally, therefore, I pictured this institution as exercising complete dominion over the beasts of the field, the wolf included.

MR. THOMAS E. WILSON
PRESIDENT OF WILSON & COMPANY

Next, the Wilson organization, with its sixty years or more of romance and achievement, held great attraction for me. Founded in the days when the long-horn cattle ranged the plains from the Rio Grande to the Bad Lands, it had steadily kept pace with the strides of a nation westward (and worldward), until it had come to include in its equipment not one but a dozen great packing plants—New York, Chicago, Kansas City, Oklahoma, Los Angeles . . . even São Paulo in Brazil, and Buenos Aires in the Argentine—and these plants I knew to be supplemented by over one hundred branch houses, one or more in practically every important city in the United States. At this very moment hundreds of its refrigerator cars were speeding its beeves and hams and bacons—not to mention poultry, butter, eggs, and a host of other products—to these representative branches; while at various Atlantic ports thousands upon thousands of pounds of dressed beef and pork, prepared at the Company's plants, were being hoisted on shipboard, bound for European markets. Twenty thousand men and women, I had heard, composed the life and energy of this corporate being known to the world as Wilson & Company.

But of final and irresistible appeal to me was the man Tom Wilson. Already I had heard of the invitation that had brought him, less than two years before, to this great food institution, to lend to its daily achievements his name and energies and leadership. I knew also a little of the extraordinary career that had been his—how as a lad of nineteen, forced to make his own way, he had started with the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad as an unimportant clerk, at a salary of $40 a month; and how he had made up his mind, even at that early date, to become President of the Road.

One day, so the story was told me, the packing firm of Nelson Morris & Company requested the Burlington to send over a man to keep the records of its refrigerator cars. The clerk who first accepted the call came back an hour or so later, pleading in extenuation a sensitive nose. He

THE PICNIC FOR THE EMPLOYEES OF WILSON & CO., AT MR. WILSON'S FARM, "EDWELLYN," NEAR LAKE FOREST, ILL.—

'llowed he preferred his original job. Tom Wilson, overhearing the conversation and catching an altogether different perspective, 'llowed that he wanted that "hundred a month." He asked for the job and he got it. —And thus Tom Wilson came to the great stockades.

And because he was interested in things outside his regular job, he got out in the yards and learned all that he could of the handling and repairing of cars. Then, through successive steps of advancement, he superintended all car repair work, he purchased the Company's supplies, he traveled hither and yon selecting promising sites for refrigerating plants, he conducted negotiations for their purchase, he supervised the construction of the plants themselves, he selected the men to run them. Later he served as General Manager, and later still—up to the time when he became the Wilson of Wilson & Company—he served as President of this same institution which he had first served as freight-car clerk.

Thus, surrounding me and challenging my interest was romance a-plenty. Quickly, however, my first impressions of Wilson & Company, vivid though they were, came to serve me only as a background. Against this background stood squarely a single dominating figure—the man Tom Wilson.

Wherefore, in my random excursions, I came to enjoy nothing so much as to engage the different members of Wilson & Company in conversation, and while they were eagerly telling me their stories, to steal from them, all unbeknown, their personal impressions of their chief. . . .

A FRIENDLY ADVENTURE AT THE GATE

And the first story that I picked up—it had traveled the length and breadth of Packingtown—was from none other than the policeman at the gate. For years he had been surveying from his little sentry box the approach to his enormous citadel, and for years he had doubtless been accumulating a philosophy that was quite his own.

"It was the last of February or the first of March, sir, the day he came over here. A wretched day it was, too—rain and snow and sleet. I was standing in this box when he drove in, and he pulled up right side of me. 'I'm Mr. Wilson,' says he; 'You may have heard I was coming over here. I thought I'd like to introduce myself.' And would you believe it, sir, he asked me my name; and him and me shook hands. And then he asked me what was the way to the office, and where should he park his car?"

A simple incident, you may say, and scarcely worth recounting. To the policeman, however, this introduction was a thing to marvel at—the event of a life-time. As befits so important a happening, he therefore lost no time in repeating the story in all detail to goodness knows how many interested cronies, and they, in turn, experienced such a bursting with information that by noon, I verily believe, not a soul in the offices of Wilson & Company but had heard of the policeman's friendly adventure!

A DECLARATION OF INTERDEPENDENCE

Yet meanwhile, and for weeks thereafter, so I am told by at least a dozen Wilsonians, there were doubts and conjectures and breathless moments while they one and all were waiting for the axe. For surely there would be decapitations! It was unthinkable that a new man should come in as head of an organization without upsetting

"A BIGGER, BETTER, AND BROADER ORGANIZATION THROUGH A BIGGER, BETTER, AND BROADER ACQUAINTANCE"

everybody and putting in a whole new team of his own!

Then came this friendly pronunciamento, issued, nevertheless, in a tone that meant business:

"I'm here, boys, and I'm all that's coming. But I'm not a wizard. I can't do this wonderful thing that we're all so anxious to do, just by myself. I've got to have *you*. If there's any one here who has a notion he's working *for* me, the quicker he gets that notion out of his head, the better it will be for us all. We're working together.

"And there's one thing more: There's a new name going to mark our products—the name of 'Wilson & Company.' I'm Wilson, but don't forget that you're the Company. The Wilson label has got to be our letter of recommendation. That label has got to stand for purity—and cleanliness—and quality. From now on I look to you all to make the Wilson label an *absolute guarantee*."

In the light of this declaration of interdependence, things now began to shape themselves in the channels which he had so strikingly marked out; and gradually it dawned upon his associates that not only were they one and all to hold their jobs, but they also were to engage in a great crusade, with a single definite purpose. "The Wilson label must stand for purity—and cleanliness—and quality." One could work with a man like that —that sort of thing made life worth the living!

Another discovery gave heart to the organization. It shortly developed that no matter how humble the individual, if he had an idea, or a complaint, or a grievance, he could take his case right to Tom Wilson and be assured of a courteous hearing.

"We *have* to give our people a square deal," one of the department heads declared with a good deal of pride; "we wouldn't *dare* to do anything different. Why, there isn't a person in this place who doesn't know that Tom Wilson will stand back of him and see that he gets a fair show."

Said Mr. Wilson to me, commenting on this policy of ready approach: "I would rather *waste* a minute, now and then, than to have any one going around here proclaiming that I'm utterly aloof and inaccessible. Besides, there's nothing like talking with a person if you want to appreciate the exact nature of his problem and be in a position to help. The mere inflection of the voice, the turning of a hand, may mean everything."

THE POWER OF THE FIRST PERSON PLURAL

It is from just such things, I am told, that Mr. Wilson, through long years of continual meeting with men, has trained himself to make swift analyses and keen and accurate deductions. And woe to the man who attempts to play fast and loose, in the face of this court of last appeal!

"Now, sir," with directness and penetration, and in an even and friendly tone that drives terror to the heart; "you have a bad reputation here. I'm told that you're not playing the game square. Those things may have gone with some one else, but *I'm* over here now, and they won't go with me. You'll have a hard time living this thing down, but I think you have ability, and I'm going to give you the chance. I shall expect something utterly different from you in the future."

—Then there's another kind of reprimand that

gets to one equally hard. I have this story direct from the man who committed the blunder:

"We needed a new viaduct at our Omaha plant," said he; "I was superintendent of the plant at the time, and Tom Wilson was General Manager.

"The viaduct was to be twelve feet wide—that's what we figured it—six feet on our property and six feet on land owned by the Stock Yards Company. I took the matter up with the Stock Yards people and they agreed to pay half—it was to cost $6,000.

"There was a fence running along there straight as an arrow—everybody said it was the line, and it never occurred to me to question it.

"Well, sir, we'd got that viaduct about half built when along came some fellows with a surveyor's instrument and a chain, located some old landmarks—and blamed if we hadn't built it ten feet on our land and two feet on the 'Yards!'

"—That looked simple to the General Manager of the Stock Yards. He 'llowed he'd pay one-sixth and we'd pay five-sixths. We stood to lose just $2,000!

"Well, I argued it back and forth the best way I could—of course, I kept Mr. Wilson in touch with this business all the while—but it looked like we couldn't do a thing, they had us dead to rights.

"About this time I made a trip to Chicago, and, of course, reported to Mr. Wilson.

"He looked up at me in that friendly way of his, and he said: 'B——, about that Omaha business, I suppose we'll have to stand for it, and I always believe in letting bygones be bygones, but if we were doing that over again we'd do it a little differently, wouldn't we?' He said '*we*,' mind you!

"'You just bet your life we would, Mr. Wilson,' said I; 'We'd get out an instrument and survey it first, before we turned a stone.'

"'Then I guess that's all right,' said he; 'The best thing any of us can do is to make stepping stones out of our stumbling blocks'—or something like that. And that's all there was to it!

"Well, when I got back, I naturally called up Buckingham to see how our little controversy was getting along, and I told him how Mr. Wilson had taken it and exactly what he had said. And I said to him like this: 'Now see here, Mr. Buckingham, did you ever know of any one getting that kind of a call-down before?'

"'No,' said he very emphatically, 'I never heard of anything like it before in my life.'

"'I'll tell you how it makes me feel,' said I; 'It makes me feel like I'd lie down and die just to do the square thing by that man.—Don't you think you can put that proposition up to your people and help me prove to Tom Wilson that I'm not such a donkey *after* all?'

"'I'll put it up to them to-day,' said he, 'and I'll 'phone you this afternoon!'

"And the upshot of it was that the Stock Yards Company agreed to pay half; and we saved the $2,000; and it was all on account of the way Tom Wilson had handled the situation. And that's

THE CHICAGO PLANT OF WILSON & CO.—ONE OF TWELVE IN THE IMPORTANT STOCK-BREEDING CENTERS OF AMERICA

where I say Tom Wilson knows how to call a man down better than any one that ever lived! Why sometimes you don't know whether it *is* a call-down or not—you kind of wonder. Bill Henderson told me for a fact that he'd rather get *fired* by Tom Wilson than get a raise of pay from the fellows he *used* to work for!"

LARSEN THINKS HE'D LIKE A PENSION

Remarked a young chap, with a loyalty in his tone that amounted almost to hero worship; "He hasn't been here such an *awful* long time—nowhere near as long as I have—and this plant's a *whale* of a place, but I'll bet he knows every square foot of it!"

To appreciate the magnitude of this compliment one need but attempt even to hurry through the scores of great buildings that comprise the Chicago plant of Wilson & Company. Despite their prodigious dimensions, however, such a trip is well worth the effort, particularly if one is fortunate in the guide to whom he is delegated. In such an event, he will behold, on his travels, the many changes that are taking place at every hand.

He will see, for example, the big new restaurant at the top floor of the office building, where from six to eight hundred people are served every noon. If he is exceptionally lucky, he may be privileged to try a meal there, and from this airy elevation to gaze out across the many citadels of Packingtown.

He will see, too, the model laboratory which is being constructed, wherein the various experimental departments now scattered throughout the plants will be segregated, and where the most improved apparatus will be made available for establishing the purity of the Company's products and for supplementing the rigid standards of the Government with further standards even more rigorous. In this new laboratory the various routine processes will be frequently analyzed, waste will be reduced to a minimum, and new products will be developed and commercialized.

—And perhaps, if he finds his guide in a communicative mood, he will hear, as I heard, about Jack Larsen, one of the company's engineers, who shortly after Tom Wilson came into power, packed up his kit and started to say "good-bye."

"Not leaving?" queried the head of the accounting department in surprise; "Why you can't have many more years before you'd ring in on a pension."

"Pension!" replied Larsen, utterly bewildered; "What do you mean—pension?"

"Just what I say—it's the latest thing he's put over. —Two and a half percent. for every year you've been with the company. At the end of twenty years' service you retire on half pay."

"Gee!" exclaimed Larsen—"guess I oughter stay. I've been with the company seventeen years, you know."

—And Larsen stayed.

A TWO-FOLD DRIVE AT THE HIGH COST OF LIVING

Have you ever contemplated the service rendered by the packing industry, and in particular the desolation that but for its multiplex activities

THIS PLANT ALONE IS CAPABLE OF HANDLING EACH WEEK 8,000 CATTLE, 2,000 CALVES, 20,000 SHEEP AND 30,000 HOGS

would everywhere prevail? Consider, then, the trades and peoples to whom this industry is essential, and how not only the butcher looks to it for his pork chops and his porterhouse, but also the candlestick-maker for his tallow, the rich man for his pocketbook, the poor man for his shoestring, the doctor for his ointment, the lawyer for his fearsome leather-bound books, and the Indian Chief for his regalia. But for its activities, I'll venture, half the world now comfortably clad in woolens would be shivering, famine would stalk the land, and the human family would run barefoot. Cleanliness would still be a virtue, but a rare one, and largely achieved without soap. Deprived of fiddlestrings, the violins and harps and psalteries of the world would be forever stilled. Deprived of many essential lubricants, the wheels and engines of the world would set up infernal discord. Thus, in kaleidoscopic pictures, one may glimpse, I think, something of the importance of the packing industry.

And now, in the face of extraordinary butchers' bills, I am prepared to tell you that the dressed beef from all of the beef cattle killed by Wilson & Company in Chicago during the entire year of 1916 "sold at an average price of only $10.81 per hundred pounds, Chicago basis." Impossible though this figure seems, it is attested in a statement prepared from the company's books by one of the most prominent and responsible accounting firms in America. Moreover—and this, I believe, will seem even more incredible—this price, as attested in this same statement, averaged only 33 cents per hundred pounds more than it averaged in 1915, *74 cents per hundred pounds less than in 1914, and 14 cents per hundred pounds less than in 1913!*

Considering the fact that during 1916 beef cattle on the hoof sold up to $13 a hundred weight, considering, too, the fact that the dressed beef obtainable from a bullock represents, at best, little more than 60 percent. of its entire weight, and considering, also, the unquestioned fact that during the period referred to the cost of practically everything employed in the packing industry increased to an extraordinary degree, the success achieved by Wilson & Company in holding its prices for dressed beef to so slight an increase —one third of a cent a pound—can be explained only through the increased returns it has secured from its supplementary products, and through its saving in the high cost of distribution.

BEEVES IN THE COOLING ROOM OF ONE OF THE BRANCH HOUSES OF WILSON & COMPANY

Two notable triumphs in this direction are seen (1) in the development of a sporting goods business and a consequent increase in profits derived from its hides, wool, curled hair and other by-products, and (2) in the broadening of the Wilson line to include a vast variety of canned fruits and vegetables, with a consequent reduction in the selling expense of each Wilson product.

I

A PROFITABLE DÉBUT IN THE WORLD OF SPORTS

At the time Mr. Wilson assumed the presidency of his new company, there was not a

little conjecture as to his attitude toward the sporting goods end of the business. So far as anyone could learn, he had never had any active connection with this rather adventitious phase of the packing business—would he keep it and develop it, or would he throw it to the winds?

During the early weeks of his administration, while knees were still a-tremble throughout the organization, the manager of this department approached his new chief with considerable trepidation:

"What are you going to do with the Sporting Goods Department, Mr. Wilson?" he asked.

"I'm going to make it the biggest thing of its kind in the world!" answered Wilson, quick as a flash; "Go to it."

apparent that Wilson & Company—or Thos. E. Wilson & Co., if you please—would have two very marked advantages over its competitors: First, it could secure the best grades of catgut at a lower cost; and second, by reason of this added leeway on manufacturing cost, it could produce a better racquet cheaper.

Racquets suggested tennis balls, baseballs, mits, gloves, footballs, basketballs, and the like. Rubber, by some marvelous chance, is not a by-product of the packing industry, so that tennis balls had to be purchased. For the rest of the outfit, however, Wilson & Company had thousands of perfect hides, without scar or score. Perhaps it would sell them to Thos. E. Wilson & Co. at cost? Such control over its raw material, in the

THE SCIENTIFIC DIVISION OF LABOR—DRESSING BEEF AT THE CHICAGO PLANT OF WILSON & COMPANY

That was a little over a year ago. To-day the Sporting Goods branch of Wilson & Company, known as "Thos. E. Wilson & Co.," with a million and a half of invested capital, is the second largest institution of its kind in America! And to those fortunate people who insist on the Wilson label, this phenomenal development of an activity closely allied to that branch of the business which supplies their daily needs, gives cause for congratulation not only in the fact that it furnishes them a new market-place for dependable goods, but also in the fact that this new enterprise stands, for *all* of the Wilson products, as a bulwark against the increasingly high cost of living. Its origins were as follows:

First the idea had come to make tennis racquets. In undertaking such a venture, it was case of leather goods, would work even greater advantage to that company than in the case of the racquets, for Wilson & Co., producing its own hides, could sell them to Thos. E. Wilson & Co., and put it in a position to make better merchandise, better baseballs, mits, gloves, basketballs and the like, at less expense.

Then there was curled hair. Direct from its own curled hair plant, the largest in the world, by the way, Thos. E. Wilson & Co. was able to secure exactly the quality of material most suitable for baseball mits and gloves, for boxing gloves and such accessories. Incidentally, half of motordom, comfortably unconscious of the privilege, rides on cushions stuffed with Wilson curled hair.

Similarly, there was wool. Through its abil-

ity to secure from Wilson & Company the particular grades of wool that would make a superior sweater, or a jersey, or a bathing suit, or a hundred and one things demanding this staple, Thos. E. Wilson & Co. was able to provide the choicest quality of material without paying a premium to the producer.

Thus the enterprise grew, until to-day nine separate factories are kept busy supplying "everything that helps your game," and a thousand salesmen, representing Wilson & Company, are boosting for Thos. E. Wilson & Co. At the same time, those thousand salesmen are cutting the high cost of distribution; and by reason of this and that, the house of Thos. E. Wilson & Co. has come to occupy a leading place in the Sporting Goods industry. It is young. With a year or two more in which to grow there is no earthly reason why it may not, indeed, come up to Mr. Wilson's boundless expectations.

NEW REST ROOM FOR WOMEN AT THE CHICAGO PLANT

II

CUTTING THE HIGH COST OF DISTRIBUTION

The second great drive at the high cost of living to which I have already referred, has been made through the establishing of plants for the canning of fruits and vegetables; and in this undertaking Wilson & Company has already reached a commanding position. Convinced that the economical solution of the food problem lies in a large measure in the reduction of selling expense, both wholesale and retail, it has taken advantage of its machinery of distribution, internationally established—its branch houses in 130 of the leading cities, its 2,000 cars available for the transportation of its products, its foreign houses both in Europe and South America and has gone boldly into the market either to purchase outright such strictly modern plants as were available in the regions producing the choicest fruits or vegetables, or to build its own plants in accordance with its own strict requirements. Already it is canning more vegetables than any other institution in the world; and still striving to distribute its selling expense and to win its profits through economy, it has sent its representatives to Alaska and Puget Sound, and has lately purchased plants for the canning of "Sockeye" salmon and "Alaska Reds." To-day there is probably no line of food products offering so diversified a choice as the line that bears the Wilson label.

WILSON & CO

"I look to you all to make that mark an absolute guarantee."—Thos. E. Wilson

Now these digressions into two very interesting fields of activity, neither of which, at first glance, seems related to the packing industry, are by no means without significance to the humble American citizen, already staggering under the title of "ultimate consumer."

For in the one instance, Wilson & Company has got the better of that ancient bugaboo, "robbing Peter to pay Paul," by borrowing from the sportsman to enable the housewife to pay the butcher, at the same time lightening the burden for all concerned. In the other, it has given a new and heartening ring to that old-time adage, "Many hands make light work," by parceling out the high cost of selling among so many of its products that the ultimate cost to the housewife has been cut to the minimum.

It is now over a year since the name of Wilson & Company, surcharged upon a big red W and blazoned against an orange background, first appeared in the commercial firmament. To-day, from thousands of billboards, from brilliantly painted refrigerator cars, from motor trucks and delivery wagons, from the pages of magazines and periodicals and newspapers, "Wilson & Co." salutes the eye with a cheery confidence. A year ago, in the homes of the American people, this trade-mark was only a name. To-day, in those same homes, it is more than a name, it is a guarantee. For in that one year in which Wilson & Company has in a measure been on trial, Wilson & Company has demonstrated the power of a high and united purpose. Today, in very truth, the Wilson label stands for purity and cleanliness and quality. An honored guest at the table of The American family, Wilson & Company has made good.

The World's Work

ARTHUR W. PAGE, EDITOR

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TERMS: $3.00 a year; single copies, 25 cents. For Foreign Postage add $1.00; Canada 60 cents.
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Unsolicited manuscripts are welcomed by the editors and are carefully read. They cannot, however, be returned unless they are accompanied by proper amount of postage.

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DOUBLEDAY, PAGE & COMPANY
The NEW COUNTRY LIFE — The GARDEN MAGAZINE
CHICAGO: Peoples Gas Bldg. — GARDEN CITY, N. Y. — NEW YORK: 11-13 W. 32nd Street
BOSTON: Tremont Bldg. — LOS ANGELES: 412 W. 6th Street

THE
WORLD'S WORK

DECEMBER, 1917

VOLUME XXXV NUMBER 2

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

THE misfortune which has overtaken Italian arms is the most dramatic of the many pressing reasons for a greater speed and energy in our war preparations. Russia is still in desperate straits. Rumania with its fifteen divisions is in dire need. And now Italy has suffered a serious blow. We on our side are so geographically situated that it is extremely difficult to get aid to the weak parts of our combined and far-flung battle line. In almost every case sending aid means ships, and the supply of ships is wofully short. The Germans, on the other hand, can move their troops and their guns from one front to another comparatively quickly and easily. They can make one gun serve a while in Russia and then transfer it to France or Italy. But a gun once with the Russian army must stay there, and it is even extremely difficult to move guns around on the other Allied fronts, particularly as in the Allied armies there are many kinds of artillery using many kinds of ammunition.

There are two remedies for this. The first is for the United States, Great Britain, and France to send munitions, guns, steel, railroad supplies, and other such necessities to the weaker parts of the line to enable them to meet any sudden German thrusts. This is the most expensive remedy, for it means trying to make every part of the Allied line strong enough to meet the biggest concentration Germany can effect.

The other remedy is to put so much pressure on the Germans in France that they will not be able to concentrate against any of the other portions of the line. The British and French pressure would undoubtedly have been enough if the Russian army had not lost so much of its striking power. As it is, the only way of increasing the pressure in France so as to take all of Germany's attention is for us to add a force of men to those of the French and British which will be sufficiently large to demand the attention of every spare German soldier. The possibility of our doing this is bound up in two things, the preparation and training of our armies, and the construction of shipping to carry the men across and to keep them supplied when they are on the other side.

We have the power to force a military decision, the power to beat the Germans, to crush autocracy, to free the world. The question is, will we get the power applied in time? There never was a more vital need of speed than that which confronts us now. Man after man coming back from Europe brings the same message—Hurry! Hurry the ships and hurry the men! Before we entered the war the Allies were too late to save Serbia, the British were too late to capture the Dardanelles, the relief of Kut-el-Amara was too late. Supplies for Italy seem to have failed. It behooves us to put a pressure on the Germans at the earliest possible moment that will prevent any further catastrophes.

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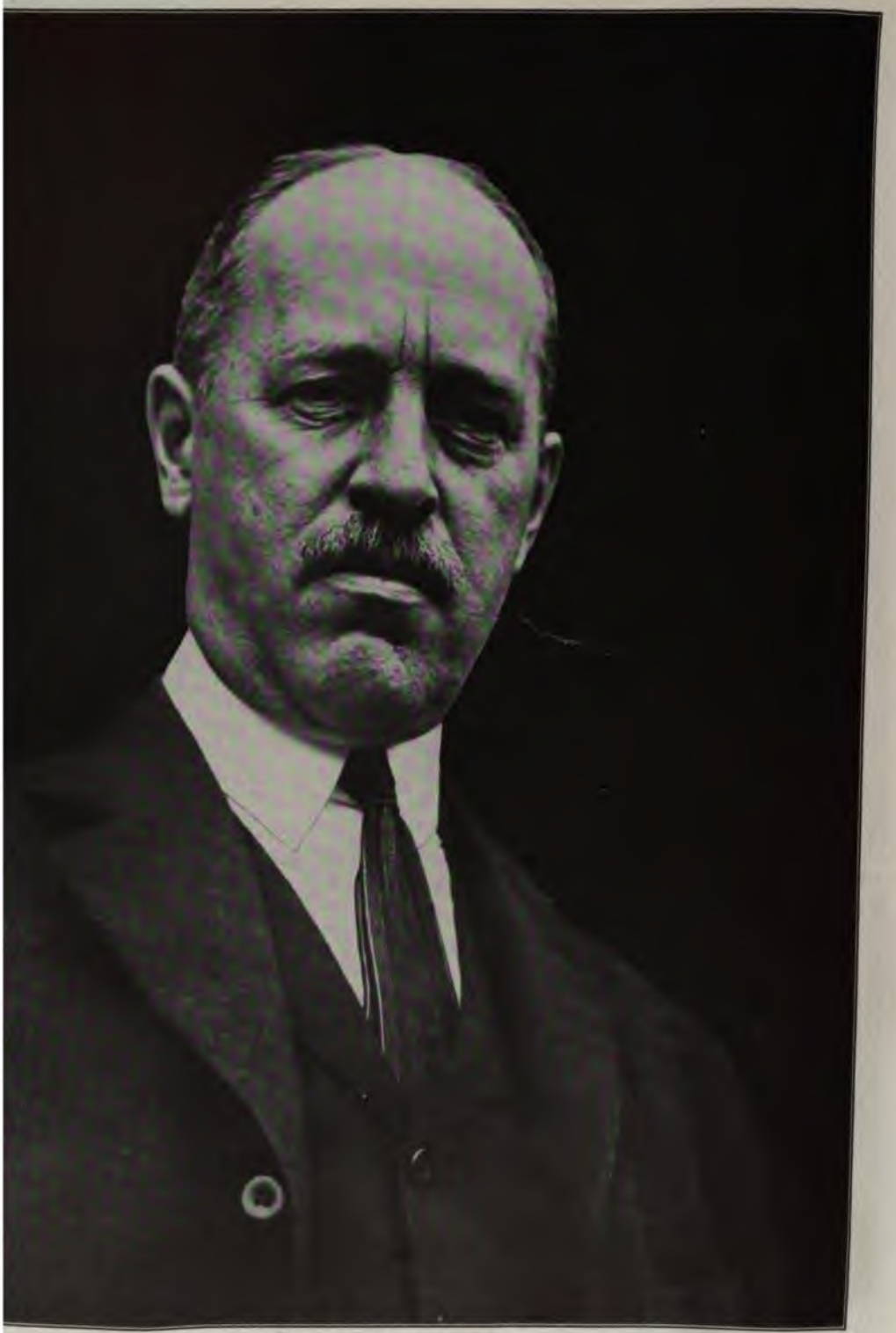


MR. W. W. ATTERBURY

put his experience as vice-president in charge of operation of the Pennsylvania Railroad at
l of the Government, and who is now director-general of the railroads in France which are
to transport American troops and their munitions

© G. V. Buck

MR. A. MITCHELL PALMER

Recently appointed by President Wilson to be Custodian of Enemy Property. In performing this task he will have charge of more than one billion dollars' worth of property of Germans and Austrians in this country (including the many interned German ships), much of which will be converted to Government use during the war

COLONEL E. A. DEEDS, U. S. A.

A distinguished engineer and member of the reorganized Aircraft Board, whose technical skill and practical experience in the manufacture of highly finished mechanical devices are now being applied to the problem of rapid construction of airplanes for the Army and Navy

© G. V. Buck

SECRETARY McADOO

whose supervision the Second Liberty Loan was made a tremendous success

[See "The March of Events"

The Responsibility is on the Administration

THE tremendous success of the second Liberty Loan settles in most encouraging fashion a point that has caused anxiety to many Americans and raised hopes in the bosoms of our trans-Atlantic enemies. That was the extent to which the everyday American citizen endorsed the war. The failure of this loan would have been a great encouragement to Germany. Even a lukewarm success would have been hailed as an evidence of disintegration in this country. But we all know now that the war is a popular war in the United States; not popular in the sense that Americans hail with joy the prospect of an exhausting and bloody struggle, but in the sense that they accept it as an inescapable duty and are determined to support it with all the resources and men we command. To grasp the success of the loan in its complete significance we must appraise it in connection with the extra session of Congress. Despite the tactics of an exceedingly small minority, this body supported the war in most patriotic fashion. It complied with practically every request submitted by the executive departments. It voted money by the billions for strengthening all the elements with which we wage war. Just consider one fact: From the establishment of the United States Government under George Washington up to March, 1917, the total cost of maintaining the American Government aggregated $26,000,000,000. This included the cost of the War of 1812, the Mexican War, the Civil War, pensions, great public works—everything, indeed, that necessitated a Congressional appropriation. From March until the adjournment in October Congress voted $21,000,000,000. That is, Congress appropriated, in this seven months, almost as much money as it had appropriated in the whole 128 years of the Nation's history. The readiness with which Congress voted these huge appropriations certainly implied an endorsement of the great enterprise in which the country has engaged.

II

It really takes three national instrumentalities to conduct a victorious war. These are the people, their elected representatives, and the Executive. All three forces must unqualifiedly fight together, if the best results are to be obtained. If one weakens, or works half-heartedly and ineffectively, the success of the whole enterprise may be put in jeopardy. We know definitely now that one hundred millions of Americans are determined to see this thing through. We know that Congress whole-heartedly supports this determination. They will furnish the Administration all the money, all the men, and all the moral support it may need. The most outstanding result of the Liberty Loan is that it places fairly upon the Administration the responsibility of conducting this war with the utmost vigilance. The actual conduct of military operations lies in the hands of the Administration. If the United States fail at this time, its failure will not be caused by the absence of popular support. It can be caused only by the fact that those entrusted with the executive power have not measured up to their responsibilities.

Mr. Wilson, in his recent reply to the Pope, has outlined our national purpose with an eloquence and a high moral enthusiasm that have echoed around the world. The support which the President and his associates have now received from the American masses will strengthen their determination to make this splendid message the abiding rule of our national life. From now on there should be only a single motive governing the executive departments. That motive is the most earnest prosecution of the war. We should bear in mind that the American people of all classes and of all political and religious faiths are bound together by one mighty resolve. We are fighting for nothing less than our national life. It is a time when there are no Republicans and no Democrats, no anti-Administration men and no pro-Administration men. Only one motive can now inspire any appointments to important posts—that of getting the most efficient men for the jobs. Personal preferences and political loyalties are considerations that should have no influence upon the Administration. If any members of the present Cabinet are not the best men in the country for the particular work in question, these men should go. All the other nations have had to meet this issue. Joffre proved the great support of France in her hour of agony because he ruthlessly dismissed generals who had proved incompetent, and appointed their successors purely on the grounds of merit. England has dismissed most cabinet officers with whom she started war and has found

their successors in men who increased the nation's speed and power to make war. France has done likewise. With such a demonstration of popular support as the Administration has received in the tremendous over-subscription to the recent Liberty Loan, its hands are certainly free to adopt any measures that will promote our best efficiency at this time.

III

The conduct of the war is in the hands of the Administration in a way peculiar to this country. In any other democracy, or constitutional monarchy, the legislative body which has granted money for the prosecution of a war has the right, and as a matter of fact practises the right, to find out from the Executive what he is trying to do and what is being accomplished. With us that is not done. A committee of Congress can summon witnesses, including members of the Cabinet, but it is not done often enough for Congress to keep itself informed.

Let us take the matter of military preparations. In the early months of 1916 the President made a tour of the West, speaking in favor of military preparedness. It was a new departure for him and the people were a little surprised. Congress was not convinced—but Congress was acting in the dark. The President knew things about Germany's attitude toward us which other people did not know. The President gave up Judge Garrison and preparedness and invited Mr. Baker to become Secretary of War and accept the Hay bill. We do not know how much Mr. Baker knew about the possibility of war. We do know that he did nothing for thirteen months to rectify our condition, in spite of urging by the army, the press, and various patriotic societies. He became active only after we declared war. His failure to get ready cost us a year's time. Whether Mr. Baker failed because he was convinced that the President would keep us out of war or for some other reason makes little difference. In most other countries where Cabinet members are judged by the intelligence they show in foreseeing and meeting crises, he would have lost his position.

It is not worth while to recall this past history except to point out one curious fact. Mr. Baker in his failure to prepare was responsible to no one but the President, and the President was responsible to no one but the next election; and he could withhold or publish either to Congress or the people the only essential facts on which his conduct could be judged. This is not Mr. Wilson's fault. As a matter of fact he is in favor of responsible government. But this makes all the more glaring the fact that under our system it has not been practised.

Now that is what happened to give the Germans one year's respite from us. The next question is, What is going on now?

There is no one to ask Mr. Baker how many men he intends to have in France in 1918 and to check up the actual progress to see if it fits the programme—or to check the programme to see if it is comparatively a proper effort with what was done in Canada, England, or Australia.

There is no one interested in the length of the delay in ordering rifles or heavy artillery. In getting appropriations there was a general programme of amounts laid out, but the specifications as to time were not definite and no one is checking them up. No one knows whether Mr. Baker will be months ahead or behind his schedule for big guns or whether his schedule is for 1918, 1919, or 1920.

The present private conduct of the war by the President, Mr. Baker, and Mr. Daniels is not altogether assuring because, with the best intentions in the world, they made the colossal blunder of doing nothing before the war, despite many warnings both at home and from Germany. Without some responsibility to Congress they may not be doing enough or working quickly enough now.

It is true that in the last few years Congress has not had a very enviable reputation for ability. Yet if Congress has the power to vote money it must have the power to see that the money is spent effectively. At present the Administration conducts the war practically without immediate responsibility to any one, and there is good reason to think that our training programme is behind-hand, our shipbuilding very much behind, and our manufacture of artillery in similar condition.

In almost everything that is useful in war but not exclusively useful in war we have done well. We have made shoes and blankets, and raised men and money. But in the first requisites on the firing line—trained men in large numbers, rifles, munitions, and artillery—our record needs watching and acceleration. As yet we have no Lloyd-George among us, and there are signs that we need one.

Tammany's Victory and the War

NEW YORK started its career as a greatly enlarged and consolidated city in 1897, by electing a complete Tammany Administration. The results that followed were precisely what had been generally foreseen. The mayor chosen at that time, Robert A. Van Wyck, promptly abdicated all his powers over appointments and legislation to Mr. Richard Croker, then the captain of the Tammany ship. Because of the public indecency, inefficiency, wastefulness, and widespread corruption that ensued, New York City has never had an outright Tammany Administration since. The last twenty years in America's largest city have furnished a striking illustration, on a great scale, of that struggle for honest and efficient municipal government which has taken place in all parts of the country. These twenty years have witnessed, both in New York City and elsewhere, an almost unbelievable improvement in general civic conditions, and the revolution has perhaps attained its highest expression in the last four years of Mayor Mitchel's Administration. In both its external aspects and its inner spiritual existence the New York City of to-day bears so few resemblances to the Tammanyized city of twenty years ago that there seemed little likelihood that this organization could ever regain its power. Yet, twenty years after Tammany's last sweeping victory, New York again places in power the forces that gave the city such an evil reputation, not only in this country but in Europe. This disintegrating organization returns to power at a time when the Nation is facing the greatest crisis in its history, and when the largest American city should assemble its finest energies for the hard times that lie ahead. The whole proceeding recalls the New York of 1861, whose Tammany mayor, Fernando Wood, sympathized so much with the South that he sent a message to the City Council recommending that the city secede from the Union and, with Staten Island and Long Island, form a new state to be known as Tri-Insula. History records that the Tammany city fathers solemnly endorsed this proposal!

Though New York had a disloyal government in the Civil War, the city itself was not disloyal; the fact was that the loyal Unionists enlisted in such overwhelming numbers in the armies that the town was left at the mercy of Southern sympathizing and seditious mobs. New York's enormous popular subscriptions to both the Liberty Loans prove that the city is not disloyal now. In saying this, it is not necessary to blink the fact that the disloyal vote had much to do with Mr. Mitchel's defeat. The real facts in the present situation are evident enough. In 1897 Tammany won against the decent citizens in New York simply because those citizens were divided into two camps. Whenever the anti-Tammany elements unite on a single candidate they almost invariably overthrow a united Tammany organization. The same great principle of statesmanship, therefore, controls the Tammany leaders that directs the policy of that other great autocracy, the Hapsburg Monarchy: *Divide et Impera*—divide and rule. The peculiar situation that existed this year gave the Tammany strategists—and there are no better outside the German army—their great opportunity. Mr. Murphy, great political general that he is, proceeded to profit by the disorganized state of the enemy, and to impose upon the city the particular type of mayor that would best serve the Tammany ends. Mayor Mitchel's vigilant and energetic Americanism had offended that minority of Pro-Germans, Pacifists, and England-haters whose votes, thrown against him, would supply the balance of power which would land the most typical Tammany candidate in the mayor's office. A series of campaign complications, part accidental and part designed, produced one out-and-out Tammany candidate and three anti-Tammany candidates. Under these conditions the most absurd Tammany man—and a more absurd candidate than John F. Hylan has never appeared in the city's history—must win and the finest anti-Tammany candidate—and the city has never had a finer one than Mr. Mitchel—must lose. The part that the Pacifists and Pro-Germans played is evident in the large vote given Mr. Morris Hillquit, the Socialist candidate, who openly boasted that he had bought no Liberty Bonds and who adopted, as his platform, a declaration that the United States should immediately end the war. In the election of 1916 the Socialist candidates polled 30,000 votes in New York City, but this year Mr. Hillquit—who was born in Riga, Russia, where he was known as Moritz Hillkowitz—obtained more than 140,000. This increased vote cannot indicate that Socialism has spread to this extent in New York in one short year.

it clearly registers the pacifism and pro-Germanism and anti-Britishism that necessarily exist in a city that contains 700,000 or 800,000 people of German origin, about as many of Irish origin, and nearly 1,000,000 former subjects of the Russian Empire.

Probably other influences worked against Mr. Mitchel, but these were quite sufficient to determine the result. Tammany's triumph is deplorable, but there is no occasion for despair. New York is still a loyal part of the Nation and will do more than her share in the prevailing struggle. Mr. Hylan, immediately on his election, issued a public statement in which he announced his whole-hearted support of the Administration in its war policy, declared that he was in favor of fighting the war to a finish, and repudiated any suggestion that his sympathies were pro-German. This statement has produced an excellent impression, and it is to be hoped that Mr. Hylan's course will show that he has been sincere in making it.

Von Hertling on America

FROM 1870 up to the breaking out of the present war the German Empire had had five chancellors, the period of office averaging about nine years for each incumbent. In the last three troublous years three men have so far occupied this post, which is apparently becoming about as insecure as the premiership of France or Italy. This fact in itself discloses that the spirit of unrest is disturbing Germany and that the smoothly working autocracy, moving armies and navies and peoples by the simple fiat of the Imperial will, no longer possesses an unquestioned grip upon the nation. More significant still are the circumstances under which the latest appointee, Count George F. von Hertling, entered upon his office. The new Chancellor deliberated several days before acceding to the Imperial will, using the interim to consult the leaders of the Reichstag, and to assure himself that he would have a parliamentary majority supporting his programme. Such a proceeding is unprecedented in Germany. One can imagine Bismarck seeking parliamentary support before assuming the chancellorship! When requested by the Emperor Frederick, on the death of William I, to continue his work as chief minister, the old apostle of blood and iron exacted first a promise that there should be nothing in the new régime that suggested parliamentary rule. Yet now we have a German statesman, asked to assume the headship of the State, consuming four or five days negotiating with the parliamentary chiefs before acceding to his Imperial master's will!

We get only the most confused picture of internal affairs in Germany; yet a few definite episodes like this show that, after all, the popular will is making its influence felt. Concerning Von Hertling himself and his so-called "policy" we have fragmentary and contradictory accounts. The only definite information obtainable is the speech which he delivered on October 23d, a few days before his elevation, in the Bavarian Parliament. This has the utmost interest for Americans. The present Chancellor reviewed the question of peace and could see only one obstacle—the United States. All that France could gain by fighting further, he said, was Alsace-Lorraine, and France must know by now that any such aspiration was the wildest dream. Russia had been fighting mainly for Constantinople, and had already abandoned all hope of ever obtaining it. One influence, and one influence only, was keeping up the war—that was America. Von Hertling pictured Germany as the protector of Europe; the issue in the war had now developed into saving Europe, including England, from the rapacity of the United States! "If the Entente victory," said the speaker, "were to be procured only with the help of America this would mean that America henceforward takes England's place. America would with her fleet dominate the seas and direct the course of the frontiers of world trade. America, as is already the case in the war, would remain after the war a mighty lender of money, and would take the place of England as the banker of the world.

"America against Europe—that is the character which the war threatens to assume more and more. Consequently the Central Powers and their allies are no longer fighting for themselves alone; they are fighting for the independence of Europe against American empire, which has become too strong. And with them are fighting the neutral States, which will not allow themselves to be forced into war against the Central Powers, which are defending Europe."

As a German statesman, Hertling is apparently developing true to type. That a nation may enter a war for any other purpose than

"domination," "directing the frontiers of world trade," or "empire" is an idea that never penetrates the German mind. Of course, the purpose of this speech is to sow fear and distrust of this country in the minds of the Allies. German emissaries have for three years filled the ears of Frenchmen with tales that the English proposed to retain Calais, or even to annex large areas of France. These suspicions have been inculcated with the usual Prussian clumsiness and have been unsuccessful. Similarly this picture of a benevolent Germany protecting Europe, including England, from the Yankee lust for world dominion will hardly induce our allies to make their peace with the Kaiser.

Ships and Labor Problem

AN ARTICLE in the present number of the WORLD'S WORK sets forth the facts on the shipping situation. It is extremely important that the American people understand precisely to what extent we are likely to complete the ambitious programme outlined by Mr. Hurley. Unless we can build this new tonnage the United States might just as well end the elaborate military preparations which are now under way. The three thousand miles of sea that stretches between the United States and Europe possesses great protective value in a defensive war; for offensive operations, however, it presents an almost insurmountable handicap. No nation has ever transported an army of a million men over a watery waste of three thousand miles and kept it continuously supplied. Under the old conditions of sea warfare this would have been a mighty task; when this path is strewn with mines and submarines, however, it presents a problem that should challenge the powers of the most energetic people.

Our war with Germany is an aggressive, offensive war. Our purpose is to hurl our arms, our men, our airplanes, and all our economic resources as promptly as possible against the German entrenchments. We can go on until doomsday manufacturing all these materials of warfare; unless we have first constructed a steel bridge across the Atlantic, by means of which they can be transported to the western front, we shall have all our pains for nothing. Whether we can do this depends entirely upon the success with which we organize our man power. We have plenty of steel, plenty of turbines, plenty of officers and seamen—all that we lack are the workmen in the shipyards. The whole shipping situation resolves itself into this: if we can obtain 500,000 workers for our shipyards immediately, we can turn out 5,000,000 or 6,000,000 tons of shipping next year.

American workmen, therefore, have it in their power to destroy autocracy and make the freedom which they enjoy the universal order of mankind. They will suffer no inconveniences or discomforts in the process. The country is not asking them to abandon their families, to dig themselves into trenches and to offer their bodies as barriers to German bullets. It is asking them to work industriously eight hours a day for wages that represent twice or three times what they have ever earned before. But probably the greatest responsibility does not rest on the workingmen; it rests on the Administration. The article in this issue describes the demoralization which the present competitive labor system has produced in the shipyards. Instead of increasing the number of workmen as new shipyards are established, we have simply started these yards outbidding one another for the available labor supply, which hardly increases at all. As long as this process continues we shall get nowhere in the production of a great shipping fleet. The shipbuilders themselves are helpless. Only the Government can handle the situation. The Administration should act—and act quickly.

The Sick Security Markets

SECURITY markets are always subject to chills and fever. Since the war started there have been severe cases of each on the New York Stock Exchange. With our own entrance into the war real sickness in the market developed. Early in November it became worse. The decline had, in extent, both in the railroad and industrial stocks, exceeded that of the panic of 1907, although it had not been as rapid. According to averages compiled by the *Wall Street Journal*, the average decline, since our entrance into the war, in twenty active industrial issues was 29 points and in twenty railroad stocks 28 points. That was a loss amounting to more than one fourth of the market value of those stocks.

The sickness in the railroad stocks has been

A university is more than a group of buildings where the young man learns Greek, Latin, science, and philosophy. It is its constant boast that it is a training place for character and good citizenship. Our greatest universities have always insisted that, while they give their professors "academic freedom" in teaching their particular subjects, these same professors must maintain a dignity and seemliness in their personal lives that will not bring the institution into contempt. It is not true that a university professor, as soon as he leaves the classroom, becomes a free agent. What university could be expected to retain on its faculty a group of professors, for instance, who spent their lives outside the university halls in drunkenness and debauchery? How long would such an institution retain the confidence of the public?

A few years ago Columbia dismissed a professor for the reason that, although he was a distinguished scholar and an altogether charming person, he was likewise notorious for the immorality of his private life. No one questioned the propriety of this action or suggested that it violated the principle of "academic freedom." The trustees have now dismissed Professors Cattell and Dana because their activities outside the class room, in the opinion of the great majority of Americans, encouraged disloyalty and sedition, and are professedly intended to defeat our military operations and promote the success of Germany. Columbia informs the world that it will harbor no men on its teaching staff and no students who are openly working against the Nation in this, the greatest crisis in its history.

The War Before the War

THE revelations which are coming almost every day from Washington form a suitable accompaniment to Mr. Gerard's description of his three humiliating years at the German court. All these disclosures have a significance which extends beyond the light which they shed upon German military methods. They indicate the attitude which a Hohenzollern Germany has always maintained toward a self-governing democracy like our own, and they are to be read in connection with Germany's insulting behavior toward the United States for the last quarter century. During that whole period Germany has shown herself the enemy of mankind and particularly the enemy of those countries which assert the principle of popular rule. They teach us the invaluable lesson, which we cannot too strongly or too frequently insist upon, that the complete triumph of Kultur signifies not only German domination over Europe but the destruction of free institutions in every part of the world. We Americans have been slow to grasp this situation in its complete reality, but as the history of the last twenty years is gradually unfolded, piece by piece, the fact that this struggle merely represents an attempt to reduce the world to medievalism, to crush individual liberty everywhere and to replace it with a military autocracy, becomes a truth as clear as sunlight.

Mr. Gerard informs us that the Germans hate Americans, above all peoples, simply because we are a successful democracy. More recent revelations of German duplicity show that there are no instruments which the Prussian despotism will not use to accomplish our destruction. Most of us have accepted April 6, 1917, as the date when war began between Germany and the United States. In reality Germany has been waging war upon us ever since the present Kaiser came to power.

The German Government's attempt to form a coalition of European nations against us in 1898, when we went to the rescue of Cuba, was an act of war. The German Navy repeatedly committed acts of war against Admiral Dewey in the Philippines in that year. Germany's attempted invasion of Venezuela in 1902 was an act of war. Even the visit of Prince Henry in 1902 was an act of war, since its main purpose was to divide the allegiance of our people, and to transform our citizens of German birth into a compact mass that would serve the interests of the Kaiser. Germany has committed acts of war against us in Mexico, in Haiti, in numerous other places. For years the German Embassy has been simply a headquarters for plots directed against the peace and the sovereignty of our people. The German Ambassador has spent his finest talents in attempts to sow dissension between this country and England. We now know that when, in 1913, President Wilson was working to secure the repeal of the Panama Tolls Act, his bitterest opponent was the infamous Bernstorff, who was attempting in this way to make trouble between the United States and Great Britain—activities that were virtually acts of

war. The events of the last three years, the ambassadorial scheme to blow up our factories, to place mines in ships sailing from our ports, to disorganize our industries by causing strikes, to bribe certain purchasable journalists to attack their own nation, their own president, to seduce certain professional Irishmen to use American soil as a base of operations against a nation with which we were at peace, as well as the plottings to finance the activities of pacifists directed against the security of their country—all these Germanic undertakings amounted simply to one thing. They were acts of war against the United States.

The situation has, therefore, changed only in that the war is no longer being waged subtly, secretly, but openly, and in that hostilities are being prosecuted by the United States as well as by Germany. We have finally taken up the challenge which the Germanic system has for so many years been leveling at our democratic organization.

Our Feelings Toward Japan

VISCOUNT ISHII came on a mission to us recently and told us many pleasant things about the feeling of Japan for us, told us that such misunderstanding as there was had been instigated by the Germans and carried on by the irresponsible yellow journals on both sides of the water. The Viscount's friendly discourses were pleasant to hear and to read. His visit helped to alleviate a little strain that had arisen. It was a well timed and well executed mission.

But the Viscount did not go to the roots of things. The American distrust of Japan was not manufactured by the Germans. They may have tried to take advantage of it, but it is founded on several well-known causes.

In the first place, there is a very general impression among American traders that when Japan became paramount in Manchuria she discriminated most unfairly against American trade.

In the second place, there is the friction between the Japanese and the American populations on the Pacific Coast.

In the third place, Americans have felt a keen resentment that Count Okuma should have telegraphed an American magazine that Japan would restore Kiao-chau to China—only to find later that Japan had no intention of doing this.

In the fourth place, Americans resented Japan's action in secretly confronting China with the famous twenty-one demands which, if accepted by China, would practically end our Open Door policy and the maintenance of the integrity of China.

The condition of affairs in Manchuria we have accepted. For the friction between Japanese and Americans on the Pacific Coast, we do not blame any one especially, and we shall do our utmost as Japan is doing to alleviate the difficulty.

Count Okuma's misrepresentation leaves an unpleasant impression which is very much heightened by Japan's pressure on China, as exampled by the twenty-one demands.

Viscount Ishii said nothing about these demands, but the impression gained from his speeches was that Japan had no designs on China's integrity or on the Open Door. That would mean that such demands would not be pressed again. There were several signs that under the changed conditions Japan had really decided on a less aggressive course toward China. The Viscount's assurances fitted in with these signs. Certainly, then, we should be induced to meet the friendly advances half way. That unquestionably was the general disposition.

Yet the Viscount had hardly left our shores when we were confronted with the following despatch from Peking, October 26th last:

> The Japanese are exerting every effort, officially and unofficially, to close the Chinese arms monopoly contract, carrying control of the Nanking iron deposits and the employment of Japanese military advisers and a director of the new arsenal at Nanking. It is asserted by the Japanese that they are extending credit, and not making a loan, and consequently that they are not violating the Six Powers' exclusive rights to make political loans.
>
> This view is not shared by the French and the English and a large section of the Chinese press, as well as diplomatic circles, which unite in denouncing the deal as a revival of the most objectionable features in Japan's demands presented to China in May, 1915, known as "Group V." The principal provisions of those demands, which were twenty-one in number, concerned the appointment of Japanese military and political advisers for China and Japanese supervision over the manufacture or purchase by China of munitions of war.
>
> Minister Reinsch has advised the Foreign Office that China has invariably taken the position that it would hold the remainder of the iron deposits for national use whenever Americans have sought development rights, and that consequently the

United States now would insist that American interests be given consideration in the Chinese iron industry. The ministers of several other countries have taken the same position.

Despite Viscount Ishii's friendly assurances, therefore, our minds are not quite easy about Japan's intentions concerning the Open Door policy and the territorial integrity of China. Elsewhere in this number of the WORLD'S WORK, Mr. Frederick Moore, who found out and first gave to the world the text of the famous twenty-one demands, explains in greater detail our apprehensions of Japan's designs in China. Viscount Ishii is wrong. There is something more substantial than German lies for us to worry about—or at least there has been. And both Japan and the United States had far better face the facts and solve the problem than to cover the difficulty over with friendly phrases and let it grow. It is a case for frank and friendly diplomacy in which we and Japan will have a decision to make.

"Borrow and Buy" vs. "Save and Pay"

BORROW and Buy" was one of the effective slogans in the second Liberty Loan campaign. The banks suggested to their depositors that instead of buying what they could pay for, they buy several times that amount and let the banks lend them the difference. A man with $1,000 could under this arrangement buy as many as ten $1,000 bonds, paying $1,000 and owing the bank $9,000. If he could pay the bank back pretty quickly that would be justifiable. If not and the next time a Liberty Loan comes he does the same thing, he and the bank and the Government are merely writing fiction. The Government might about as well print paper and let it go at that. "Borrow and Buy" is not a good policy unless the borrower can actually pay back quickly. "Save and Pay" is the only safe and sure way.

It is to the hundred million people of this country that the Government must look for the proper financing of the war. That is the ultimate source from which the money must be secured. And it is within the power of the people to see to it that a sound and courageous policy is followed in securing it. They can make it clear to the Government and the bankers that it is not necessary to adopt the easiest way. By subscribing to all the Liberty Loan bonds they can pay for, and then systematically saving to pay for them within a short period, they can minimize the necessity for expanding bank credits. When credits are expanded for war financing it means inflation, unless they are soon contracted; and there is a direct relation between inflation and advancing commodity prices. If the people do not finance the war by voluntary saving, they must pay indirectly through higher living costs. That in the end forces economy. But then people get no return from their saving, as they do if they deny themselves in the first place in order to buy bonds. And the sound and courageous method sooner releases for the Government the labor which it needs as much as money. The "business as usual" fallacy was exploded in England early in the war. The emphasis should be placed not on the "Borrow and Buy" but on the "Save and Pay" part of our Liberty Loan slogan.

The Spruce-Loggers are Mobilized

THE railroads, the shipbuilding plants, and the steel men are not the only interests that have organized and placed their resources at the service of the Nation. The spruce-loggers and manufacturers of Washington and Oregon, fifty men in all, have recently come together and organized the Aircraft Spruce Production Bureau. This organization places the Federal Government and our Allies in immediate touch with that large supply of spruce which is indispensable in the building of airplanes. So far the manufacturers have found no other wood that serves their purpose so well. Spruce is the most desirable for building aircraft frames because it combines in one wood the several qualities that are most desirable. It is light in weight—and every ounce is a serious matter in an airplane. It is strong and so forms a protection against the one-hundred-mile rate at which the airplane travels. Moreover, it is yielding; it bends without breaking, an important consideration when we think of the loops, the tail glides, the side slips, the sharp turns and the dives which have become the everyday experience of the aviator. The reasons that make this spruce so valuable for the masts of sailing ships also make it the most handy material for airplanes.

The Northern Pacific States and Alaska are our greatest sources of supply. These hardy loggers have pledged their entire output for

the next twelve months to the United States and our allies. Their spruce will go out not only to American factories, but to Italy, France, and Great Britain. They will make important contributions to the anticipated Allied victory in the air.

We Are Not Dependent Upon Germany for Potash

THE American Chemical Society, recently assembled in annual convention in Boston, brought one message of cheer to the American people. Our farmers, contrary to general belief, are not necessarily dependent on Germany for that potash which is so indispensable for fertilizer. Potash has played an important part in German-American relations, and, at times, has occupied practically all the attention of our diplomatic representatives at Berlin. Until this present conflict, German-American combats have passed into history under rather inglorious titles. In Bismarck's time we had a "hog war" with Germany, hostilities hanging upon the imperial determination to exclude American meats in the interests of the junkers. As recently as 1910 a "potash war" raged between the two countries. Only the other day a German professor declared that this present struggle must end in Germany's favor, because American agriculture could not live long without German potash.

Providence favored the United States in natural resources, giving us more than our fair share of oil, coal, iron, silver, gold, water power, and farming land. We thought that it had neglected us in potash. But the pressure of war has made us open our eyes a little wider. In San Bernardino County, California, Searles Lake, covering 25,000 acres, according to Government geologists, will yield ample supplies. Moreover, there are plants on the shore ready to begin work. Added to this the chemists now say that the spirit of conservation, properly applied, will give us a large amount. We make 90,000,000 barrels of cement a year. These contain 100,000 tons of potash—half our annual exports from Germany before the war—which can be easily redeemed for agricultural purposes. Enormous quantities also go to waste in wool wash, kelp, the waste liquor of beets and other things. Moreover, we are beginning to act on this information. In 1915, the United States produced 350 tons of potash, and, in 1916, this had grown to 36,000 tons. If the war lasts a year or two longer, there is little doubt that we shall produce all we need. And, as in case of dyes, after the war we may not be so dependent upon Germany.

Our Growing Place Among the Nations

IN 1880 more than 70 per cent. of the people of the United States belonged to the rural class; were largely engaged in raising foodstuffs to feed the nation. Only 30 per cent. lived in towns and cities. When the last census was taken, in 1910, less than 54 per cent. of our population was rural; 46.3 per cent. was urban. This trend from the farm to the city has been evident since 1820. It is the manifestation of an economic change which is of great importance at this time, when the war is opening up for us a larger place in the family of nations. It means that the labor of a smaller proportion is now being expended to feed the total population. The development of farm machinery, in which this country is the leader, has been an important factor in making this possible. Just at this time, when we must feed half the world, there is need for more help on the farm; but labor-saving devices will largely overcome this shortage. A steadily growing percentage of our people is engaged in transforming our own raw products into finished articles, and we now reap the full profit where formerly we often sent the raw material abroad and bought back from there the manufactured articles.

While 46 per cent. of our population was classed as urban before the war, as much as 78 per cent. of England's was so classed. Of course, the remaining 22 per cent. there do not raise enough to feed the rest. But it is the fact that three fourths of the English people are more or less identified with manufacturing pursuits that has made Great Britain the greatest commercial nation in the world. Until now few American manufacturers have felt the need of foreign markets. Our great industrial expansion due to the war, however, requires broader markets if it is to be sustained. Those who know the American manufacturer and his selling methods have little doubt but that he will command them. The Government's comprehensive shipbuilding plans will be of great aid; and the new Federal Reserve system makes

the financing of foreign trade possible without going through London.

Between 70 and 80 per cent. of Russia's population is in the country. That gives a good idea of the great changes that must take place there before that country, with its vast resources, can become a competitor in the world's markets. In France close to 60 per cent. of the population before the war was rural. In Germany only 40 per cent. lived outside of towns. That measured the necessity for the greater commercial leadership of Germany. The population of this country has increased more rapidly than any other, and we have a great advantage in having land enough to support a much larger total.

While it is not always well to read the good things that others say about you, if allowance is made for the fact that the *London Statist* wished to criticize the financial and trade policy of the British Government, we may take just pride and get a view of the future from what that leading financial journal said about "the competitor which is growing up across the Atlantic:"

"They are considerably more than twice as numerous as we are in these islands. They are amongst the very best business men that the world holds to-day. And they are in possession of a soil which is capable of maintaining five times the population it has at present. They have, therefore, illimitable room to spread and to multiply, and they have resources, which, with the exception of China, no other country in the world possesses. Under any circumstances, therefore, they would distance us in the long run. But if we had a really capable government we might hold our own for a long time, and we might make adequate provision for the day when we should indeed have to play second fiddle. As it is, three short years of war have suddenly deprived us of our financial primacy, and threatened to land us in a position in which we shall be dependent on the lending power of others and incapable of lending ourselves."

Moral Well-Being as a Military Asset

THE War Camp Community Recreation Service, which has recently ended its conference at Washington, has undertaken a campaign of preparedness of an unusual and particularly vital kind. Even those generals in the past who have given the most minute attention to discipline, training, and supply have neglected to protect the soldiers against certain social evils that have always clustered around military camps. In former times a great force of female camp followers regularly accompanied each army on its campaign, and reports that have reached this side from Europe disclose that the evils in question still prevail on altogether too great a scale. It is the boast of the medical services in the modern armies that they have abolished certain diseases that had formerly destroyed more soldiers than the enemies' bullets. A man in the English, French, or American army is less likely to contract typhoid than he is at home. Tetanus, formerly one of the greatest horrors of warfare, has absolutely disappeared, and modern antiseptic methods have freed gunshot wounds from much of their destructive effects. Yet those much more terrible scourges, the diseases that accompany sexual incontinence, are still rampant. It is not necessary to accept on their face value all the sensational accounts that come from the other side; if even a fraction are true, the situation is a serious one.

A soldier who is absolutely sound, physically and morally, is the only fighter that has much value in the present war. Merely from the standpoint of military efficiency, the Nation must exert every effort to protect our men from these disintegrating evils. Fortunately, we are approaching this great problem in the right way. It is something which it is difficult to control by force or stringent regulations. Formerly the Army put away in the guard house the man who had become particularly obstreperous or who had overstayed his leave. But the real trouble has been that the soldier has had plenty of idle time on his hands and has been removed from all the restraints of his former environment. The proposed method of treatment is to establish recreation centres around every camp and cantonment, where the men can obtain wholesome entertainment. If they can be kept busy with movie shows, vaudeville, baseball, football, and a dozen other forms of recreation it is believed that only the most vicious will seek their relaxations elsewhere. The movement now under way to raise money for the establishment of such centres is one that deserves the support of all who are anxious not only that the United States keep its young manhood intact, but that it win the war.

MR. JOHN G. SHEDD ON SAVING AND INVESTING

Every month the WORLD'S WORK *publishes in this part of the magazine an article on investments and the lessons to be derived therefrom*

THE training of young men to so organize their lives that they save enough in the earlier years to insure their peace of mind and comfort in later life, is, in the opinion of Mr. John G. Shedd, head of the great merchandising house of Marshall Field & Company, Chicago, one of the most urgent needs in this country to-day. And with that should go training in the safe investment of savings, which, he says, seems more difficult to learn than that of saving itself.

Mr. Shedd was twenty-two years old when first employed by Mr. Marshall Field. He worked for ten dollars a week for a few months and then for twelve. At the end of the first year Mr. Field came around and asked him how much he had saved. (Mr. Field used to tell this story to his other employees.) Mr. Shedd replied, "Five dollars a week." Mr. Field naturally looked incredulous. The young man saw this and remarked: "I want you to see my bank book, Mr. Field." "Oh no, Mr. Shedd, that is not necessary." "But I would like to have you see it," rejoined Mr. Shedd. The bank book showed regular entries of ten dollars for each pay-day, a total of $260 for the year. Mr. Field complimented him highly on this achievement. Passing to a high salaried man in the same department, he asked him how much he had saved. On receiving the reply "Nothing," he announced, "You will not receive another cent increase from me until you have demonstrated your ability to save."

Some time after this Mr. Shedd had his first experience in buying securities. He tells of that incident himself:

"A very close friend, a man of high standing, came to me and asked if I had fifty dollars. I told him I had. He wanted me to buy some silver mining stock at a few cents a share. He said he knew the people in the company and predicted large profits on the investment. Instead of dividends, an assessment was called for. This I did not pay because we had found out more about the company. My friend did know most of the men in it, and they were of good reputation, but had been dupes of an unprincipled man who was at the bottom of the thing. I think I still have those certificates somewhere. I kept them for a long time. They would nearly paper this office in handsome colors.

"After that my savings, as they grew, were always invested with a view to safety of the principal. I sought the advice of reliable and well established banking houses, and was satisfied with a moderate interest. If people could only be made to see that a 5 per cent. bond with safety is much better than 10 per cent. with poor security, great good would be accomplished. But it seems a hopeless task. It is certainly an endless one. We see that in our own organization. Although we offer to secure for any of our people the best advice, and urge them to come to us, every year many thousand dollars are lost through the purchase of worthless securities. They hear of some one who has made big profits—who may or may not have done so—or some friend advises them, and they lose their money.

"This is all commonplace talk, and has been heard over and over again. But there seems great need for its continual repetition. Many things have changed since I was a young man. It was then "fight ahead," now it is "dig in." Ways of thinking have changed. The young men of to-day do not have the same thoughts they did in my time in regard to many things. But in this matter of saving and investing, I believe there has been little change. It is the same problem of organizing one's life along lines that provide for building up a competence to provide for old age. I believe the savings bank is the best place to start accumulating. There are, I understand, good bonds in hundred-dollar denominations, but it has always seemed to me that a thousand dollars was the proper unit for investment in securities. When that amount is reached people should seek the advice of a responsible banking house—not simply of any one they

know, but of a house that has been in business long enough to have a well established reputation. They should be satisfied with low interest with safety of principal.

"The first time the advantage of saving was forcefully brought home to me," said Mr. Shedd, "was when as a boy a small pamphlet fell into my hands showing how a dollar in the savings bank would grow; and how much a dollar a week, two dollars, and five dollars a week would amount to in a few years at compound interest. I put the pamphlet in my pocket and profited by it. I still think the use of the savings bank is the best aid to saving. If our young men can be taught to save, between the ages of eighteen and thirty, the money that they do not then need to spend, they will never have to wear trousers frayed at the heel in their old age. It is much better for them, for their families, and for the country, that they wear frayed trousers before they are thirty, than after. The man who does not start saving while he is young usually never does start. He is always jumping around from place to place. You can place less dependence on him; he is a poorer citizen.

"In addition to being protected from want, the man with savings is in position to take advantage of opportunities as they arise. Opportunities come to those who are able to grasp them. One of the things I fear most in this country is the growth of paternalism. That means the leveling of endeavor, the quieting of individual initiative and ambition. With our great business organizations and vast possibilities for growth there is a greater need for individual ambition in this country than there has ever been. If we can educate our young men to organize their lives with a definite plan for savings, we will have men with ambition to grasp the opportunities and with means and ability to carry out the work."

THE WAR TO-DAY—AND TO-MORROW

Strategic Conditions on all the Fronts and the Outlook for Next Year

BY

J. B. W. GARDINER

WHEN the close of 1916 gave Germany pause in which to take stock of the year's war business, every entry on the books, with the single exception of the Rumanian campaign, found its way to the wrong side of the balance sheet. The Italian campaign along the Isonzo, the great Russian offensive in Galicia and Volhynia, the many battles of Verdun, and finally the great Battle of the Somme—all had gone decisively against the Central Powers. The beginning of that year had seen Germany thoroughly confident that, as far as the Allies were concerned, the deadlock in the west was absolutely unbreakable. Verdun proved to them that if this were true of the Allies it was equally true of themselves. When their numbers and equipment were at the full flood of the tide, they struck in a last gigantic effort to end matters before the ebb should set in, but, beaten and crushed, their best battalions decimated, they were thrown back, and the effort from which victory had been expected had been turned into a German holocaust by the gargantuan appetite of the French artillery. While still reeling from the defeat at Verdun, the German lines were suddenly called upon to withstand the terrific impact of the opening charge on the Somme. There was not enough reserve strength to resist it. Little by little, step by step, these lines were forced back as the Allied armies bit deeper and deeper into their positions. By the end of the year, an advance of some ten miles had been made and a wedge driven into the German lines which formed, with the Allied lines along the Aisne from Soissons eastward, the open jaws as of some great Leviathan which threatened, with another effort, to close and consume the German forces still holding the great Noyons salient.

The war must be won and lost in France and Belgium. It is there that are found the great bulk of the contending forces of the most powerful belligerents, and a decision can be

gained only by the defeat of one of this group. It may aid a decision to defeat minor proportions of forces in a subsidiary field. But the object of war is the elimination of armies, and as long as the bulk of an army is still in the field as an effective fighting force, a decision has not been reached. Therefore, as the fighting on the western front goes, so goes the war. Conclusions logically drawn and based on known conditions on this front may then be considered to apply to the war situation as a whole.

Germany had struck at Verdun with her full force mustered for this one great effort. She threw into the fighting the very best she had, but her best was not good enough. From an offensive measure on a gigantic scale, the Verdun battle dwindled down until it had turned into a purely defensive action, the initiative little by little passing to the French. On the Somme there never was a question even for a moment of Germany playing anything else but a defensive rôle. If, therefore, the battle of the Somme proved to be an Allied victory, Germany was not only doomed to carry on a purely defensive war, but a losing defensive as well. It is perfectly obvious that no army can gain a military decision through a defensive programme. Unless there is sufficient strength to strike out at a favorable moment and crush once and for all the opposition, the most that army can hope for is to turn the war into a drawn battle. Germany's chance of emerging victorious passed when the seal was placed upon the Verdun lock. Her hope of producing a stalemate vanished when the Somme proved to be a Franco-British victory.

The situation on the western front as it appeared in December, 1916, may then be briefly summarized. Germany tacitly admitted her own inability to break the grip of the Allies in the west, while at the same time denying the ability of her opponents to gain the decision. The Allies' viewpoint coincided thoroughly with the first part of Germany's opinion, but pointed to the Somme successes as a disclaimer of the second. Putting aside the claims of the belligerents themselves, certain elements of the situation stood out clearly. Germany was first outnumbered, and outnumbered by troops who man for man were in every sense at least the equal of her own in fighting calibre. She was outmunitioned and outgunned. In artillery of all calibres the Allies had more guns per mile of fighting front and more and better shell to feed them. Finally, Germany had reached the crest of her power and was commencing to slip down the slope.

On the Italian front, the defense, as last year came to a close, still held the upper hand. It is true that after months of struggling the Italians had broken over the barrier imposed by the Isonzo River and had captured the bridge head at Gorizia. At great cost they had pushed beyond and obtained a foothold on the northern and western lips of the Carso Plateau which stretches out along the sea, barring the way to Trieste. But here they appeared absolutely stopped. The Austrian defense, supported by the succession of heights which line the eastern bank of the Isonzo River, appeared too strong to be broken down. In Trentino, the other Italian theatre, Italy was admittedly on the defensive, with no offensive aspirations whatever. At the close of last year, therefore, the entire Italian situation looked painfully deadlocked. Italy's lack of raw materials, the dearth of available shipping in the face of the necessity of importing not alone all war materials but a large quantity of food as well, Austria's apparently impregnable defensive positions along the eastern bank of the Isonzo barrier—all these combined to negative any thought or hope that Italy could initiate an offensive move of sufficient power to alter materially the situation in this theatre. At best, it seemed, Italy's function would be the neutralization of the Austrian forces needed for defensive operations.

RUSSIA'S YEAR OF PROMISE

In spite of the Rumanian débâcle which closed the 1916 fighting on the Russian front, the achievements of the year by the Russian forces held out great promise for the new year. Although still suffering from the Germanism of Stürmer and his traitorous agents, Russia had nevertheless recovered from the great defeat which followed the battle of the Dunajec, and, by a magnificent effort under the able leadership of General Brusiloff, had disastrously defeated the Austrian army, occupied all of Bukovina, captured a half million of Austrian soldiers and destroyed as many more through casualties, and pushed her lines forward almost to the gates of Lemberg. An unexpected reserve strength had been revealed and an army had been recreated which this

time gave evidence of being well equipped and well munitioned. The entrance of Rumania, notwithstanding her defeat, had done much to add to the favorable outlook for the current year. The battle line from Riga southward, already long and therefore thinly held, had been materially increased. Indeed, if Russia could only rid of herself of the horde of vampires which had fastened themselves on official Petrograd, sucking its life blood in the interests of the Central Powers, there were apparently no limits to what Russia might accomplish.

Austria had been, by a succession of defeats, weakened far beyond her powers of recuperation. What forces she still was able to maintain in the field were scarcely sufficient to permit a continuance of her defensive rôle against Italy, leaving nothing for the operations in Russia and Rumania. The entire burden, then, of both main fronts was thrust upon Germany, with such meagre assistance as might be furnished by Bulgaria and Turkey. The prospects were then far from bright for the Central Powers. On other fronts little was looked for. Since the surrender of General Townshend's force at Kut-el-Amara, the Mesopotamian theatre had faded from the limelight completely. There was no indication that any further movement had been planned or was even under consideration. At Salonika there was complete stagnation. The defeat of Rumania had removed from the list of possibilities any success in this quarter. The troops that were there, numbering about [illegible] were limited to holding back Greece and preventing the Central Powers from gaining free access to the Mediterranean.

GERMANY PERMANENTLY ON THE DEFENSIVE

Germany was everywhere on the defensive and was [illegible] to remain so all through the [illegible] the attack on [illegible] the drive against Italy. The [illegible] of the advantage which [illegible] with the Allies [illegible] where and where they [illegible] through the Allied General Staff [illegible] has been [illegible] and [illegible] has been formulated and [illegible] for combined operations on all fronts. Positive superiority in the mechanics of war, in guns, shell, and shell production, in air craft, added to an ever-increasing superiority in man power, gave promise that 1917, even if it did not bring victory, would at least send Germany well down the slopes toward the valley of defeat, leaving for the next year to bring complete triumph.

Hardly had 1917 dawned when the results of the Allied successes of the previous year began to accrue. Germany was forced to admit her growing weakness. This admission took the form of an announcement of unrestricted submarine warfare, which, in effect, was a declaration of war against all the Powers which still remained neutral. As the German Chancellor himself stated in his attempted extenuation of German savagery and gross international immorality, it was their only chance of victory, a last gamble with fate. As a result of this move, which was of course designed to break up all communication between the Allies and the neutral world, Germany received the greatest blow that has been delivered since England entered the war, the severing by the United States of diplomatic relations and the subsequent acknowledgment of the existence of a state of war with the German Empire. It was the first of a series of German calamities that the new year was to bring.

THE GERMAN RETREAT

The second came when the Battle of the Somme began to blossom and bear fruit. Up to the end of 1916, Germany persistently declared that this battle was a German victory and that nothing that had been accomplished had in any way affected the military situation or had justified the expenditure of shell or of men that the Somme had cost. But hard on the heels of the beginning of unrestricted undersea warfare came the German retreat. Again there was an admission of German extremity. The German explanation of the causes of this retreat are too silly and inconsequential to require mention in a serious analysis. The map tells the story and shows the danger to the forces holding the Noyon salient of an extension of the Somme gains or of a similar blow from the south. We need therefore look no further for the reason. Preparation for this retreat had begun in December, the principal element of which was the fortification of a new line. The old line

had been taken up under the stress of battle after the retreat from the Marne, and in certain portions did not possess the advantages of terrain that a more carefully selected series of positions might have had. The new line was carefully selected after a close study of the ground, and was chosen with but one consideration in view—defense. It is well to remember, therefore, that the Germans are fighting on ground selected by themselves with consideration only to its defensive possibilities, and that it has been fortified with this end in view. This point is important in arriving at a correct estimate of the present situation and its future possibilities.

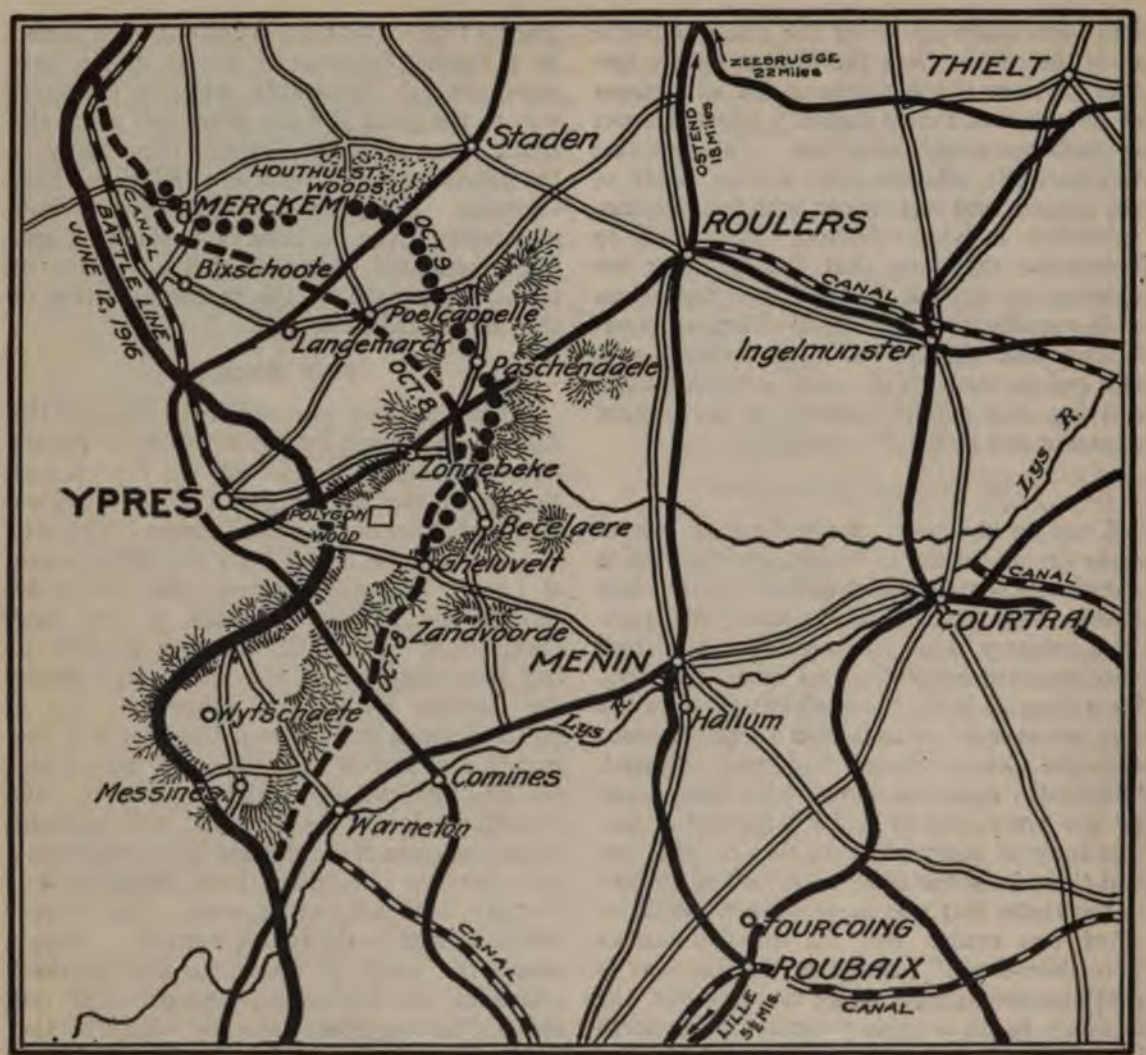
THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Close on the heels of the German retreat came the revolution in Russia, an event which completely shattered any military plans which Russia may have made for the entire year. In a military sense, Russia had cast herself into the international scrap heap, and had, for a time at least, removed herself from the war just as certainly as though a separate peace with the Central Powers had been arranged. Spasmodic, uncertain moves have been made by the army, one of which promised a success fully as noteworthy as that of last year had there been the same cohesion and loyalty in the ranks that was present when the latter effort was made. But the initial successes were short-lived. Permitting the Russians to continue their efforts along the Dneister, the Germans began to apply pressure farther north in Galicia near the Volhynian border. The Russians did not wait for a serious attack to be launched but vacated the trenches and fled precipitately across the border of Bessarabia. There was nothing left to the line to the south but to do likewise. Here the Germans halted, after straightening out the line southward and reconquering Bukovina. In the north the situation was similar. Almost without a fight Riga was evacuated and the entire line of the Dwina River, before which the Russian army had halted the Germans for nearly two years, was left behind in a retrograde movement toward Petrograd. The islands in the Gulf of Riga were given up to the German fleet, the Russian fleet, unequal to the emergency, making its escape toward Kronstadt.

Thus the situation stands as this article is being written. Germany is not on the defensive on this front. If anything the contrary is true. But there is nothing to be gained by a further invasion of Russia unless, perhaps, through Bessarabia, which is the gateway to the great Russian grain belt along the Black Sea and to the Russian iron supply in the provinces of Ekaterinoslav and of the Don Cossacks. Here, however, the Germans have apparently given up hope of pushing on and have contented themselves with a show of offensive strength on the northern section of the line toward Petrograd.

VIMY RIDGE

When the chaos into which the plans of the Allies were thrown by the defection of Russia had been somewhat relieved, the French and British in the west began various offensive moves of a more or less local nature. The first of these was the attack on Vimy Ridge south of Lens. This ridge formed what might be termed the northern pedestal of the new Hindenburg line. The offensive against it had been prepared in the late winter before the German retreat had begun. It was a position which had resisted the efforts of the French and British since the fall of 1915 when the first attacks were made against it. Its importance lay in the fact that it dominated the entire plain of Douai, and from it the country stretched out almost level, bringing this German base into plain view. The attack was successful in the fullest measure. Everywhere the crest of the ridge was reached and held, the Canadians, who delivered the attack, flowing down into the valley of the Scarpe River. Almost simultaneous with this attack was that made by the French north of Rheims and in the Champagne. The object of both these attacks was the same—to pocket the German lines between Rheims and the Aisne River and to force the entire German line beyond the Aisne. The map will show how the German line turns south near Berry-au-Bac, curving around Rheims to the north of the city and straightening out about three miles south of the city on its way across the Champagne to Verdun. It will be at once apparent, then, what the situation would have been had the French from the Champagne been able to push their lines beyond Moronvillers to the Suippes River and had accomplished the same thing from north of Rheims. These attacks, while gaining considerable ground and inflicting severe losses on the Germans, were nevertheless failures in so far



THE CRUCIAL AREA OF THE BRITISH OFFENSIVE

The famous Messines Ridge, the dominating height in Flanders, possession of which makes probable a German retreat eastward in Belgium next Spring

as attaining their objectives is concerned, although they did succeed in giving the French valuable high ground from which to operate in subsequent operations. Another attack was made by the French in the neighborhood of Craonne with the object of reaching the lines feeding Laon, the southern base of the Hindenburg line. The Craonne Plateau was reached, the French lines being gradually pushed up to the ridge overlooking the valley of the Ailette River, the ridge being crowned by the famous Chemin des Dames. But here the French were again checked, being unable to push the Germans, by frontal attack, down the northern slope of the ridge and over the valley floor. Late in October still another major attack was delivered with the same object in view, but this time the effort was made to accomplish the desired result by a flanking operation rather than by a frontal attack. The scene of the attack was the angle formed by the Oise Canal and the Ailette River northeast of Soissons, and directly on the road from Soissons to Laon. This attack is in its initial stages as this is being written. The first blow is entirely successful, penetrating the German positions to a depth of nearly three miles and seizing the high ground in the angle from which the German defenses in the Ailette valley to the east can be readily reached.

PROBABLE LINES OF GERMAN RETREAT

Complete British success in the Ypres sector would compel the Germans to retreat on to the line running south through Bruges, while a similar French success at Laon would force the Germans back to a line through Antwerp, Namur, and Verdun

Laon itself is less than eight miles distant and its approaches are under fire of heavy artillery. It is futile to predict the outcome of this fighting, but the first successes promise well for favorable results before the first of the new year. The main offensive operations have been conducted by the British east and northeast of Ypres. When the British and Canadians held up the German tide which was struggling to reach Calais, the Germans occupied and held firmly the ridge, which runs continuously across the otherwise level low country of Flanders, from Messines to a point a few miles north of the little village of Paschendaele.

THE IMPORTANCE OF MESSINES RIDGE

The importance of this ridge position can hardly be exaggerated. It and it alone stands as a protecting parapet to the main north

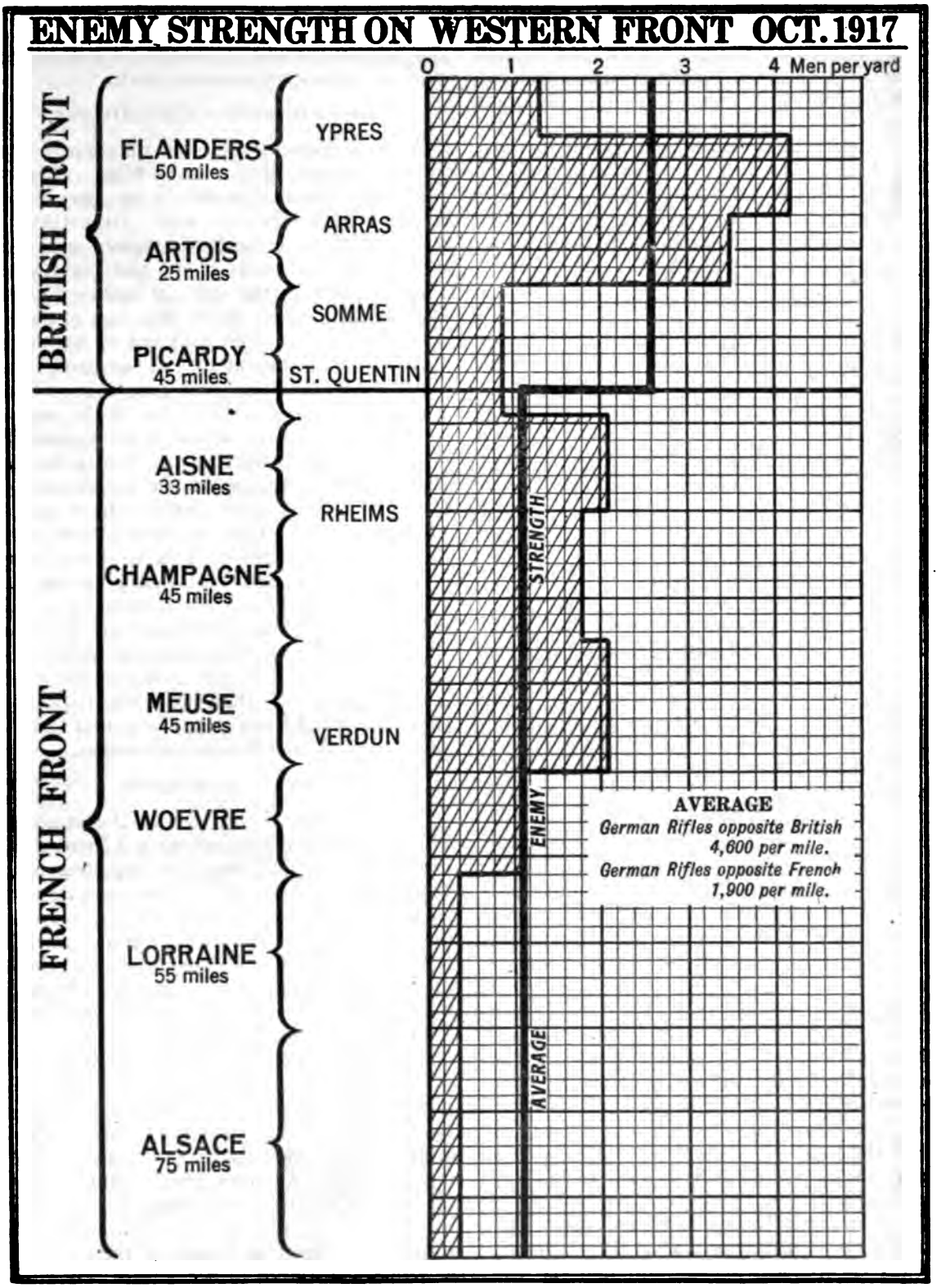
and-south railroad system of western France and Belgium, which passes northward through Lille to Ostend, Bruges, and Zeebrugge. It was against this ridge, then, that the British effort was exerted. The first step was in that section of it known as the Messines-Wytschaete section, which formed the southern element of the Ypres salient. Early in the summer, the British exploded a number of deep mines which had been placed under the ridge during the past year, and under protection of heavy artillery fire the infantry stormed the trenches and occupied the crests. Ypres was then no longer a salient. Several other attacks were made, all of which, due primarily to the enormous weight of metal thrown by the British artillery and the accuracy of its fire, were successful. As this is written, the northern portion of the ridge beyond Paschendaele still remains in German hands. The British operations have been greatly impeded by the frequent rains which turned the ground into a morass. But the battles are still raging, with all the advantage lying with the British.

The Italians have given an exhibition of offensive fighting during the year far in excess of anything that their previous efforts had given reason to expect. Breaking their way across the Isonzo from Tolmino to the sea, they stormed the heights on the east bank of the river and drove forward across the Bainsizza plateau. Monte Santo and Mt. San Gabriele, the two most important heights north of Gorizia, were taken in most brilliant engagements and the entire left wing of the Austrian army threatened with destruction.

But while Italy paused to gain strength for a fresh attack, Germany, fearing the destruction of her ally, withdrew about forty divisions of troops from the Russian front and massed them with an enormous concentration of artillery against the Italian wing between Flitsch and Tolmino. The Italian defense crumpled up before the concentrated attack which followed, enabling the Germans to cross the Isonzo at both ends of the front of attack and so enveloped the flank of the line on the Bainsizza Plateau. The result was a breakdown of the entire Italian campaign. The Italian forces were compelled to retreat beyond the Bainsizza, give up Gorizia and their hold on the Carso, thus abandoning all the territory gained since the outbreak of the war.

Brilliant prospects were held out during the year in the Near East, by a series of uninterrupted successes of the British advancing up the Tigris River from the head of the Persian Gulf toward Bagdad. Without suffering the slightest delay, Kut, the scene of former disaster, was passed, Bagdad reached and occupied. The Turks in Persia, who had been occupied against the left wing of the Russian army of the Caucasus, seeing their line of retreat (the road from Bagdad to Teheran) cut, broke and fled back from the Persian mountains into the Mesopotamian plain, barely making good their escape before the passageway was completely closed at the Khanikin pass. The Russians came through in close pursuit and without trouble effected a junction with the British along the banks of the Diala River. A continuous line was thus established from the Black Sea to the great Syrian desert. At the same time, a large British force, operating in Palestine toward Jerusalem, arrived before Gaza, throwing out its right flank in the direction of the Bagdad force which was still steadily advancing both up the Tigris and the Euphrates. The fate of the Turks seemed sealed, when the Russian army became infected with the disease of extreme socialism caused by the revolution, broke and fled back into Persia, again losing touch with the British. This practically put an end to the fighting in this far-off field and conditions became stagnated as they were a year before. The Turks are in a bad way. Their artillery complement has been greatly reduced through their successive defeats, and the distances are so great and the communications so poor that it is an exceedingly difficult matter to bring up a new supply. An excellent opportunity had been presented to eliminate Turkey from the war and possibly to seize Constantinople from the east. But the Russian revolution, which had played havoc with the plans of the Allies in another theatre, had an effect here equally disastrous.

On the Saloniki front, matters have been cleared by the enforced abdication of the pro-German Constantine, thus freeing the Allied forces from the danger of an attack against their only line of supply should they see fit to attempt an advance. This in a measure they have done on but one occasion. This resulted in the recapture by the Serbs of Monastir. But after this victory the vast army that is there—numbering now close to a million men—has remained entirely inactive. The demands on shipping in order to keep the



THE MEN ON THE GERMAN LINE IN THE WEST

Altogether about one million first line soldiers. Probably Germany has about as many more in the main bases. The British oppose to them about two million men, and France about three million. Great Britain is the only one of the three with a large supply of effective reserves

more active fronts supplied have been so great that the continued supply of this army is a serious problem. The efficiency of ocean tonnage is in inverse proportion to the distance which has to be traveled, and in this case the distance is so great that at least twice the number of men can be maintained in France by the same tonnage necessary to supply the army in Saloniki. This is at least one reason for the continued inactivity.

WHAT ABOUT NEXT YEAR?

I have sketched, hastily and without detail, the principal fields of activity largely that we may retain in our minds what has been accomplished during the year so that we may have a fair basis for conclusions as to the true condition as of the time this is being written. First there is the consideration of man power on the different fronts. The German strength on the western front, not including what might be termed general reserves located in the more important bases, can be seen from the diagram on the preceding page.

Roughly, it is somewhat more than a million men, while at least that number are in the main bases. Against this number there are approximately two million British and three million French. There is this difference, however: while the German total is more than two million, there is nothing left to replace losses. There is no free reserve, there are no means of repairing wastage. The French are in very much the same condition. It is doubtful whether France can keep her present numbers in the field unimpaired more than a very few months longer. This condition constitutes the great necessity for sending American troops to Europe as fast as there is available transport. The British, however, have ample reserves from which to draw in order that their superiority in numbers may be maintained. The present preponderance in numbers will therefore not only be maintained in 1918 but will be gradually increased as American troops become fit to move up into the trenches. When the campaign opens next spring, Germany is certain to find herself outnumbered about three to one. These troops, too, will be superior to her own. They will all be forces which have tasted victory, which have been plowing through the German lines for months, and who know that Germany's best is in no wise sufficient to hold them back. The question of morale thus introduced will, as it has ever done in the past, play a not unimportant part.

A GREAT SUPERIORITY IN ARTILLERY

As to artillery, there is no question of the great superiority of that of the Allies. Powerful in the Somme fighting, it has been even more so during the last year. Over the entire fighting front the British heavy guns are only about six yards apart and they were throwing, during the series of battles for the Paschendaele ridge, nearly five tons of metal for every yard of front attacked to not more than half that amount by the Germans. On the French front the same general condition prevails. Coupled with all this is the superiority in air service which is an important adjunct to the artillery arm. Not only are the Allies able to correct the inaccuracy of fire of their own gunners, but to a large extent they prevent the German airmen from performing a like service. This is shown conclusively by the fact that nearly all the air battles are fought over the German lines and few German machines are brought down within the Allied lines. Both in men and in the mechanics of war, then, the Allies in the west have a superiority that, with the assistance they have a right to expect from other fronts, should give them a deciding advantage.

AUSTRIA BLED WHITE

On the Italian front, due to the crushing defeat administered in October and November, practically nothing may be expected next year. With Russia in a state of quiescent transition both Austria and Germany are able to concentrate the bulk of their forces against Italy without exposing their lines elsewhere to the slightest danger in consequence. Austria, it is true, is much more nearly bled white than is France, and the Austrians alone are utterly unable to hold the Italians back. This was shown in August when against the concentration of practically the full Austrian strength the Italians ploughed their way through almost insuperable obstacles to the point of endangering the entire Austrian army. But against the flood of German reinforcements Italy will be strained to the limit to hold her own. Especially is this true because of the great loss of artillery sustained in her defeat. By November 1st this loss was estimated at 1,000 guns and it is a loss that is almost irreparable due to Italy's lack of war material and the scarcity

of ocean tonnage by which means alone she can secure an uninterrupted stream. But the danger is more than Italy's alone. To prevent the conquest in Northern Italy and the consequent threat against the southern wing of the battle line in France, the French and British must rush to Italy's aid, even at the expense of the front in France. The result may be that the spring offensive on the latter front will be vitally affected.

On the Russian front there is nothing but chaos and but few comparisons can possibly be drawn. The Russian army, formerly estimated at nine million men, has been reduced to five million, and these cannot be counted upon to fight. There is no generally recognized authority and but little discipline. Even if there were, there is a conspicuous absence of the machinery for enforcing it. The present status of the Russian army is that of an uncontrolled mob which fights or not as it may choose. Against this military pot-pourri, the Germans have probably about two million men, the Austrians not one fourth of this number. In artillery the Russians are hopelessly inferior. Hundreds of guns were shamefully abandoned in the retreat from Halicz and from Bukovina, and great accumulations of shell were either allowed to fall in German hands or were destroyed. The most serious drawback is the transportation system, which, through strikes on the part of the workers, has fallen below 40 per cent. of what it was a year ago. Change after change has taken place in Russia with such kaleidoscopic frequency that it is impossible to form any opinion as to what may happen. But there is not the slightest indication that the Russian eggs can be unscrambled in sufficient time to permit this socialist-ridden state to be of the slightest value to the Entente next year.

THE OUTLOOK IN MESOPOTAMIA

On the Mesopotamian front, the situation is to a large extent in Russia's keeping. The British have on this front nearly a half million men. This is a far greater number than is popularly supposed, but these figures may be taken as authentic. The Russian strength is problematical—probably about the same but in the same general condition as is the army of the west. The Turks have certainly not more than half of this combined force. The supply situation, however, is one difficult of solution both as regards food and war materials. The artillery of the British is certainly more numerous than is that of the Turks, due in part to the heavy loss by the Turks in the retreat up the Tigris. But as the war in this theatre is open and strategy has a wider play, artillery is not needed on the same scale as in the other fields.

THE "IRON RING" THEORY

With these general conditions on the various fronts in mind, what is the most that the new year can bring to either side? As far as the Entente is concerned, any conjecture as to next year must be made from an understanding of the relation of the various fronts to the geographical location of the battle lines. It is a phrase oft repeated and true, although it produces an impression not altogether accurate, that Germany is surrounded by an iron ring. This ring has been Germany's great asset while at the same time promising to be her greatest peril. The advantage lies in the fact that the Central Powers, by virtue of their interior position, with short lines of communications and accessible bases of supplies, were able to shift troops about literally like men on a chess board, using them where they would do the most good and meeting, with a minimum of delay, a threat at any particular point. The Allies had found and had demonstrated in the 1916 campaigns that there was but one way to combat this advantage effectively and that was by exerting about the circumference of this ring a continuous pressure so that, under the strain of keeping all points at maximum strength simultaneously, the ring would break. Any plans of the Allies for a general campaign must be predicated upon this plan of uniform pressure. Otherwise, in spite of local superiority, the advantage is apt still to lie with Germany, even though it be a temporary advantage. This can be effected only through the coöperation of Russia. But how can we count upon Russia? It is difficult enough for a democracy to wage successful war. In fact it is impossible unless democracy is willing for the period of hostilities to cease to be a democracy and to concentrate the powers of government into an autocrat of its own selection. But when instead of democracy we have the socialistic State, ruled over by those who have theories which they are not willing to put in practice, whose fine ideals are not sufficiently fine to be worth fighting for, a State the government

of which contains every form and element of socialist from conservative to anarchist, war becomes an impossible pursuit.

PROSPECTS ON THE WESTERN FRONT

We can imagine all sorts of things, but that Russia will be a military factor in the war next year is not one of them. Therefore, as this speculation is based on probabilities, we will assume that Russia cannot be counted on and that, therefore, the other Allies will have to fight the 1918 campaign alone. On the western front many things are within the bounds of reason. Haig's offensive in Flanders is certain of success. The fullest measure of success would be a German retirement as far east as the Scheldt Canal. The German right flank in such a case would rest at Neuzen, and the line would pass through Ghent, Valenciennes, and St. Quentin. This would not of itself necessarily change the battle line south of the latter point. But the French effort against Laon offers also reasonable hope of success. Should the evacuation of this point be forced, there is a possibility that the German line might be compelled to retire behind the Meuse through Namur and Antwerp, thus making the line above Verdun almost a straight continuation of that running through the Vosges. If this were accomplished it would be a year of great victory for the Allies. It is the maximum that could be hoped for by the most optimistic, but it would not end the war. If the war is to be concluded by a military decision and not by political conditions (and this seems highly probable), I do not believe a decision can be gained until Germany is forced behind the Rhine and thus compelled to vacate Lorraine and the Metz valley. The reason is steel. Germany's greatest source of iron is the mines of Lorraine. Without these mines she would not have sufficient iron for her needs. Her supply of shells would commence to dwindle, her railroads go to pieces so that transportation would fail, her guns would soon wear out and could not be replaced. The end in such a case would come and come quickly. But there does not seem to be anything in the military situation, as I see it, that gives the slightest ground for hope that this can be accomplished under the most favorable circumstances before the close of the 1919 campaign, if then.

Italy might bring about a solution somewhat more quickly by defeating Austria and forcing peace. But this does not seem likely. Italy is struggling now with the combined strength of Germany and Austria and it is dependent somewhat on how well she stands this strain what she can do next year. But with the situation in Russia as it is, this combination can continue to join hands against her, and in this case the Italians will be able to help but little. The part which the United States will play next year will probably not affect the situation materially. Not until the year following will her full force be felt.

GERMANY'S ONE HOPE

Germany, of course, will not be idle during this period. Although official Germany feeds nonsense to her civilian population as to the impotence of the United States, the German leaders are fully aware of what the United States can do and will do toward reinforcing the strength of the western Allies. Something therefore must be done before the dreaded time of defeat arrives. Germany cannot take the offensive except in isolated sectors and then only as a defensive measure. Her single chance is to induce Russia to make a separate peace. This will not force the Allies to make peace, however. But Germany's hope is that if this can be brought about, the war can be so prolonged that the Allies will become so tired of it all, if not exhausted, that they will be willing to make a compromise peace rather than to continue to work for a military decision. In the meantime, it is logical to suppose that Germany will so plan matters that she will suffer as little punishment as possible on the fronts where the Allied superiority is most marked. For this reason also, as well as because of the great pressure of the British and French artillery, we shall probably see Germany, before the 1918 campaign opens, dodging the Allies' blows by another retreat. This at least will delay somewhat the fructification of the Allies' plans by forcing new preparations against the new positions. To this extent and this extent only time favors Germany. But should German reasoning fail, and it must be made to fail, the passage of time will serve only to increase the strength of the Entente to the point where Germany can be completely crushed and peace and international decency restored to the world.

AMERICAN LEADERS IN THE WORLD WAR

PORTRAITS IN COLOR OF

Vice Admiral William S. Sims, U. S. N.
General John J. Pershing, U. S. A.
Major General William L. Sibert, U. S. A.
Major General William A. Mann, U. S. A.

Paintings by Gordan Studios, New York

VICE ADMIRAL WILLIAM S. SIMS, U.S.N.

Painted from a photograph © Kadel & Herbert
GENERAL JOHN J. PERSHING, U.S.A.

Vice Admiral William S. Sims

Commander of the American Naval Forces Operating in European Waters, Who Has Shown Great Ability in Handling His Command, Which Has Acted in Smooth Coöperation with the British Naval Forces

General John J. Pershing

Commander of the American Troops in France and Representative of the United States in the Allied War Councils Which Unify All Military Operations on Land Against the Central Powers

Major General William L. Sibert

Who Under General Pershing Is in Active Command of the First Group of American Troops to be Trained in France and Who Have Recently Appeared on the French Front

Major General William A. Mann

Commander of the "Rainbow" Division (42d) of National Guard Units from Twenty-six States of the Union, to Follow the Regular Army Divisions to France and the Firing Line

Painted from a photograph © Kadel & Herbert

MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM L. SIBERT, U.S.A.

MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM A. MANN, U.S.A.

every item of it have been supplied, as discovered, to the State Department in Washington or to some other branch of the Government. It is literally the foundation stone upon which has been erected the whole structure of our present enormous secret service, and it is the cause of the awakening of the American people to the hideous menace of German's cold-blooded assaults upon our very existence as an independent nation.

How has it happened that a provincial newspaper (it is called "the Rhode Island Bible" in its own territory) has been the means of disclosing facts that usually are procured only by the secret agents of governments and kept guarded like precious jewels in the most sacred archives of their State departments? It has happened because:

1. John R. Rathom, editor of the *Journal*, sensed from the first hour of the war that we were a World Power with world-wide interests; that we were one of the objects of Germany's mad ambition to destroy democracy the world over; and that the cataclysm in Europe was, no less for us in America than for Great Britain and France, the crucial test of all history.

2. Because Mr. Rathom, encouraged and financed by the owners of his conservative old New England paper, and working with the loyal aid of a dozen newspaper reporters, has beaten the German secret service at their own game a hundred times since the war began.

3. Because he had the foresight to have taken down in writing and kept on file every wireless despatch sent by the great Sayville and Tuckerton Stations since the day war was declared in August, 1914, and the ingenuity to decipher masses of these despatches in code, including thousands of damning messages from Von Bernstorff, Von Papen, Boy-Ed, Dumba, Von Nuber, and scores of nameless others, to the German and Austrian governments.

4. Because, in his efforts to serve his country, he succeeded in getting his own reporters into confidential positions in the twelve most important Teutonic headquarters in the United States, and received from them almost daily reports and original documents covering every phase of German plots and German propaganda. These men he placed in:

The German Embassy in Washington;
The German Consulate-General in New York;
The Austrian Consulate-General in New York;
The German Consulate in Boston;
The Austrian Consulate in Cleveland;
The German Consulate in New Orleans;
The German Consulate-General in Chicago;
The Austrian Consulate-General in Chicago;
The German Consulate-General in San Francisco;
The Austrian Consulate-General in Philadelphia;
The German Consulate in Denver;
The German Consulate in St. Louis.

That, in barest outline, is the story. Mr. Rathom himself is going to tell the details of it in a series of articles in the World's Work, beginning next month. These articles will be a challenge to the most sober reflection of the American people, because they will reveal the profound need of a new birth of patriotism and of a new organization of the national life to meet a condition of world affairs and our relations to them which few, even of the most informed Americans, have even yet realized are absolutely vital. This nation not merely has been, but still is, in deadly peril from dangers from without and from within, and Mr. Rathom's purpose is, by a showing of *the facts*, to call the American people back to a militant national consciousness.

The purpose of this present article is to give some idea of the man who did these things. But it may be well to suggest the character and scope of his forthcoming articles by an attempt to tell briefly three of his experiences in combating German plots:

When the war began, in 1914, most Americans regarded themselves as interested, but aloof, spectators of the most colossal drama ever staged in the world's history. That it might concern them in their own dearest honor and possessions did not for one moment enter their minds. But Mr. Rathom knew otherwise. He had traveled pretty much the whole world—Europe, Africa, China, Australia, and the United States. He knew, of old, Germany's ambitions; particularly its designs upon the Monroe Doctrine, and its subtle and carefully organized propaganda to consolidate the Germans in the United States for the working out of the American end of its dream of world dominion. Hence, the day war was declared, he began to probe the German activities in America, knowing well that soon they would be in full play to

cause us much damage. In his search for German plots he placed men in the Teutonic offices listed above. Even now he cannot publish how this was done, though he can, and will, tell the men's names that did this dangerous work. Of these, one secured employment as a secretary to Von Bernstorff in the Embassy in Washington.

HOW DR. ALBERT WAS DISCOVERED

Enters now Dr. Heinrich Albert, fresh from Germany, with a letter of credit for $4,000,000 in his pocket and the assurance of his Government that he may have forty millions altogether—to buy public opinion here, to purchase the votes of Congressmen, to procure the murder of American citizens working in munition plants, and to do other "friendly" acts toward our neutral Government and its unsuspecting people. Dr. Albert landed in New York and registered at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel. He wrote at once to Ambassador Bernstorff, announcing his arrival and asking for instructions. The Ambassador happened to be taking an outing in the Adirondacks when Dr. Albert's letter reached the Embassy. The letter was delivered on Saturday afternoon—and the mail clerks at the Embassy were habitually granted a vacation from Saturday noon to nine o'clock Monday morning. The Embassy secretaries, however, often stayed at their desks on Saturday afternoon; and so it happened that Mr. Rathom's man there got the letter, along with others, and, without apparently disturbing the envelope, read the contents. Without a moment's hesitation he took the next train to New York and telegraphed Mr. Rathom. He was met in New York by another reporter from the Providence *Journal*. Next morning this other reporter, in Sunday top hat and frock coat, appeared at the Ritz-Carlton and asked for Dr. Albert. He was shown up to the doctor's suite and there presented to Dr. Albert his own letter to Von Bernstorff, and said the Ambassador had sent him to discuss the situation with him. But first he must be assured that he was really addressing Dr. Albert, and not some possible untrustworthy underling. Dr. Albert produced credentials of his identity, and even called in members of his suite to prove that he was himself—forgetting, in the heat of his earnestness, to demand a similar guaranty from his caller. That would hardly have seemed necessary even if he had reflected, for there was his own letter, brought to him from Washington.

Having satisfied his visitor, Dr. Albert went at length into his mission—the precise purposes of it, the money he had in hand and in prospect—all the details. His caller congratulated him, bade him good-day, and left; and immediately restored the letter to his brother reporter, who took the afternoon train back to Washington, resealed the letter, and replaced it in the Embassy mail that night.

On Monday, one of the mail clerks at the Embassy opened the letter and laid it, as a matter of routine, on the Ambassador's desk. Bernstorff appeared on Tuesday, and as soon as he read it he telephoned Dr. Albert to come to Washington.

The two men met the following morning at the Embassy and embraced in the presence of the *Journal* reporter. And the first words Dr. Albert spoke were to praise his Excellency upon his choice of "so discreet and admirable an agent" as he had sent to him in New York. Then there was a scene. Bernstorff denied sending any messenger, and Albert reaffirmed it. The mail clerk was called in, and declared he had slit the envelope with his own hand. Albert repeated that he had had that very letter, physically, back in his hand, from the messenger, on Sunday. Results: Two badly perturbed agents of the Kaiser, and the ultimate exposure of Dr. Albert in the Providence *Journal*.

HOW VON PAPEN WAS CAUGHT

Another episode among Mr. Rathom's many adventures into the intricacies of German intrigue is known in the *Journal* office as "The Case of the Two Hearts." He had caught the trail of Von Papen when this happened. Von Papen, in the course of his duties here, had accumulated a large mass of letters, receipts, reports of plots to blow up munition plants and American ships, and other documents that would be as useful to the United States and England as to Berlin (We were still neutral and the Kaiser still addressed the President in "friendly" messages). As they often did, the Germans used the Austrian diplomatic channels to get this treacherous correspondence to Berlin. Hence Von Papen was packing his documents in a box in the office of the Austrian Consulate-General in New York for shipment on the *Oscar II*. The stenographer in the office had been on

Kaiserlich
Deutsche Botschaft
Washington, D.C.

October 9. 1915

ERFORSCHUNG John Rathom

Providence	$148.00
New York	120.00
Chicago	335.00
Denver	180.00
San Francisco	685.00
St Louis	220.00
Denver (2)	75.00
Seattle	160.00
Portland O.	300.00
Dallas	280.00
Ausgabe Eisenbahn	2450.00
Eidliche	400.00

$5353.00

Von Papen

A GERMAN EFFORT TO "GET" MR. RATHOM

Von Papen's account of his expenditures in a nation-wide investigation of Mr. Rathom's career in an effort to find some vulnerable point of attack upon his personal character

the job only a few months. Before that she had never done anything more exciting than to take dictation in the office of the *Journal*, though, of course, that was not mentioned when she applied for the place. She knew what was going into the box and had reported it, and she had instructions to mark the case so that it could be identified later. The day it was nailed up for shipment she ate her luncheon seated on the top of it. When she was in the midst of her meal, Von Papen came in. He asked if he might share her sandwiches. She consented. They sat on the box together. He grew sentimental. She did not discourage his poetical mood. At its height she took a red crayon pencil from her hair and in a dreamy way drew, on the packing box, the outline of two hearts entwined. The susceptible Von Papen, in the spirit of the moment, seized the pencil and with his own hand drew an arrow piercing them. And so it was that when the British secret service agents inspected the cargo of the *Oscar II*, when it touched Falmouth, they took particular pains to look for the box marked with two red hearts and an arrow —and found it. And ultimately the Providence *Journal* published such full and intimate details of the sentimental Von Papen's career in America that he was invited to leave the country.

THE WELLAND CANAL PLOT

Episode number three, and the last to be told here—Mr. Rathom, in his articles, will tell others more important—illustrates not only one of the many methods used to gather evidence, but also the cheering fact that some German-Americans are just Americans, and of the most loyal kind at that. Mr. Rathom discovered that the offices of a great German steamship company in New York were in reality a branch of the German government and a hotbed of German intrigue, and he determined to get access to their records. One of his reporters was little more than a boy, the son of German parents. They were good Americans, though, and the boy himself was an ardent patriot. Under instructions he went back from Providence to his birthplace at Lima, Ohio, and there he wrote a letter to the general manager of the steamship line in New York. He had a brother, so he wrote, who was a telegraph operator in Providence and acquainted with one of the telegraph operators on the Providence *Journal*. Through this channel he learned that the Providence *Journal* planned to install one of its men in the office of this German steamship company in the guise of a janitor so that he might, in the course of his duties, become familiar with the location of their secret files and take from them such of their contents as were of interest to the *Journal*. About a month later a man did apply to the officers of the company in New York for a job as janitor. The Prussian officials were ready for him. They had detailed the chief of their secret service to apply the third degree. This he did, and under the machine gun fire of his questions the applicant stammered, hesitated, trembled, and finally confessed. For two days thereafter the officers of the steamship

"The Providence Journal Will Say This Morning"

An Appreciation of John R. Rathom, the Man Who Exposed the German Plots in This Country, and An Announcement of Mr. Rathom's Own Story, Which Will Be Published in the World's Work

BY

FRENCH STROTHER

JOHN R. RATHOM, Editor of the Providence *Journal*, is the man who discovered and exposed the German plots in this country. He is the man who forced the recall of the precious Von Papen and the notorious Boy-Ed. He is the man who unearthed Dr. Heinrich Albert and his $40,000,000 corruption fund and sent him back to Germany. He is the man who discovered and revealed the plot to restore Huerta to a German-made dictatorship in Mexico. He is the man who proved that the *Lusitania* warning was sent out by the German Embassy on orders direct from Berlin. He is the man who exposed William Jennings Bryan's "peace at any price" interview with Dumba. He is the man who sent Consul-General Bopp, at San Francisco, to prison for two years for conspiracy. He is the man who warned the Government that the Canadian Parliament Building at Ottawa was to be fired, three weeks before it was burned by German agents. In brief he is the man who (without official authority) was for three years the eyes of the nation, guarding it against the treachery of the German Government. He has been a patriot of the highest order in the face, first, of early unbelief and ridicule on the part of our own government; and then of slander and abuse on the part of the whole pro-German element in this country.

"The Providence *Journal* will say this morning:" that phrase, familiar to every newspaper reader in the United States, has been the preface to the exposure of nearly every German plot that has been told to the American public since the World War began. Merely to list all these exposures, giving only the barest outlines of names, dates, and places involved, would require ten or twelve pages of type like this in the WORLD'S WORK. To reprint all the thousands of original cablegrams, letters, checks, photographs and codes on which they are based would fill a five-foot shelf of books.

This mass of data, accumulated in three years of ceaseless search, is stored in triplicate in vaults in Providence, New York, and Washington. Copies of

Omdurman. A few months of this was followed by a journey to New Guinea, where he joined the Bunbury expedition exploring that then little known and inhospitable Island. His wanderings next took him to Hong Kong, where he had been brought up as a child and where he had learned to speak Chinese—a language which is still fluent on his tongue. Two years in China were spent in trips through the interior and up the Yang Tse River, to the head of navigation.

Then he journeyed across the Pacific to the United States and became a reporter on the Portland *Oregonian* during the days when the late Harvey W. Scott was in his prime. He was Pacific Coast representative of the New York *Herald*, and covered the Behring Sea controversy with Great Britain for that paper and on the same duty went to Alaska with the Schwatka expedition. Two years later he was special staff writer on the San Francisco *Chronicle*, and then he headed eastward. For ten years he was a staff correspondent on the Chicago *Herald* and with Walter Wellman and William E. Curtis formed the group of star men sent out to do the big signed "feature" stories for which the *Herald* was famous. During these years he became a naturalized American citizen. Then came the Spanish War and Mr. Rathom was sent to the front. He landed with Shafter and the first troops and was in the first engagement, where he was wounded in the shoulder. Before he recovered from the wound he came down ill with yellow fever, and that attack was followed by typhoid.

Soon after the Spanish War came the war in South Africa, and again the *Herald* sent Mr. Rathom as its correspondent. He went into the war zone with some of the Australian troops, and in battle there was wounded twice within ten seconds, once in the leg and then in the hip. This caused him to miss seeing the capture of Cronje, but a few weeks later he was back on the job and spent in all eight months reporting the war.

Twelve years ago Mr. Rathom came East to Providence to become the managing editor of the *Journal*. After seven years of service in that capacity Mr. Rathom became editor and general manager of the paper. What he has made it, since the war began, is now international history. Not only has his work in exposing German plots been of invaluable aid to the United States Government and to all the Allies, but his powerful editorials upon international policies have been quoted the world over. In this country he has become a national figure, and his influence among men of light and leading has become one of the forces of our country's history.

Above all things Mr. Rathom is an American. The things he has been fighting for primarily are the safety of the United States and the things it stands for—its democracy, its freedom of opportunity, its boundless rewards to energy and enterprise. But his work has not been mere phrase making. It has been practical work. He has seen more clearly than most men the terrible dangers that beset this country. These are two-fold. Germany's conscienceless, subtle, relentless campaign, waged in the dark for twenty-five years, to hamstring democracy in America and ultimately to dominate the Western Hemisphere; and secondly, the internal danger which besets the United States because of its lack of a national consciousness and of a unity of spirit and purpose. He has been successful in combating the first of these perils.

MR. RATHOM'S FORTHCOMING ARTICLES

The second is a task only just begun. America has not yet demonstrated that it is a nation and not, as a great foreign diplomat expressed it, "a bundle of sticks." Mr. Rathom's ambition is to do his part in making America a nation—in feeling, and in understanding, and in action. Here again he has no hope in the power of phrases. Here again is a practical question to be solved by practical means. Those means are the publication of facts. By letting the American people understand, in terms of men and dates and places, the methods and the all-pervasive influence of German thought upon this country—to show how it has infected even the text books in our public schools and the habits of mind of our professional leaders, how it has unnerved the political effectiveness of our men in public life—this is the task he has set himself. It is a task in which the WORLD'S WORK is proud to become another medium of expression for him. This magazine commends his forthcoming articles to its readers, not merely for their interest—though they have all the stirring appeal of drama and history combined—but for their patriotic lesson and for the sober picture they draw of the issue which is no less than the issue of life and death for the future of this country.

HARVEST TIME FOR THE GET-RICH-QUICK PROMOTER

Oil Promotions That Are Getting Money That Ought to Go Into Liberty Bonds—The Old, Familiar Methods of the Get-Rich-Quick "Bankers"

BY

JOHN K. BARNES

SHE was a good-looking young woman with a most persuasive manner who wanted to see the dentist. It was the day of a world series ball game and the dentist was not busy. She had a "remarkable opportunity" to offer him. It was Cedar Ridge Petroleum Company stock at 25 cents a share.

She began by recalling to his mind the fortunes made by Rockefeller and others in oil; the profit he would have made if he had "invested" in Midwest Refining, or many other oil stocks, at 25 cents a share. "Look at Midwest now—around $150." The location of the Cedar Ridge Petroleum property in the same field as the Midwest was shown on the map. The large production from new wells on adjoining property was referred to. That had already caused the advance in Cedar Ridge stock from 12½ to 25 cents a share. Orders had been given to start drilling at once; they might strike oil any day. The prediction was finally made that he would have 1,000 per cent. profit by June or July (no year specified). The dentist bought. He gave her five hundred dollars to send to the home office in Wyoming in payment for stock.

All he knew about the woman was on her card. She was from the Chicago Oil Exchange. Naturally he had never heard of that. It had just been opened to sell new oil stocks. The company was equally as well known to him. He knew none of the people whose names were given as directors. In fact, he knew nothing at all about any one to whom he had intrusted his money. Yet he had parted with five hundred dollars—the total savings from his young practice.

The transaction completed, the young woman went into the next office and sold to a draughtsman an option on a hundred dollars of the stock, good for thirty days at 40 cents a share, for five dollars in cash.

Thus Chicago was recently introduced to the oil boom in its most degenerate form. Out in Wyoming, in Oklahoma, and Texas, and in the new Kansas oil fields men were speculating in lands and leases, and some were getting rich; but they knew something about what they were buying. And they were reasonably sure there was going to be a market for what they bought. They were getting in somewhere near the "ground floor" in the oil promotion game. The big companies had, of course, secured most of the likely territory before the little fellows arrived; but it does not have to be "likely" territory for an oil stock promotion; "neighboring" territory is good enough, and cheaper. The game is worked this way:

After leases have passed through several hands and have usually left a profit in each, comes the promoting genius and gathers together some of the cheaper ones, capitalizes them at many times the cost, and proceeds to sell the stock to the public at a distance. It can be generally assumed that the greater the distance the less prospect there is of value being back of this class of stock. Unless the geologists and all the oil experts on the ground have been mistaken, they will get the good oil properties, and Chicago dentists are not likely to have brought to their doors by unknown people a new oil promotion that will pay them dividends. They may be gambling, as they believe, on what is under the ground; but they are gambling with people who know much better than they what is there, and who deal the cards.

If there is anything more speculative than the average mining proposition it is a new oil promotion at its best. Just now the Middle West is experiencing an orgy of oil speculation at its worst that far surpasses any gold mining boom the country has ever known. More than $1,000,000,000 of new oil stock has been brought out in the last two years. From Cas-

per, where they gamble far into the night on news from the Wyoming fields, through Denver, where the oil stock promotion game is at its height, this speculative frenzy had by October spread to Chicago, and the buying of unknown oil stocks was becoming popular there. So called "brokers" were opening ground floor stores throughout the city and with lurid signs and much "come-on" literature pasted on the windows—making it look like a "fire sale"—were appealing to the public to buy new oil stocks at a few cents a share and become rich. When the writer stopped before one of these to admire the pump in the window which was pumping crude oil into a funnel, he was urgently invited inside to hear of the wonderful outlook for Equity Oil stock. An order for a hundred shares was the smallest the "broker" would take (at 10 cents a share that was ten dollars), but later the "prospect" was asked how much money he had with him. The optimistic gentleman acknowledged that the stock was a speculation, but maintained that it was better to speculate with your own money than to put it in a bank, at 3 per cent. interest, and let the bankers speculate with it, and lose it when the banks failed, as two had recently done in Chicago. Promise of an active market in the stock on the "Peoples Oil Exchange" in Denver was held forth, but it was frankly admitted this could not be started while the selling campaign was still on. H. L. Barber & Co., of Chicago, offered Consolidated Midway Chief Oil Company stock at 96 cents a share in 1914, when "unmeasurable liquid gold was indicated for every shareholder," although at the time the stock was being offered in Denver at 4 cents a share. The get-rich-quick promoter never wants a market made in his stocks. If his clients cannot sell they "cannot lose money" on the "investment."

The largest of some five or six of these mushroom "brokerage offices," in the business district of the city, was dignified with the title of "The Chicago Oil Exchange." Its chief purpose at that time was exchanging newly printed oil stock for the public's money. On one side of the room was an enormous blackboard where the Standard Oil issues and the good independents were listed with the new promotions sandwiched in between. The long row of desks down the room were the headquarters of the young men and women who were performing the real business of the "Exchange"—peddling the latest flotations throughout the city at 25 cents a share. In the window a miniature oil drill was operating, and small oil derricks and many bottles of crude oil were on display in all the places. These are a relic of the old mining boom days, when samples of ore were used in selling worthless mining stocks. The oil in this new promotion era is not passed off as the companies' own, for most of them have not even set a drill. It is oil from wells of the Midwest Refining, or the Ohio Oil, "only 1,320 feet from our well No. 1, which is to be started at once." Unless the experts have blundered, it might as well be thirteen thousand miles as thirteen hundred feet away. A telegram from the engineer usually tells of the "gusher" brought in on adjoining property, of the progress of the drilling, or the preparations; and always he warns the "broker" to be prepared for an advance in the price of the stock at any moment. That is the reason why you should buy at once, or at least take an option.

This is certainly not a war without profit; not as far as the get-rich-quick promoter is concerned. He is reaping one of the best harvests in years. It is not only in oil promotions, but in automobile and allied lines, in farm tractors, in new inventions, new food products, mining stocks, and all the other familiar fakes. While responsible bankers are giving their best efforts to make the Government financing successful, and are donating advertising space to Liberty Loan copy, these get-rich-quick "bankers" are filling the less scrupulous papers of the country with new flotations and are flooding the mails with "come-on" literature for every class of promotion. While trading in grain on the Chicago Board of Trade has been virtually stopped, unrestrained gambling in oil stocks is rampant on the street and in the office buildings, and the business of the fake promoter flourishes like the bay tree throughout the country. The World's Work knows from its correspondence that it has taken root in many places and that its evil branches are reaching everywhere through the mails.

A widow in Nebraska recently asked The Readers' Service Department of the World's Work for an opinion regarding the shares of the Convertible Tractor Corporation which had been recommended to her as an investment. She was expecting to have $10,000 to invest; and as she expressed it, "would naturally like to get as good return as possible with safety."

She displayed good financial instinct, for she asked, "Are the investments recommended by H. L. Barber & Co., such that I would be safe in investing money in any of them."

Now the Financial Editor, in giving advice regarding securities of new companies, always applies the Morgan method to determine whether they should be given any consideration at all by investors. A partner of J. P. Morgan & Co., when asked how they investigated all the new enterprises into which they put money, unless they employed a thousand men to do it, once replied: "We don't investigate; we back the men who manage them." This case was particularly easy to handle because the woman had disclosed an understanding of this most important consideration in the making of investments. The reply was to have nothing at all to do with this offering, or with any other offering of the same concern. The Financial Editor knew the record of H. L. Barber; knew, for instance, that he had been indicted for fraudulent use of the mails, in connection with the flotation of the Consolidated Midway Chief Oil Company stock, his arrest having occurred early in 1915 and the case being still pending on a demurrer before Judge Geiger of Milwaukee. He also knew that of many companies which Barber had promoted few if any were paying dividends.

The point to be made, however, is that it is not generally necessary to know the past record of such men in order to decide regarding their offerings. That helps, of course, but nearly always the "literature" sent out to "prospects" bears on the face of it one or more of the distinguishing earmarks of the get-rich-quick promoters' methods. By becoming familiar with these methods the investor himself can recognize many of the things he should not touch. This kind of promoter, when he is successful, that is, when he keeps out of jail, is generally shrewd enough not to put false statements in his circulars. That would lead to trouble with the Federal Post Office authorities. But he has found he doesn't need to. He can stick close to the truth when he talks about what has been done; but elaborates on intentions, estimates, and promises until he has painted a picture that draws a stream of money from trustful investors. The widow in Nebraska was being asked to invest her $10,000 before there was even a factory started. There was no misrepresentation on that point.

The frankness of this particular Barber circular would be humorous if the sad side of the whole business was not so apparent. Although parts for the tractor were to be manufactured in a foundry and machine shop, the president could write to Barber, for his use in selling the stock, that "we are fortunate in that the material situation which is hampering other manufacturers cannot handicap our production because of the class of material we use." The answer may be that they will use little material and do very little manufacturing. This can stand beside the frank statement of the George Alot Land Company, which a few years ago sold farms located in the bed of the Mississippi River. They said that the land was "unimproved except for running water."

A favorite device of the get-rich-quick game is illustrated by this recent "Report of Progress" of the Convertible Tractor Corporation. After informing the prospect that the financing is going forward "so rapidly that in little more than a month after we began the work the management was getting ready to begin commercial production of the Megow convertible tractor," the promoter publishes a letter from Mr. C. F. Megow which informs him that "from this date on I will devote all my time and strength to make a great success for the Convertible Tractor Corporation, and do from now on conclude all other connections." As much money has been fraudulently pumped from the pockets of would-be investors by the use of names in this way as by any other trick of the trade. The Ford Tractor Company furnished an excellent example of this. Before that company and its "bankers" where caught in the Government's net, the New York *Tribune* had shown how the promoters went down the list of Fords in the Minneapolis telephone directory and stopped at that of Paul B. Ford, who was found willing to father the new company. That name helped to separate more than 3,000 people from about $350,000.

There is so much similarity in the "literature" sent out by the get-rich-quick promoters that, with a little training, one can spot it at a glance. This tractor circular was by no means one of Barber's best. Only once did he impress the need of buying early in order to get in before the shares were all gone. Robert P. Matches & Co., the promoters of the Ford Tractor Company, in offering that "chance of a lifetime," used nine paragraphs of an eighteen-paragraph letter to urge the

necessity of immediate purchase. The fact that Government officials were so close on their trail may have accounted for this great demand for haste. Mr. Barber, however, is usually confident that his offerings will be oversubscribed and urges that the public come in and share equally in the profits with those who "have carried the business forward to the splendid success now indicated." And especially they should buy the shares "while they may be had at the present low price." "Don't wait until a few days for the higher price of the next offering. Get yours Now."

H. L. Barber & Co. is used as an illustration because Mr Barber's operations in this field of finance have lately been mentioned in letters from WORLD'S WORK readers more frequently than have those of others of his kind. The point to be impressed, however, is that the methods of all of them are much the same, although some are more clever than others in applying them. A shrewd lawyer is usually employed to see that the promoter keeps just within the law in his "literature."

An excellent example of one of the oldest and most fruitful methods is to be found in Mr. Barber's letter on "Coffeetone." This method might take its name from his first sentence: "History repeats itself." A graphic account is given of the advance of C. W. Post and the Postum Cereal Company from a capital of $750 in 1895 to $33,000,000 in eighteen years. A cut of the little barn in which Post started, compared with the present plant of twenty large buildings, adds the visual proof of the success of that business. Then, after personalizing this by telling of an individual who invested $1,000 in the Postum Company in 1896 and has had $54,374 profit since, "according to his information," Mr. Barber goes on to tell how Coffeetone is so treated as to "keep out of it the bad taste and smell that characterize all other substitutes." In another instance, to show that "fifteen dollars may make you very comfortable if put it at work in the Commonwealth Pictures Corporation—Right Now, not next month," Mr. Barber tells what "the reports indicate that $15 of original capital in the Pullman Company and the Gillette Safety Razor Company has grown to. "These," he says, "are simply indications of what $15 has done and is doing in companies." He does not say it will do as well in his latest promotion, but "on the other hand, it has what you will concede to be a good chance to do as well or better." In the case of the Boulder Tungsten Production Company, he says: "I would not be fair to a prospective investor if I failed to say that I do believe it has good possibilities of just as great a success, if not greater."

This method of appealing to the cupidity in human nature is as old as the hills, and the one most often used by get-rich-quick promoters. Said a thieving broker years ago: "Promise 6 per cent. dividends on a first-class security, and you cannot do business; but promise 56 per cent on a fake, and I can get rich. If the Post Office Department would only let me alone, I would have to hire a cart to carry down my money-laden mail."

Barber has an advantage over most promoters, for he publishes a magazine—"*Investing for Profit.*" The subscription rate is a dollar a year, but advertisements in certain papers recently offered lady agents 30 to 35 cents for each subscription secured at 50 to 69 cents. He will even send it for six months free. Thus he gains new names for his "sucker list." He claims the magazine has the largest "exclusively financial" circulation in America, whatever that means. It is certainly an important part in his remarkably efficient system for parting people from their money. A recent number contained an editorial by Mr. Barber on no less pretentious a subject than "The Law of Financial Success." Benjamin Franklin and Abraham Lincoln were quoted on the front page and Woodrow Wilson and others inside.

The remainder was largely thinly disguised promotion propaganda under such titles as "Be an 'Insider' not an 'Outsider,'" "The Small Investor's Chance," "Advice of the Money-Trust's Publications," this latter being an explanation of why a large number of magazines and newspapers speak disparagingly of many forms of "investments." This word "investments" is, of course, overworked in connection with his offerings. Having thus properly prepared the reader's mind, he then proceeds to discuss the need for farm tractors, with particular reference to the Convertible Tractor Corporation. The Maibohm Motors Company is also given special treatment, with "estimated" profits per car and per share of stock on the basis of "planned" production. The great things in store for the motion picture industry and for the Commonwealth Pictures Corporation in particular are given proper space. A most promising report on "Cof-

feetone" is drawn from a letter from the president of the company. All his current flotations are thus recommended to his readers in a publication that poses as "A Guide to Making Money." On the first page, however, it is stated in small type that no responsibility is assumed for accuracy of statements published therein. In the back pages are news items designed to keep the purchasers of earlier flotations in an expectant mood. A long list of dividend declarations is published, but among them there are no Barber promotions. Thus this self-styled "Schoolmaster of the Science of Investment," who has written a book on "Making Money Make Money, A Primer of Investing," plays the promotion game and has become rich at it.

You ask why the Post Office Department permits such a man and dozens of others with records as bad to continue offering their wares broadcast through the mails. The reason seems to be that they *may* be promoting something that will turn out well. The law as it stands does not permit the exclusion from the mails of any offering unless and until there is sufficient evidence to prove that it is a fraud. Every time the promoter must be given the benefit of the doubt. He must be considered honest no matter what his previous record. The Postmaster-General could rule him out of the mails, but the Department must be ready to go into the courts in the case of each offering and prove that there is intent to defraud. Frequently by the time incriminating evidence is gathered the flotation of the stock is completed and the public possesses all the handsome certificates. The promoter may later go to jail, and thus society be rid of him for a time; but more often he gets off with a fine and immediately starts a new promotion.

Then there is the large volume of flotations that are of little or no value, but where it might be impossible to prove intent to defraud, and where the shrewd promoter has to make no false statements to sell the stock. These help to swell the total of worthless issues in which Americans lose, according to estimates, $1,000,000 a day. With a new one born every minute—it seems faster of late—and with the name of a "once-sold" prospect valued more highly than others by the promoters, who pay good prices for their "sucker lists," the great need for educating the public is apparent. More is being done than ever before to protect investors from their own foolishness, but fools and their money continue to part soon and probably always will.

The National Vigilance Committee of the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World is doing excellent work in running down the crooks. Mr. Merle Sidener, of Indianapolis, is chairman of this committee which, through the 170 Vigilance Committees of the different clubs throughout the country, and with the aid of expert counsel, has gathered conclusive evidence in many cases of fraud against the public. In the field of finance, the nipping of the Emerson Motor, the Ford Tractor, and other large stock-promotion schemes before they had wreaked the full ruin intended on the public can be credited to a considerable extent to this committee. Because of the material aid it gives, the Government officials are frequently able to draw in their net much sooner than they would be otherwise. The Investment Bankers Association of America recently established a committee on fraudulent advertising which will work along the same lines, probably in conjunction with the National Vigilance Committee. There are many newspapers and magazines which, by carefully scrutinizing the advertising they accept, assist in saving the investor's money. There are also some which carefully investigate and do not hesitate to label worthless security issues. The *Financial World* is worthy of mention in this particular, for it has for many years fearlessly exposed get-rich-quick promoters and their methods, in a column appropriately entitled "The Fairyland of Finance."

At this time, when the United States needs eighteen billion dollars by June 30th next—more than four times what Great Britain spent in her first year of war, and more every two days than the entire fortune left by the late J. P. Morgan—it would be highly proper that some drastic means be taken to prevent the waste of funds in worthless securities. It is now more of a national problem than ever before. Mr. Charles H. Sabin, president of the Guaranty Trust Co. of New York, has suggested that it might be advisable to appoint a Government board to pass on the priority of public financial offerings, in order to reserve for the Government the first call on the savings of the Nation. That might be a means of solving the fake stock promotion evil, at least for the period of the war. Out of such temporary solution might possibly come something of permanent value.

WITH THE BELGIAN KING AND QUEEN AT LA PANNE

"The King Stood Beside the Table . . . It Was the Saddest Face One Can Imagine, But Not a Word of Complaint Was Breathed" . . . "The Queen Was Still Full of Courage and Said That as Long as There Was One Square Foot of Belgian Soil Free of Germans, She Would Be on It"

BY

HUGH GIBSON

[Formerly First Secretary of the American Legation in Brussels]

[*In this article, Mr. Gibson describes his meeting with the King and Queen of the Belgians after the Belgian army had retired from Antwerp. At this meeting the King and Queen wrote their appeals to the American people for aid. Mr. Gibson also describes his conferences in London with the American and Spanish Ambassadors, Mr. Hoover, and others, at which the plans for rationing Belgium were laid out and Mr. Hoover undertook the work. These historic episodes are selected from Mr. Gibson's book, "A Journal from Our Legation in Belgium," just published.*—THE EDITORS.]

BRUSSELS, October 14, 1914.—We are quite up in the air about what we are to do next. Monday afternoon I went around to headquarters to get a *laisser-passer* to take Harold Fowler [now a major in the United States Army], back to England. While the matter was being attended to, an officer came in and told me that Baron von der Lancken wanted very much to see me. When I went into his room, he said that there was nothing in particular that he wanted to see me about, but that he thought I would be interested in hearing the news and in telling him something of my trip. We talked along for some time about things in general and then he told me that the movement of troops toward the coast was progressing rapidly and that the Belgian Government would soon be driven from the country. Then, putting the tips of his fingers together and looking me coyly in the eye, he inquired: "And then, my dear colleague, what will be your position?" He elaborated by pointing out that, the Government to which we are accredited having left the country, we would be merely in the position of foreigners of distinction residing here, and that we would have no official rank or standing. The idea evidently is that they do not care to have us around any longer than they can help.

I later learned that Villalobar had been more ready than I with his retort. In the course of a call later in the afternoon Lancken had talked the same matter over with him, and had wound up with the same genial question: "And then, my dear colleague, what will be your position?" Without any hesitation, Villalobar replied: "My situation will be just the same as yours. We are both representatives of our country in a country not our own. We shall continue to owe each other respect, and to make the best of conditions."

The latest news we have to-day is to the effect that the Government has been driven from Ostend, presumably to the Isle of Guernsey. . .

To-day I ran across an order from the Governor-General forbidding civilians to ride bicycles. The order concludes as follows:

> Civilians who, in spite of this, continue to ride bicycles, expose themselves to being shot by German troops.
>
> If a cyclist is suspected of planning to damage railroad, telegraph or telephone lines, or of the intention of attacking German troops, he will be shot according to martial law.

Apparently it is no longer necessary to go through the forms of proving that the cyclist had any evil intention. The mere suspicion is enough to have him shot.

In the course of a visit to General von Lüttwitz to-day, one of the colleagues remarked that the Germans *must* keep the Belgians alive, and could not allow them to starve. Lüttwitz was not at all of that mind, for he said, with some show of feeling:

"The Allies are at liberty to feed the Belgians. If they don't they are responsible for anything that may happen. If there are bread riots, the natural thing would be for us to drive the whole civil population into some restricted area, like the Province of Luxemburg, build a barbed wire fence around them, and leave them to starve in accordance with the policy of their allies."

And as the German policy is more or less frankly stated as a determination to wipe out as many of the enemy as possible without regard to what is or has been considered as permissible, it is quite within the realm of possibility that they would be prepared to let the Belgian people starve. In any event, you can't gamble with the lives of seven millions of people when all you have to go on is the belief that Germany will be guided by the dictates of humanity. . .

I have had enough of ruined towns, and was not able to get the awful sights out of my head all night, but spent my time in bad dreams. From Vilvorde right into Antwerp there is not a town intact. Eppeghem, Sempst, Malines, Waelhem, Berchem—all razed to the ground. In Malines a good part of the town is standing, and I suppose that the Cathedral can be restored, but the other towns are done for. There were practically no civilians in any of them—a few poor peasants poking dismally about in the ruins, trying to find some odds and ends that they could save from the general wreck. There were some children sitting on the steps of deserted houses and a few hungry dogs prowling around, but no other signs of life. All the way from the outskirts of Brussels straight through to Antwerp, the road was lined with empty bottles. They gave a pretty good idea of what had gone on along the line of march.

The bombardment of Antwerp lasted from the afternoon that we left up to Friday noon. The damage is pretty evenly distributed. Houses here and there in every street were badly smashed and the whole block across the street from the Hôtel St. Antoine, where we stayed, was burned to the ground. The Cathedral was not damaged.

When we were there last week, the streets were thronged with people and with motors. Yesterday there was not a soul to be seen for blocks together. The town was practically deserted.

This morning the Committee for the Provisioning of Brussels came in, and asked whether I was prepared to go to London for them and endeavor to arrange for some sort of permanent agreement with the British Government for the provisioning of the civilian population of Belgium. I am willing.

In the course of some errands this afternoon, I dropped in on Baronne Lambert for a cup of tea. The Baron came in and then Villalobar. About two minutes later, Lambert was called out of the room to speak with a German officer, who demanded that he accompany him to headquarters. Villalobar went with him to see what was up, and I stayed behind to see if I could be of any use. We stood by for a little over half an hour, and then, when Mme. Lambert could stand it no longer, I jumped in my car and went down to see what was happening. I found Villalobar on the sidewalk, getting into his car. He was depressed and said that he had been obliged to leave the Baron with the Germans; that he was suspected of nobody would say what, and that the Germans were going to search the house. I went back and had them all ready for the shock of the invasion. They were standing by for the search party, when in walked the Baron, smiling broadly. They had sent him home under guard of two armed men, and were to search the house in the course of a few minutes. While he was telling about it, two officers arrived, profusely apologetic, and asked to be shown over the Red Cross hospital, which had been installed on the ground floor. They were taken all through the place, and found only a lot of German soldiers carrying off the beds and other belongings. Then they searched the Baron's private office and that of his son, and withdrew after more excuses.

There was nothing to show for the whole performance, and nothing had been accomplished beyond making a lot of people nervous and apprehensive. That is the sort of thing that everybody is subject to these days, without any hope of redress. And, of course, this was the least serious thing that could happen.

On board S.S. "Princess Juliana," off Dover, Sunday, October 19, 1914.—Here we are again, coming into England in rain and fog. Up to the last minute, I was in great doubt as to whether we should come at all, but everything was finally straightened out and here we are.

Friday we spent in hard work, aggravated with many conferences. In the morning most of the German civil and military Government

came to the Legation and discussed the food question with the members of the Committee, the Spanish Minister, and ourselves. They all united in asking that I go to London and lay the situation before the Belgian Minister, the Spanish and American Ambassadors, and, under their chaperonage, before the British Government. When this had been agreed to, some bright soul suggested that I be accompanied by a commission of fifteen prominent Belgians, to add impressiveness to what I had to say. The two Ministers rose up and said *No*, adding that, as I was to do the work and bear the responsibility in going on this mission of forlorn hope, I should not be hampered by having to carry the weight of fifteen speech makers. That was knocked on the head, and then, to show that we were not unreasonable, we asked that two members of the Committee go along. The men chosen were Baron Lambert and Monsieur Francqui, one of the leading bankers of Brussels and a man of poise and judgment. They expressed reluctance but were soon persuaded.

This morning, during a call at the Political Department, the talk turned on Mexico. I was asked what the President was driving at, and answered that he was clearly trying to give the Mexicans every opportunity to solve their own troubles without interference. I was then asked, rather slyly, whether the President really wanted them to settle their troubles. Without waiting to hear my answer, the oracle went on to tell me what our real policy was as he saw it, and he had no doubts. The President wanted to take Mexico but was intelligent enough to realize that, if he simply seized it, he would forfeit any claim he might have to disinterestedness, and our Anglo-Saxon hypocrisy could not swallow that. Therefore, he was deliberately allowing the Mexicans to drift into a hopeless condition of anarchy, which he knew would get steadily worse, until all the best and most prosperous elements in the country would come to the conclusion that they would be happier and safer under American rule than under the uncertain despotism of changing factions. The President could then yield to their entreaties, and could take over the government of Mexico as a humanitarian service to the people.

I made a feeble attempt to explain what our real feelings were toward Mexico, but it soon became evident that we could not think in the same terms, so I gave up. There was no criticism, expressed or implied. On the contrary, there was evidence of real admiration of the President's technique.

The rest of the day was spent in getting ready letters and telegrams and other papers necessary in our work.

Fowler and I dined at the Lamberts', finished up our work at the Legation, and got to bed at midnight. We got up yesterday morning at half-past three, and at half-past four set sail in three motors—one filled with servants and mountains of small baggage.

We sped in the dark through ruined villages to Antwerp, and from there to Esschen on the Dutch frontier, which we reached soon after daylight. We had papers from the Dutch Legation, calling upon the customs authorities to let us pass, but a chuckle-headed *douanier* would not even read our papers, and held us up for an hour, while he made out papers of various sorts and collected a deposit on our cars. I expostulated in vain, and shall have to get my comfort from making a row later. As a consequence of his cussedness, we missed the morning boat train to Flushing, and had to spend the day in that charming city. We found the place filled with refugees from all parts of Belgium, and were greeted on every hand by people we knew. The hotels were filled to overflowing, and people were living in freight cars, sheds, and on the sidewalk. We clung to chairs in the reading room at one of the hotels, and walked the streets until nine o'clock, when we got aboard the boat with eight hundred other people. Cabins were not to be had for love or money, but Francqui, by judicious corruption, got us a place to sleep, and we slept hard, despite the noise, which was tremendous.

London, October 20, 1914.—Here we are, much cheered up by the prospect.

We hammered hard yesterday and to-day, and this afternoon it looks as though we had secured the permission of the British Government to send food to our people in Belgium.

We got into Folkestone at 4 o'clock on Sunday, were passed immediately by the authorities, and then spent an hour and a half waiting for our train to pull out. We got into darkened London about a quarter of eight. We sat around and visited beyond our usual hours, and yesterday morning I was called ahead of anybody else, so as to get down to my day's work.

First, I got things started at the Embassy, by getting off a lot of telegrams and running away from an office full of people who, in some mysterious way, had heard I was here. I saw several of them, but as my day was going, I up and ran.

First, to Alfred Rothschild's house in Park Lane, where I found Baron Lambert waiting for me. He was beaming, as his son (serving in the Belgian army) had turned up safe and well before leaving to rejoin his regiment in France.

Next I went to the Spanish Embassy, and gave the Ambassador details of what we wanted. He caught the idea immediately, and has done everything in his power.

When I got back to our chancery, I found that the Ambassador had come in, so I went over the whole business again, and made an appointment for a conference with him for the Spanish Ambassador and my traveling companions.

At half-past five we had our conference with the two Ambassadors. They made an appointment with Sir Edward Grey for this afternoon, and went over the situation at some length, to make sure of the details.

In view of its significance this meeting was most impressive to me. It was made up of the two Ambassadors, my two companions, and Herbert Hoover, the man who is going to tackle one of the biggest jobs of the time. He has been studying the situation, the needs of the civil population, and the difficulties to be overcome ever since Shaler's arrival several weeks ago. While we could enlighten him in regard to recent developments and matters of detail I was astonished to see how clearly he grasped all the essentials of the situation. He sat still while the rest of us talked, but his few remarks were very much to the point, particularly when, in answer to a question, he said very quietly: "Yes, I'll take over the work. I have about finished what I have in hand. Now we can take up this."

October 21st.—The Belgian Government has sent over Monsieur de Berryer, the Minister of the Interior, to discuss the food question and the equally important money question.

I had an early morning note from the Spanish Ambassador and went around to see him.

London is filled with war spirit; not hysterics, but good determined work. The streets are full of singing recruits marching hither and yon—mostly yon. The army must be growing at a tremendous rate; in fact, faster than equipment can be provided, and they are not slow about that.

London, October 23, 1914.—On Wednesday we had things pretty well settled, and had also succeeded in raising from official sources about one hundred and fifty thousand pounds. I took a fair amount of satisfaction in gloating over those who had croaked. Then some helpful soul came along and threw a monkey wrench into the machinery, so that a good part of the work has to be done over again. At any rate, we hope to get, some time to-day, permission to export enough food to serve as a stop-gap until the general question can be settled.

Monsieur Francqui and Baron Lambert had to start back this morning to organize the Belgian local committees into one central national affair, and I am to stay on until things are settled one way or the other. That may mean not getting back to Belgium for a week or two more.

For some time I have been threatening to get a dog and yesterday, feeling the need of intelligent canine sympathy, I succumbed. At the Army and Navy Stores, I found a hideous brindle bull that some officer had left on going to the front. He was promptly acquired, and given the name of Max in honor of our Burgomaster. The Stores are to take care of him for me until I return to Belgium.

When I got back to the Embassy, from my visit to the Stores, I found Shaler waiting for me with the news that I was expected at a meeting at Mr. Hoover's office in fifteen minutes, to discuss matters with the committee which is being formed to handle the feeding of the Belgian civil population.

I was surprised to find that I had been made a member of this committee, and was expected to attend. It was a comfort to talk with men who know what they are about and who can make up their minds right the first time. Hoover is a wonder and has the faculty of getting big-calibre men about him. We were not in session more than an hour, but in that time we went over the needs of the Belgian civil population, the means of meeting immediate needs, the broader question of finding food from other parts of the world to continue the work, the problem of getting money from public and private sources to pay expenses, and finally the organization to be set up in

Belgium, England, America, and Holland to handle the work. Before we left, a tentative organization had been established and people despatched on various duties with orders to get things started without loss of time, so that food could be pushed across the line into Belgium at the first possible moment.

It is going to be up-hill work for many reasons, but it would be hard to find a group of men who inspire as much confidence as these that everything possible will be done, and occasionally a little that is impossible.

October 24th.—Yesterday was another busy day. I did not know that the entire population of Belgium could make such a crowd as I have had in the waiting room of the chancery. In some mysterious way the news of my coming to London has got about, and swarms of people are coming in with little errands they want done and messages to be delivered to their friends and families in Brussels. It makes work, but that sort of thing is a comfort to lots of people and is worth undertaking. I have made it clear to all of them that anything to be delivered will be turned over to the German authorities first, and hope they will govern themselves accordingly.

The British Government has stipulated that the feeding of the civil population shall be carried on by a neutral organization, under the patronage of the American and Spanish Ambassadors in London and Berlin, and the American and Spanish Ministers in Brussels. The food is to be consigned to the American Minister in Brussels for distribution by the organization which is to be known as the American Relief Committee, with Hoover as chairman and motive power. The various local Belgian committees are to be grouped together in a national organization, to assist in the distribution of the foodstuffs once they are delivered inside the Belgian frontier. The members of the Belgian organization are, of course, prisoners of the Germans and unable to give any effective guarantees as to the disposal of the supplies. The British Government has, therefore, stipulated that all authority and responsibility are to be vested in the American Committee, and that the Belgians are to be regarded simply as a distributing agency. This is, of course, in no sense a reflection on the Belgians engaged on the work, but merely a recognition of the difficulties of their position.

The neutral composition of the Committee assures it a freedom of travel and action, and an independence of political and personal pressure, and a consequent freedom of administration which the Belgians could not hope to enjoy. It is only by the assumption of complete authority and responsibility by the Committee that the patrons will be able to give the various Governments concerned the necessary assurances as to the disposition of foodstuffs and the fulfilment of guarantees.

There is something splendid about the way Hoover and his associates have abandoned their own affairs and all thought of themselves in order to turn their entire attention to feeding the Belgians. They have absolutely cut loose from their business, and are to give their whole time to the work of the Committee. This is done without heroics. I should hardly have known it was done, but for the fact that Hoover remarked in a matter of fact way:

"Of course everybody will have to be prepared to let business go and give his whole time."

And it was so completely taken for granted that there was nothing but a murmur of assent.

Another strenuous day on the food question and other things.

My plans were to leave for Brussels on Monday morning, but in the evening the Ambassador sent for me and it was decided that I should go to Havre and from there to see the King and Queen. That will take me to within a couple of hours from Brussels, according to old calculations, but under present conditions I shall have to get there by way of France, England, and Holland.

Hôtel des Régates, Havre, October 26, 1914.—This is the third town where I have paid my respects to the Belgian Government. I would gladly have foregone the experience, for it is depressing.

I left Waterloo station at 9:15 last night. Instead of the usual two-hour run to Southampton, we puttered along and did not arrive until after one. I had a compartment and made myself as comfortable as possible. When we arrived I found poor Colonel Swalm, the Consul, waiting for me. The Ambassador had telegraphed him to see me off, and he did so regardless of the hour. I felt horribly guilty to have him waiting about for me, but it certainly did make things a lot easier.

I got straight to bed, but had a hard time

sleeping, as there was a tremendous racket of loading all night long. Nearly all the passengers were British officers on their way to the front. Among the others I found De Bassompierre of the Foreign Office, and a Mr. and Mrs. W——, who were coming over with a Rolls-Royce, to be presented to the Belgian General Staff. If I go to the front, he will take me. We sailed at daybreak and were here by two o'clock. Our Consul, Osborne, was waiting for me at the dock with Henry Needham, the correspondent of *Collier's*. I was let straight through the customs, where a woman marked my bag, and then came to this hotel overlooking the sea.

This was the first thing we saw as we came into the harbor. It is a suburb called Nice Havrais, built by old Dufayel of Paris. It was a curious and pathetic sensation to see the Belgian flags still flying bravely. The different Ministries are set up here, and one villa has been set aside for the King and Queen, who have not yet left Belgian soil. The Legations are all established in this hotel and are bored to extinction, as their work has dropped very much. This little suburb enjoys all the privileges of extraterritoriality, and even the French Minister to Belgium goes through the motions of being accredited to a foreign Government in his country. The cars of the various Legations go buzzing around among the French and Belgian and British cars. The streets are full of troops of the three nations, while some twenty transports ride at anchor in the open roadstead. Fresh troops from England are arriving constantly, and march singing through the town to the camps outside, whence they are sent to the front. There are two British hospitals near this hotel—one of them the Casino—and wounded are everywhere. The place is astonishingly calm, but everybody knows there is a war. The French have their teeth set and are confident of the final outcome. Women are in the customs house, drive the trams, collect the fares, and do a hundred other things that are usually out of their line.

"A DELICATE LITTLE WOMAN WITH A LION'S HEART"

"The Queen was still full of courage," says Mr. Gibson, writing of his visit to her at La Panne, "and said that as long as there was one square foot of Belgian soil free of Germans she would be on it. She said it simply, in answer to a question from me, but there was a big force of courage and determination behind it"

I found the hall filled with colleagues, and exchanged greetings with the crowd before going over to the Foreign Office to make my bow. I found Colonel Fairholme packing and ready to leave this evening for England.

The Foreign Office has a pretty little villa in a pretty little garden and keeps busy. I saw everybody, from Monsieur Davignon down to the porters, and spent an hour and a half there. Then at their request I went to the

Courtesy of *L'Illustration*

KING ALBERT AND QUEEN ELIZABETH

Walking on the beach between Dunkirk and Calais, where the German invasion was finally halted—the only territory of Belgium that is free of Germans

"Palace" and talked with General Jungbluth. He will try to arrange my business for me by telegraph, and will let me know in the morning whether I am to go up to the front to see the King and Queen.

When I came away from this call Osborne was waiting for me and took me down to the Consulate for an hour's talk. Then back to the hotel to dine with Sir Francis. After dinner we all went out and bade the Colonel farewell.

Tuesday.—General Jungbluth [Chief of Staff to the King] was waiting for me when I came down this morning, to say that I should go to the front. Osborne was waiting with his car, and took me to the Ministry of War, to ask for a lift to Dunkerque in a military car. As luck would have it, to-day's car had left ten minutes before, so I was put off until to-morrow morning, when I shall go up with the W———s. I have spent a good part of the day getting my papers in order—both French and Belgian—and in the tiresome occupation of being photographed.

October 28th, Hôtel des Arcades, Dunkerque.—Another one-night stand.

We cleared out of Havre this morning over muddy and slippery roads. It rained hard all night, and we made good time by way of Fécamp, Dieppe, Eu, Abbeville, Montreuil, Bologne, Marquise, and Calais, getting to Dunkerque a little after four, just in time to smell the smoke of a couple of bombs dropped by an aeroplane across the street from the office of the Prime Minister, upon whom I called.

We began running into big bunches of troops at Abbeville—English, French, and Belgian. I saw some of the Indian troops doing sentry duty and looking cold and uncomfortable, and did not blame them, for it was raw and cheerless. The Rolls-Royce is a beauty and sailed along all day like a gondola.

The Prime Minister had set up his office in the Mayor's room at the Hôtel de Ville, which I found in an uproar because of the bombs. The Prime Minister was said to be at Headquarters, at Furnes, across the Belgian frontier, and I was urged to go there to see him. We made twenty-one kilometres there, in time to find that little town in a great state of excitement, because three big shells had come from nobody knew where, and burst by the railroad station.

But the Prime Minister was not there, and it was dark, so we gathered up a guide and set off for La Panne, where the King and Queen

THE BELGIAN ROYAL FAMILY

King Albert and Queen Elizabeth and their children, Princess Marie José and Princes Charles and Leopold, at their modest home on the coast of Belgium

Courtesy of *L'Illustration*

are living. Neither of them was there; nobody but a gendarme on duty. The King was off with the troops and the Queen was looking after the wounded, who have overflowed all the hospitals. In the past week—just this one engagement—the Belgians have suffered 12,000 casualties.

The road from Furnes to La Panne and back lay close behind the lines, so that we could hear the steady roar of the fighting and see the bursting shells, particularly those from the British ships, which made a tremendous flash and roar.

We came on back to town, being stopped every minute by French outposts, and got to this hostelry at seven-thirty. While I was cleaning up, the Prime Minister came in and claimed me for dinner. He had his secretary, Count Lichtervelde, and A. B., who is here looking after the wounded, and a couple of officers.

Then we talked until the hands dropped off the clock and I was nearly dead for sleep. After that, I took A. B. home to her hospital, through the streets darkened for the benefit of Count Zeppelin, and now I am ready for my rest.

I have plans for to-morrow, but shall see what happens to them when I see the Prime Minister in the morning.

October 29th.—Still at Dunkerque.

Another busy and interesting day, and if all goes well, I shall be back in London to-morrow night.

I was up early, did a little writing, and went over to see the Prime Minister, who was waiting for me. Despatched my business with him in short order, to my complete satisfaction. He is a trump, and it is a joy to do business with him, even at a time when he is hounded, as he is now.

He said the King was out with the troops but had sent in to say he wanted to see me and would come in to headquarters at Furnes at four-thirty for that purpose. The Queen had also sent word in that she wanted to see me. She was busy looking after the wounded, but said she would come to La Panne at four. That suited me, although I was in some doubt as to how I would be able to make connections between the two audiences.

Last night I had talked of going out to look at the fighting, and A. B. had offered to conduct me. I had not taken the offer very seriously, but when I got back to the hotel after seeing the Prime Minister, she was there in a big racing car, with a crack chauffeur, ready for the jaunt. She was in her campaign kit

THE QUEEN AS A BENEFACTRESS
Distributing chocolate to homeless Belgian children at an orphanage erected by her at Wulveringhem, Belgium

of knickers, with a long rain-coat and a big knitted cap, and an entrancing boy she made. Mr. and Mrs. W—— had asked to go along, and were in their car with Barbaçon, an aide-de-camp of the Prime Minister. Monsieur de Broqueville came out quite seriously and begged A. B. not to lead me into danger, whereat everybody had a good laugh.

We made quick time to Furnes and drew up before Headquarters, where we learned what was known of the lay of the land and the points of the front we could reach without getting in the way. The Belgians, who had for ten days held the line of the Yser from Nieuport to Dixmude, waiting for reinforcements to come up, had been obliged to fall back to the line of the railroad, which forms the chord of the arc, and had inundated the intervening territory to impede the German advance. French and English troops were being brought up in large numbers to relieve the Belgians, who have lost in killed and wounded nearly a third of the 50,000 men engaged.

While waiting for some definite news to be brought in for us, we climbed to the top of the high tower of the market next the Hôtel de Ville, for a look at the battle line. It was pretty misty, but we could see the smoke of shrapnel and of the big shells from the English ships, which were enfilading the German right.

The staircase up this tower was a crazy thing, with rotten steps and places where two or three steps were missing altogether. It was bad enough going up where we could take hold and pull ourselves up, but it was far worse going down, because we were ordered down in a hurry and all came piling down in a steady stream. There were squeaks and screams at the bad moments, but we did manage to get down without mishap and take stock of ourselves.

We found some German prisoners lying on the straw in the entrance hall, and stopped to speak to them. They said that their troops were very tired from long, hard fighting, but that they had plenty of men. They seemed rather depressed themselves.

By the time we got down, our information had come and we set off through a welter of transport trains, artillery, ambulances, marching troops, and goodness knows what else, in the direction of X——. When we got within a couple of kilometres of the place, an officer stopped us and asked if we knew where we were going. He shrugged his shoulders when we said we did, and let us go straight into it. When we were bowling along about one kilometre from the town, three shells burst at once, about two hundred yards to our left, and we stopped to see what was forward. A hundred yards ahead to the right of the road was a battery of five big guns, and the Germans were evidently trying to get their range. The shells kept falling to the left, near a group of farm houses, and as some of the spent balls of shrapnel kept rolling around near us, we decided we might as well go and see the big guns from nearer to.

In the shelter of the farm houses were fifty or sixty men, some of them cooking their lunch, others sleeping, all quite oblivious of the roar of bursting shrapnel and the spattering of the bullets near by. And a few months ago probably any of these men would have been frightened into a fit by a shell bursting in his neighborhood! It is wonderful how soon people become contemptuous of danger. The horses that were tethered by the roadside seemed to take it all as a matter of course, and munched

away at their hay, as though all the world were at peace. A wobbly cart came creaking by with an infantryman who had had a good part of his face shot away. He had been bandaged after a fashion and sat up blinking at us stupidly as the cart lumbered by, bumping into holes and sliding into ruts.

I was not keen on staying longer than was necessary to see what was there, but W—— was very deliberate and not to be budged for more than half an hour. We finally got him started by calling his attention to the spent balls, which make a tremendous singing noise, but do no harm. The only really safe thing in the neighborhood was what did the trick. The Germans were making a furious attack, evidently determined to break the line before the fresh troops could be brought up, and the cannonading was terrific. The whole front as far as we could see in either direction was a line of puffs of smoke from bursting shrapnel and black spouts of earth from exploding shells. The crackle of the *mitrailleuses* rippled up and down the whole line. The Belgians were pounding back as hard as they could and the noise was deafening. Finally, when we decided to leave, the officer in command of the battery loaded all five guns at once and fired a salvo for our benefit. The great shells tore away, roaring like so many express trains, and screaming like beasts in agony—a terrifying combination. My ears ache yet. It was getting hotter every minute and the Germans were evidently getting a better idea of the range, for the shells began falling pretty close on the other side, and I was quieter in my mind when we went back to our cars and pulled out of the actual line. We took a road a few hundred yards back, parallel with the lines, and drove along slowly, watching the effect of the shell fire, until we absolutely had to start back for lunch. On the way we stopped at a peasant's hut, and said hello to Jack Reyntiens.

When we got back to the hotel, about half an hour late for lunch, we found the Prime Minister waiting for us. At the door, in addition to the usual sentry, there were two privates of the *chasseurs à cheval*, one wearing a commander's star of the Legion of Honor. They saluted and smiled, and I bowed and went on in to my meal. They came in after me, still smiling, and I was taxed with not recognizing them. They were the Duc d'Ursel and ———, the heads of their respective houses, who had enlisted, and are still fighting

KING ALBERT AT THE BRITISH FRONT
Signing the visitors' book on a visit to the British trenches in Flanders

as privates. They had just been relieved and were on their way to the rear, where the Belgian army is being reformed and rested.

As soon as we had got through, I had to start back for my audience with the Queen. W—— took me out to La Panne, where we found the Villa on the sand dunes, a little way back of the lines. There were a couple of gendarmes on duty, the King's Secretary, and the Countess de Caraman-Chimay, the one Lady-in-Waiting. I had just got inside when the door opened and the King came in. He had heard I was coming to see the Queen and had motored down from Furnes. I was able to satisfy him in a few minutes on the points he had wanted to see me about and then he questioned me about friends in Brussels. I suggested to him that it would probably help our committee in raising funds if he would write an appeal for help from America. He fell in with the idea at once, and together we got out an appeal that is to be sent across the water. Where we sat we could see the British ships shelling the Germans, and the windows

of the dining room were rattling steadily. The King stood beside the table with his finger tips resting on the cloth, watching the stuff ground out word by word. I looked up at him once, but could not bear to do it again—it was the saddest face one can imagine, but not a word of complaint was breathed.

Just as we were finishing, the Queen came and bade us in to tea. She was supposed to wait for her Lady-in-Waiting to bring me, but didn't. The King stayed only a minute or two and then said he must be getting back to Headquarters, where he would see me later.

I suggested to the Queen that she, too, make an appeal to the women of America, to which she agreed. Another appeal was prepared for her, and it, too, will be sent to America by the first post.

The Queen had wanted to see me about the subject of surgeons for the Belgian army. The Belgian surgeons in the Brussels hospitals have been replaced by Germans, and have nothing to do, although they are desperately needed here. The Queen was terribly depressed about the condition of the wounded. There are so few surgeons, and such tremendous numbers of wounded, that they cannot by any possibility be properly cared for. Legs and arms are being ruthlessly amputated in hundreds of cases where they could be saved by a careful operation. Careful operations are, of course, out of the question, with the wounded being dumped in every minute by the score. In these little frontier towns there are no hospital facilities to speak of, and the poor devils are lucky if they get a bed of straw under any sort of roof and medical attendance within twenty-four hours. We went to see one hospital in a near-by villa, and I hope I shall never again have to go through such an ordeal. Such suffering and such lack of comforts I have never seen, but I take off my hat to the nerve of the wounded, and the nurses, most of them the best class of Belgian women, used to every luxury and getting none.

The Queen gave me tea, and one of her small supply of cigarettes, and we talked until after dark. The monitors off shore had been joined by a battleship, and the row was terrific and rendered conversation difficult.

ON A VISIT TO THE FRENCH FRONT
King Albert and Queen Elizabeth at one of the French aviation fields

THE QUEEN AT THE FRONT IN FLANDERS
She is congratulating some British officers whom she has just decorated with the Cross of War

The Queen was still full of courage and said that as long as there was one square foot of Belgian soil free of Germans, she would be on it. She said it simply, in answer to a question from me, but there was a big force of courage and determination behind it. As I was not dismissed, I finally took it on myself to go, and the Queen came with me to the door and sent me on my way. She stood in the lighted doorway until I reached the motor, and then turned slowly and went in—a delicate little woman with a lion's heart. Inglebleek, the King's secretary, and the Countess de Caraman-Chimay came out after we had cranked the car, and gave me messages for their families and friends. It is a pretty hard change for these people, who three months ago were leading such a dull, comfortable life, but they have risen to it with fine spirit.

The King was with his staff, studying the maps and despatches, when I got to Furnes, and I was shown the whole situation—most interesting on the large scale maps that show every farm house and pathway. I was to go back to Dunkerque with Monsieur de Broqueville, so waited while they discussed the events of the day and plans for to-morrow.

While they talked reinforcements were pouring through the town, with great rumbling of artillery and blowing of trumpets. It was a comforting sound, as it presaged some relief for the Belgians in their heart-breaking stand.

There was comfort in riding back through the night with the Prime Minister, for there was no long examination of papers, etc. When we came to a post, the aide-de-camp would switch on a strong light in the car, the sentries would salute, and on we would go at a great gait.

Seemingly I was boarding with Monsieur de Broqueville, as I was led back to dine with him.

To-morrow I am off to London. Loewenstein, a young Brussels banker, is to take me over in his racing car, which is a useful institution these days. We take along his mother-in-law, Madame Misonne, and A. B. It means getting up at five to motor to Calais to catch the boat. There the car will be slung aboard, so that we can be whisked up to London without waiting for a train.

CAN WE BUILD THOSE SHIPS IN TIME?

We Have the Money, the Steel, the Engines, the Turbines, and the Seamen, But We Lack Workmen in the Shipyards—Mr. Hurley's Good Work

BY

BURTON J. HENDRICK

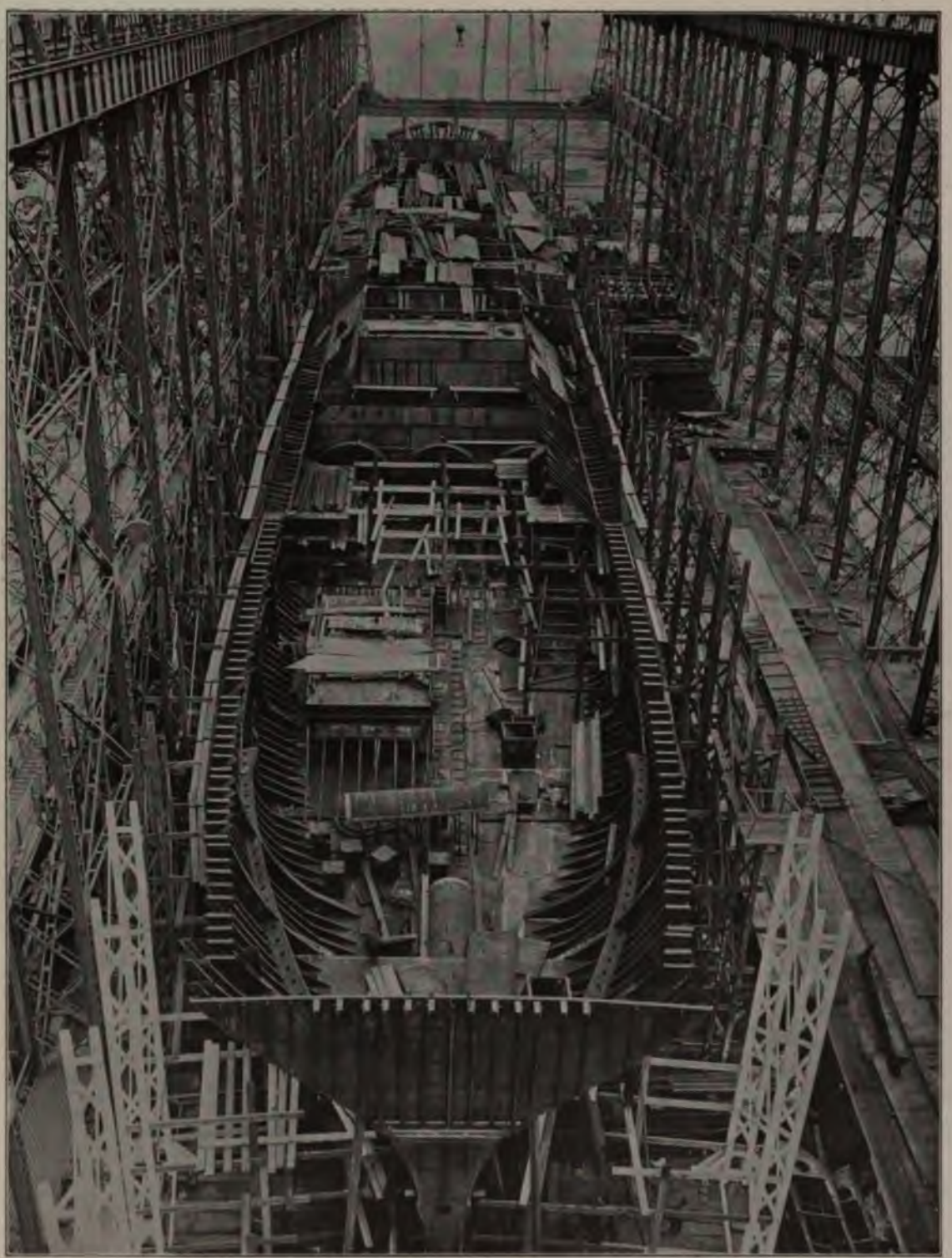
CAN the United States build 5,000,000 tons of merchant shipping a year? The man who can answer this question can answer, likewise, one that is on every American's lips to-day: Can the United States win this war? If we cannot build these ships, we might just as well haul down the flag and retire from active military operations. We are fighting the German Empire with materials and men. We hope to send sufficient food and munitions to sustain England, France, and Italy in the approaching campaign. We are planning to transport railroad materials to Russia, coal to Italy, and steel to France. It is our present intention to ship an American army of at least a million men to Europe and to keep it supplied with all the essentials of aggressive warfare. We are talking about building a fleet of many thousand airplanes for service on the western front by next April or May. How are we to get these materials and men to the other side? There is, of course, only one way. Unless we have an enormous merchant fleet, the products of our factories and our farms, to say nothing of our training camps, will remain in our own country, where they will render little service in bringing the war to an end.

Thus Mr. Edward N. Hurley, the chairman of the Shipping Board, may be said to have the job in the present war that underlies all the others. There is probably no man in the Government's service who faces so stupendous a task. Until the European war, American shipyards had produced about 250,000 tons a year, and the record for the present year is perhaps 800,000 tons. We are now suddenly called upon to expand this output ten- or a dozen-fold. This great necessity found the American people totally unprepared to meet it. We have to create all the subsidiary industries that produce the materials for this projected fleet. Our steel mills will have to roll plates on a scale hitherto unknown; our makers of boilers, reciprocating engines, and turbines will have to multiply their present plants by ten. The existing shipyards must triple and quadruple their facilities almost overnight, and entirely new plants must be established. Mr. Hurley has to create an industrial army of at least 500,000 men, and teach them the shipbuilding trades. At the present moment the great majority of these workmen are engaged in automobile factories and in other establishments that require highly skilled labor. For his completed vessels he has to train deck officers, engineer officers, sailors, firemen, coal passers, oilers, cooks, and stewards—all of them representing occupations that now have only a small following in the United States. Each 1,000 ships will demand about 100,000 of these men as officers and crews. Mr. Hurley has not only to create these new industries and train these new workingmen and seamen, but he is called upon to do it with almost in-

Both photographs © International Film Service

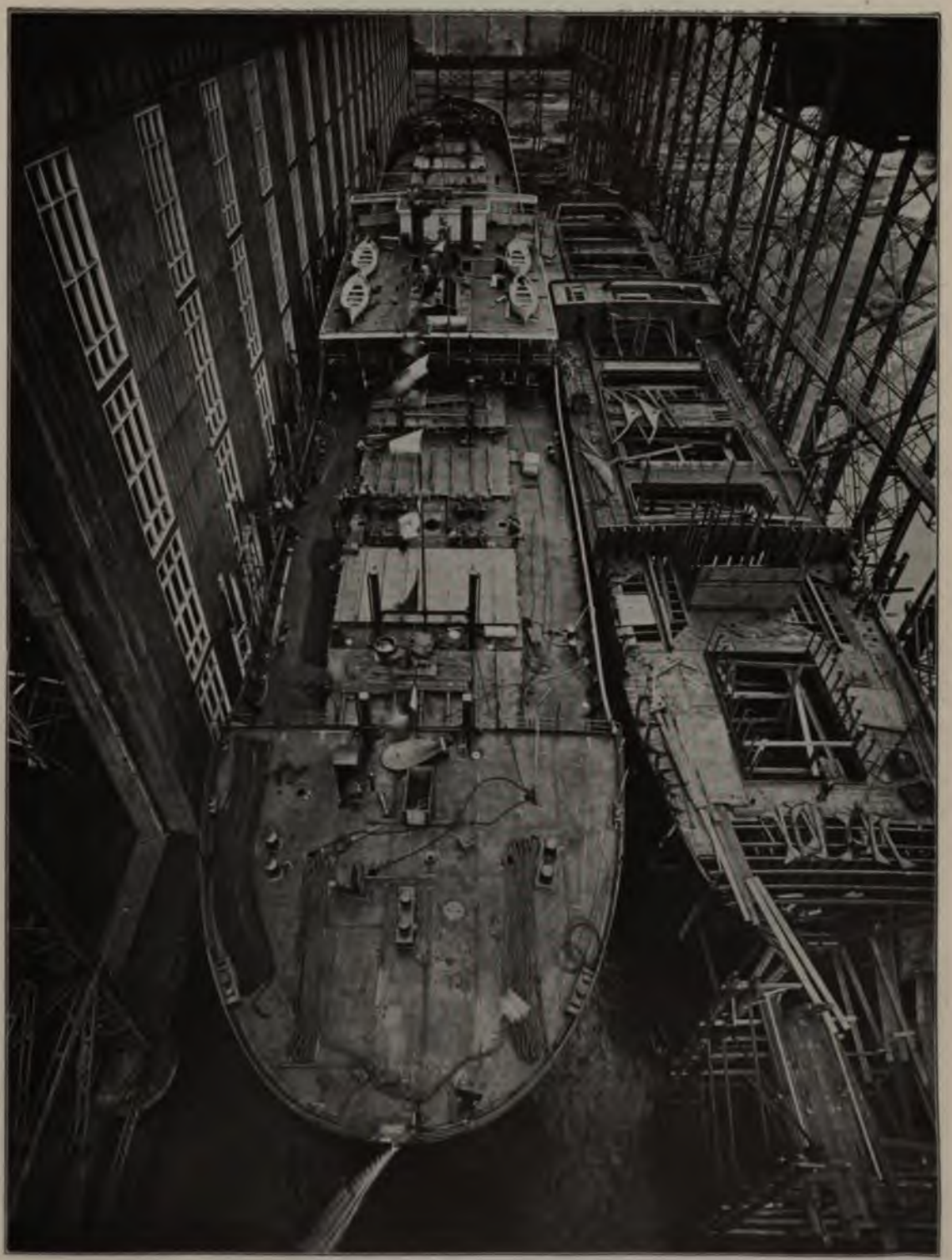
LABOR, THE CRUX OF THE SHIPPING PROBLEM

Five hundred thousand mechanics are necessary to build the five million tons a year that must be built to beat the submarine. We now have less than 200,000 men, and the various yards are competing against one another for their services



PUTTING THE MACHINERY IN THE HULL OF A STEEL SHIP

The engines, boilers, and other mechanism to propel our ships can easily be supplied by great manufacturing concerns that have enormously increased their facilities for this purpose. The chief problem is to get the men to build the hulls and install the machinery



BUILDING STEEL SHIPS IN PAIRS

We shall have to turn out a thousand ships a year like these if we are to win the war. It requires one laborer per ton per month to build a ship, and labor is so scarce that most shipyards can work only one shift of eight hours a day

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ONE OF THE HIGHEST PAID TRADES

Riveters on ship work at present are earning $90 a week, yet their war psychology is so mixed that one day they will hold a patriotic flag raising, as in the upper picture, the next day demand that a fellow worker be discharged for opposing the Liberty Loan, and the third day tie up rush work by striking for more exorbitant pay

THE HIGHER SKILL IN SHIPBUILDING

Upper picture: Section of a steam turbine, which, large as it is, occupies much less space than the old-style reciprocating engine, besides getting far more power out of the same amount of steam. Lower picture: Testing the rough casting of a propeller for flaws before wasting time on the work of finishing

THE WOODEN SHIP

The present Shipping Board intends to use the wooden ships ordered by its predecessor in office as a substitute for steel coastwise vessels, thereby releasing these latter boats for overseas service

THE STEEL SHIP

Cheaper to build than the wooden ship, and, on account of its greater speed, of more service in the transatlantic carrying trade, in which at least fifteen knots are requisite to escape the U-boats

ONE OF THE GREAT SHIPBUILDING YARDS ON THE ATLANTIC COAST

THE FINISHED PRODUCT

To transport our troops to France and keep them supplied with food and ammunition, besides doing our share toward keeping our Allies provisioned with necessary munitions of war, we must build five million tons of shipping a year. Our programme—on paper—calls for that much the first year: labor can make that paper programme a reality or destroy it. Everything else needful has been arranged for

credible speed. While Germany is not sinking as many merchant ships as she planned when she started the submarine warfare, her torpedoes are creating great havoc in the merchant fleets of all nations. Apparently—so far as any accurate estimate can be made from official statements—about 500,000 tons, including that of all nations, is disappearing under the waves every month. This destruction amounts to about 6,000,000 tons a year, or 1,000,000 more than the present building programme of the United States. Fortunately, we are not dependent entirely upon American shipyards, for England, according to a recent statement of Mr. Lloyd-George, is turning out 4,000,000 tons a year. But we must not ignore the fact that the German submarine campaign is seriously interfering with the prosecution of the war. The submarines are keeping many supplies out of France and Italy, and hampering military operations in numerous directions. Above all, the fact remains that the submarines are sinking merchant ships more rapidly than the shipyards of England and the United States are turning out new tonnage. Not improbably, Germany is constructing submarines at a more rapid rate, and of a more formidable type, than ever before. Thus our Shipping Board is called upon not only to create the new basic industries and the shipyards that are essential if we are to have this merchant fleet, but must do it almost out-of-hand.

MR. HURLEY'S BIG JOB AHEAD

We Americans have an unfortunate way of thinking that we have solved great practical problems by passing legislation and appropriating money. Congress votes $650,000,000 for airplanes, and we already see an enormous American air fleet engaged on the western front. Our lawmakers vote $350,000,000 for destroyers, and the ships, in the mind of the average American, are already off the Irish Coast fighting German submarines. Likewise, when we read that Congress had appropriated a billion dollars and more for a merchant fleet we gave a sigh of relief and regarded that problem as having been solved. But appropriations, indispensable as they are, do not construct airplanes, destroyers, or merchant ships. The hard work of making these programmes physical realities still lies ahead. And thus, when Mr. Hurley and his associates announce that their schedule calls for 5,000,000 tons of American shipping a year, they are not giving us assurances or making promises. They are merely mapping out a programme which they may or may not make good. We do not possess 5,000,000 tons of shipping as a result of their announcement. That Mr. Hurley brings great energy and devotion to his mighty task, and that he has a group of particularly able associates, is apparent. Great as is his ability and industry, however, he cannot succeed unless the American people as a mass get behind him. Like practically every other war enterprise in which we are now engaged, the building of these ships is not a one-man job; it is something in which all Americans must play a part. The fact which we must constantly keep in mind is that this projected merchant fleet exists at present purely upon paper; that only the beginnings have been made in the way of giving it reality; and that we shall succeed only to the extent that we arouse all our enthusiasm and energies.

TO BUILD ONLY STEEL SHIPS

One comforting fact is that the reorganized Shipping Board now has a definite policy and a definite programme. It has discarded the idea of wooden ships, although it will complete the contracts which have already been made for this type of craft, and in the future it will limit its activities to steel. It has under construction 353 wooden ships, and 58 vessels of composite construction—in all, 411 with an aggregate deadweight tonnage of 1,460,000 tons. The Denman-Goethals Board had awarded contracts for seventy steel cargo vessels aggregating 587,000 tons, and since August the reorganized Board has placed contracts for 155 steel ships, aggregating 1,076,000 tons. This latter group comprises the so-called fabricated ships—that is, ships whose parts are made in "fabricating yards" and shipped to an assembling post at the seaboard. The Board has also requisitioned every ton of shipping under construction in American yards. The larger part of these vessels was being constructed for English companies, or, more accurately stated, for the British Government itself, since shipping is as much a governmental matter in England now as it is in this country. This drastic action placed in the hands of the Shipping Board 403 vessels, or 2,500,000 tons, in varying stages of completion, ranging all the way from mere pieces of paper that represented contracts up to ships which are practically ready to take the water.

In addition to these vessels, Congress, just before adjourning, authorized the construction of 5,000,000 tons. A recapitulation of these figures will present Mr. Hurley's building programme, the completion of which will take probably at least two years:

NO. OF VESSELS	TYPE	TOTAL DEADWEIGHT TONNAGE
353	Wood	1,253,000
58	Composite	207,000
225	Steel	1,663,000
Requisitioned vessels:		
403		2,500,000
Authorized by Congress:		
1,200 (approximately)		5,000,000
2,239 (approximately)		10,623,000

With the 6,000,000 tons of American shipping which is already afloat, this programme should ultimately assure a merchant fleet aggregating 19,500,000 tons. At the beginning of the war England, the greatest of maritime nations, had a merchant fleet of 21,000,000 tons, and Germany had one of 4,500,000 tons. Just how much merchant shipping England has to-day is not known, for her reconstruction, up to date, can hardly have made good the devastation of the submarines. The larger part of Germany's fleet is now resting in the hands of her enemies, and will probably stay there indefinitely. Apparently, therefore, the United States will eventually have a merchant fleet immeasurably larger than Germany's and perhaps larger than even England's. The construction of such a fleet is now a fixed national policy. We are building not only for the present but for the future. We have in mind not only the elimination of the submarine but the construction of a merchant fleet entirely worthy of our standing as a nation. The war has taught us, as it has taught all countries, the value of merchant ships. England, especially experienced in maritime matters, has appreciated, even more keenly than before, her absolute dependence upon sea-carriers, and, as soon as Bernstorff was sent home, crowded every available corner of our shipyards with orders for cargo boats. She was really using our steel, our yards, and even our money—for the ships were to be paid for out of American loans—to assure her unquestioned maritime mastery at the close of the war. Friendly as are our relations with England, it is now our policy not to let a single ton which American yards are building slip out of our hands. We shall need these ships for the assistance of our associates in the war and for the protection of our own foreign trade.

Here then, is our great national enterprise. To put this programme through will be an industrial feat that will challenge world-wide admiration. What are the chances that we shall rise to the occasion?

Certain problems have been fairly solved already. The chief argument in favor of wooden ships was the supposed scarcity of steel, but Washington no longer has any apprehension on this score. Even before the European War the United States was producing more steel than all the rest of the world put together, and the 23,000,000 tons turned out by our mills in 1914 was increased to 40,000,000 tons last year. Our great steel industries stand ready to furnish the shipbuilders steel plates in any quantity desired. The problem of boilers and engines no longer disturbs the Shipping Board. The reciprocating engines which will be installed in the wooden boats are being manufactured in sufficient quantity for all purposes. The turbines which will furnish motive power for the steel vessels are also being turned out as rapidly as they are needed. Though the wooden shipbuilders have had considerable difficulty in obtaining lumber, especially on the Atlantic Coast, this matter no longer causes them any anxiety. So far as the inert materials of shipbuilding are concerned, the difficulties have therefore practically all been overcome.

The problem of labor is virtually the only one that still remains. Where are we to get the skilled workingmen to build these ships? Where are we to get the officers and seamen to man them? The steel mills that are to roll the plates, the factories that are to produce the engines and the turbines, all have their labor problems, but they have conquered them to such an extent that they no longer see any great difficulty in promptly delivering their products. But in the shipyards themselves the situation is very different. If labor conditions continue as they are, these builders frankly say, they cannot bring to completion Washington's elaborate shipbuilding programme; unless things change for the better soon, the Nation will fail in the great task to which it has set its hand.

A chance visit to any one of our great ship-

building yards discloses the utmost demoralization. This experience is not a cheering one for any patriot who hopes to see his people do its part in freeing the ocean of the German submarines. I chanced upon one of the greatest of these establishments on a Saturday afternoon. A line of destroyers, some mere skeletons, others practically ready to start for the North Sea, raised their inspiring hulls along a dozen ways. Several merchant ships, some already afloat, others merely a tangle of ribs and plates, suggested the part which they were to play in circumventing the Hohenzollerns. At a distance huge machine shops, full of half-finished turbines, propellers, shafts, and other mechanisms, gave promise of aggressiveness and efficiency. Here were all the essential materials of a huge shipbuilding plant; in only one respect did the yard fail to live up to its reputation. Such an establishment is usually the noisiest place in the world; yet here there was no rapid staccato fire of riveting machines; over this whole area prevailed a death-like silence. Not a solitary workman hove into view. The executive offices were a whirl of rushing office boys and clerks; the president and heads of departments were glued to their desks. Apparently everybody was working in this ship plant except the workmen. Every effort was being made to rush ships to completion except the actual work of putting them together.

"Where are the workmen?" I asked.

"Oh, this is Saturday afternoon. They demanded that we should give them a half holiday each Saturday."

This in itself did not seem unreasonable, especially as the men work the larger part of Sunday. Yet a great shipbuilding plant idle even for one afternoon, when the Germans are sinking two great ships a day, was disquieting.

"But haven't you another shift you can put on the job? And haven't you a shift that works nights?"

The answer was a pitying smile. Apparently I knew little of existing conditions in the shipyards.

"Of course, we should utilize the plant every moment," was the answer. "We should work it twenty-four hours a day, and Sundays and holidays. No one wants to work one shift more than the eight hours stipulated by law. But we have only this one shift. As soon as we can get men enough, we will keep busy two or even three. But at present we are worrying more about keeping the men we have than trying to add to them."

Indeed, this constant threat of a strike hung over this shipyard as it does over practically every other in the country. A calamity of this kind had been averted only a few hours before my visit. A few days before, the men had handed in their demands for more pay under penalty of dropping work, a hurried conference with Washington followed and Mr. R. B. Stevens, of the Shipping Board, had hastened down to adjust the situation. Mr. Stevens had faced about 6,000 determined and sullen workers, for the larger part Poles and Huns, men who, it is unpleasant to record, apparently had little sense of responsibility to their country and little enthusiasm for anything but the wages which they could squeeze out of its embarrassments. Yet Mr. Stevens, after one or two hours' earnest pleading, had succeeded in starting something like a patriotic fire in their bosoms. He had pictured to them the important work which they were doing and the contributions which they had it in their power to make to history, and the upshot was that the men had agreed to return to work—for an increase of 10 per cent. in wages. The officers of the company regarded this as a remarkable personal achievement for Mr. Stevens and were loud in praising him.

Yet this is the kind of thing that is taking place in all our shipyards. One of the largest on Chesapeake Bay, in early October, was practically standing idle, simply because the officers could not get enough workingmen. Hardly any yards at present are working more than one shift a day. To a considerable extent the Government—all unwittingly, of course—has produced this demoralization. The great appropriations by Congress led the old Shipping Board to grant contracts on an extravagant scale, in many cases to firms that had little more than a paper existence. In many instances these contractors established their plants in shipbuilding centres, close to other yards which had been operating for many years. Having obtained their contracts on liberal terms, they could afford to pay liberal wages. Instead of developing a working force of their own, it was much easier to entice away the workmen of the long established yards. Unfortunately, many of these new-blown contractors were more interested in completing their ships and getting their profits than in advancing the general shipping interests of the coun-

try. The consequence of their "raids" was a stupendous increase in wages and a consequent upsetting in general working conditions. The big yards, which were really equipped to turn out shipping at an enormous scale, began to lose their men. They discovered that they were merely running training schools for the mushroom concerns; as soon as a promising apprentice learned the rudiments of his trade he would go to another yard at higher prices. With half a dozen firms competing for services, discipline naturally became relaxed, strikes were constantly taking place, and a general atmosphere of uncertainty and strife overhung the shipyards.

The Delaware district forms an excellent illustration of what was going on all over the country. This is the headquarters of two of the oldest and best equipped shipbuilding plants in the United States, the William Cramp & Sons and the New York Shipbuilding Company. Both had large and skilled forces of workmen, and both had extensive resources for constructing war and merchant ships. But this sudden expansion of shipbuilding prosperity has planted three or four new concerns in this region. There has been no simultaneous increase in workingmen, and the new concerns have recruited their yards almost entirely from the old established plants. The newcomers have, therefore, made few additions to our shipbuilding facilities; instead, these facilities which we already had have simply been scattered in half a dozen establishments.

EXTRAORDINARY WAGES PAID TO RIVETERS

It is true that these older places do succeed somehow in keeping a large force at work and in turning out their ships, but they do it under the utmost difficulty, and have by no means attained their maximum output. The competition that prevails has produced perhaps the most startling wage increases that this country has ever known. These riveters and fitters no longer belong, if we take their wages as a standard, to the proletariat; they live in comfortable houses, which in many cases they own themselves, they have pianos and victrolas, they ride about in their own automobiles, and their wives keep servants and give afternoon teas. I have had access to a report on working conditions and wages in one of the greatest American shipbuilding plants—one which, at the time in question, was running at only a minimum of capacity. If this fairly represents general conditions, certainly the campaign orators will have to look elsewhere than the shipyards for material illustrating the abuses heaped upon the working man. The wages of riveters in this yard ranged from $57.21 to $172.64 a week! The exhibit is such a striking one that I submit it in its entirety; it is perhaps the most startling illustration of the extent to which the war has put up wages in American industrial plants. In the original the names of the individuals are given, but they are omitted in this transcript:

WORKMAN	RIVETERS—HOURS WORKING PER WEEK	WAGES PER WEEK
A	50¼	$57.21
B	55¼	49.13
C	50¾	52.19
D	62¾	98.39
E	51¼	57.59
F	67¼	144.14
G	78	172.64
H	78	141.14
I	51½	86.35
	FITTERS	
A	46¾	60.40
B	56	124.81

Judging from this exhibit, the "prevailing rate of wages" in this shipyard averages about $90 a week. Even before Mr. Kitchin's latest taxation bill, many of these men had joined the income-paying class. Evidently the creation of America's great shipping fleet is giving birth to captains of industry of a very novel species. Yet no one complains about these wages, either in Washington or in the yards. After all, they are a small price to pay for freeing civilization from the existing menace. We are not building this merchant fleet exclusively on business principles, we are building it first of all for military purposes. It is precisely because we are not serving the best interests of the Nation, even at these wages, that the labor situation is so discouraging. The labor report from which these figures are taken declares that, although the men are getting this liberal pay, they are only about 50 per cent. efficient. These brawny workmen have many traits that suggest the domestic servant. They engage to come at a particular time and then never appear. In this very yard 18,000 men have been hired since January 1st and only 11,000 ever have showed their faces on the premises again.

In other cases they come, work a few days, and then vanish into space—or, probably, into some other yard that will pay them more money.

"IF WE CAN GET THE WORKMEN"

Thus, wherever you tackle this shipping problem, it invariably reduces itself to a question of labor. If you ask Mr. Hurley whether he can build 10,000,000 tons of shipping in two years, he will reply, "Yes, if we can get the workmen." If you go into one of our large shipyards and ask the head if he can turn out thirty cargo ships a year, he will reply, "It's all a matter of labor; we have everything else." There is no attempt to conceal the fact that they do not have the men at present. It is generally estimated that one man can turn out one ton of shipping per month. As we have taken 5,000,000 or 6,000,000 tons a year as our national stint in shipbuilding we shall, therefore, need between 400,000 and 500,000 workmen. Just how many are working at the present writing—early in November—nobody seems to know, but probably there are not more than 200,000 men. These figures show the enormity of the task that lies before us.

Yet Mr. Hurley, who was himself once a workingman, is tackling the situation with his well-known energy and enthusiasm. If human ingenuity and persuasiveness can get these workmen, we may be sure that Mr. Hurley will obtain them. What I have said in the foregoing may picture a rather discouraging prospect, but the future is not entirely bleak. The encouraging fact is that we have a capable gentleman now directing the affairs of the Shipping Board who has already done much to rescue that organization from the demoralization into which three months of wasteful bickering had plunged it. The one basic fact is that we have plenty of skilled workmen in the United States. The problem resolves itself merely into one of recruitment and organization. At present these skilled mechanics are making pleasure automobiles or engaged in a thousand industries that only remotely assist our military operations. These men should be taken from unnecessary occupations and stationed in the shipyards. Why should thousands of riveters be working on skyscrapers when they are needed at Fore River or Delaware Bay, or in numerous places on the Pacific Coast? At present our national army contains many thousands of skilled mechanics. "A man in a shipyard is worth three men in the trenches," says Mr. Hurley; why should not these soldier-workmen be transferred to places where they can render indispensable service? Probably the average workman would choose to work on a merchantman or a destroyer at $10 or $15 a day in preference to spending the next two years in a trench at $30 a month. The one fact that stands out above all others is that only the Federal Government itself can handle this labor problem. Under the private competitive system these yards will never get their 500,000 shipbuilders. We can no more build up an industrial army by private initiative than we can build up our military and naval forces in the same way.

FEDERAL REGULATION OF LABOR

The Federal Government must regulate employment and supervise wages. The plan most favorably considered provides that the two coasts be divided into zones, one perhaps for New England, one for the Delaware district, one for the Chesapeake, one for the Gulf and so on. Each zone should have its fixed scale of wages, arranged with due regard to prevailing economic conditions. Under these circumstances a workman would have no incentive to leave one yard for a neighboring one, for he would know that his wages would not be increased. This plan is not urged for the purpose of reducing wages; the idea is merely to keep them uniform. There is no objection to taking the existing rates, and even of increasing them as necessity may indicate. The main point is that all the yards in a particular zone shall pay precisely the same scale, something which they will not do, as experience has disclosed, unless the Government takes charge and enforces a uniform system. Mr. Hurley and his associates are adopting other means to obtain efficiency in the shipyards. Schools will be established in all the big plants to teach workmen the shipping trades. Many already have such educational establishments; but here a new difficulty arises, for there is a scarcity of instructors. The mere circumstance that we shall have to organize special training stations to teach these teachers illustrates the complex problems which are involved in building a great merchant fleet. Just as we have to educate officers for the national army, so must we train the captains of this industrial army. One of the shipyards will be taken as the site of an industrial Plattsburg. A force of super-workmen will here spend several weeks learning the

details of riveting, fitting, caulking, and other skilled operations which go to make the completed ship. They will then be assigned to the schools in the yards, where they will pass on their knowledge. Many forces are already working to make this undertaking a success. Mr. Meyer Bloomfield, of Boston, a great expert in vocational training, has this "Industrial Plattsburg" in hand, and Mr. Samuel Gompers and the Y. M. C. A. are giving it their best support.

SENDING 100,000 MEN TO MARINE SCHOOLS

A difficult and complicated task, is it not, building this fleet of 2,500 cargo ships? And when this industrial Plattsburg is hard at work, when the teachers have been obtained, when the workmen who are to be taught have filed into the yards, when they have succeeded in turning out the ships at the rate which is essential to success—is the situation saved even then? By no means. Then we shall face an entirely new problem. The present plan calls for the commissioning of about 1,100 ships in 1918. We shall need not far from 100,000 men to man them. These ships, to make them efficient, will call into the service about 6,400 watch officers, 6,400 engineers, 24,000 sailors, 24,000 firemen, 12,000 coal passers, 9,600 oilers and water tenders, and 16,000 cooks and stewards. The programme of 1919 will demand a force equally large. If the war goes on and we keep on building we shall probably need even more in 1920. To build and equip the fleet already planned we shall thus require 500,000 workmen in the yards and about 200,000 seamen and officers—an entirely new army of 700,000 men. And the war found us as destitute of seamen as of shipbuilders. Here again we have to begin at the beginning; we have to establish schools, to train our officers, our engineers, and our men. These are certainly the days when grown-up Americans are going to school. And here a remarkable work has already been done. For the last six months thousands of Americans have been learning this new art of ocean-going seamanship at fifteen or twenty schools especially established for that purpose. These schools are found everywhere, on both coasts, and, although little has been said publicly about the work, remarkable results have already been obtained. So far as watch officers and engineers are concerned, this problem has been solved, for the schools are already graduating them in numbers sufficient for all our needs. Every month these schools are sending out 600 deck officers and 500 engineer officers who step at once into good positions on the newly commissioned ships. The Shipping Board is introducing an entirely new occupation for Americans. In this new field engineers are now earning monthly wages—or more properly salaries—ranging from $90 to $450 a month, first mates are getting from $175 to $312, second mates from $140 to $262, and third mates from $130 to $237. These, of course, represent war and emergency wages; possibly they may fall after hostilities have ceased, but that this new occupation will be a permanent one is now assured.

Boys from the farms, from the Mississippi Valley, from the plains of Arizona and New Mexico, as well as from the industrial centres, are also preparing for service as seamen on this new American fleet. Several large vessels have been taken from coast service and changed into huge floating training schools. The Shipping Board places these apprentices on the federal pay-roll at the rate of $30 a month. They have eight hours a day of intensive training. They are now busily learning the arts of splicing ropes, making knots and hitches, chipping and painting, cleaning decks, and oiling; they are spending stipulated hours in boat drill, they are learning the compass, and they are performing the indispensable duties of lookout and watch. The Government not only pays these men while they are learning, but provides them amusement, moving pictures, vaudeville shows, and the like.

Thus we have the officers and men to man the ships, we have the steel, we have the engines and turbines, we have everything except the workmen for the yards. Is it likely that, after overcoming so many obstacles, we shall not conquer this one, too? The whole responsibility of a merchant fleet rests upon that vast army of skilled mechanics now employed outside the shipyards. The American workingmen can lose and can win the war. That they will fail the Nation is hardly conceivable, but time is an important element.

"THEY HAVE COME FOR THE SAKE OF FRANCE"

An Arrival of American Troops in a French Port, and the Meaning of the Welcome They Received

BY

HAWTHORNE DANIEL

AN AUTOMOBILE was waiting at the door when the signalman brought us word that a convoy had anchored ten miles down the river to wait for the turn of the tide. Fortunately we were not busy, and consequently were able to ride down to —— in order to be among the first to welcome the arriving soldiers.

It was a matter of minutes to be bowling along the strip of white road, through the American army camp, deserted now but soon to be filled to overflowing, across a railroad, past a siding filled with strange little freight cars, between two rows of beautiful old poplars on our way to a point from which we could see the ships as they passed. Two airplanes soared overhead on their way back to the aviation field after sweeping the river mouth for possible German mines. Children waved to us as we passed, shouting *Americaine!* as they recognized our nationality.

We turned off the main road before reaching —— and rolled down a pretty little lane, that ended near a villa at the water's edge. Already the ships had started again. We could hear the rattle of their windlasses as they heaved in their anchors. One by one they slid up the channel, passing near us as they made a turn that brought them close to shore. The beach was dotted with delighted French people. On the low wall of a garden that sloped down from the villa near which we had stopped, a French girl was standing. She was, perhaps, sixteen, and she held an American flag that waved over her head and threatened to lift her from the wall as the breeze caught its brilliant folds. A ship passed close in, and she waved the flag with all her strength. On the crowded deck of the transport the troops waved in return. Another ship passed, and again she waved the flag. Again the crowded decks answered. And then, steaming sedately up the channel, came one of the former German liners, once named for a member of the royal house of Hohenzollern. Its decks were crowded with three thousand men. The rigging was filled with them. The rails were lined. Every inch of the ship's enormous length seemed alive with men in khaki and sailors in blue.

The girl on the wall seized her flag with renewed vigor, and waved it madly. We expected to see the same answer the other ships had given, but instead, as I trained my glasses on the bridge, I saw an officer seize a megaphone. The gold on his sleeve glistened in the sun as he spoke to the men below him. The distance was too great for us to hear his words, but a moment later the ship seemed swayed by a common impulse. Every hat waved in the air for an instant, waved again—and again. Then over the glistening water came three mighty cheers.

The girl stood amazed. For a moment she failed to grasp it all, and finally it dawned on her that they had returned her greeting—that the spirit of America had answered that of France. She seized her flag, and waved it until it snapped in the breeze. Then, overcome by her emotions, she jumped from the wall, and threw her arms about the neck of a little woman in black who was standing there.

Chère mère, she cried, *ils sont venus pour la France*. (Darling mother, they have come for the sake of France.)

Stopping at Army Headquarters on the way back to town, we found that the first two transports had passed through the lock before we reached our office, the balcony of which overlooked the lock at about the elevation of the bridges of the transports as they passed. The third ship was being warped through the gates as we returned, and we found that our balcony was occupied by several young

women from the Y. M. C. A. who had accepted our invitation to view the arrival from our point of vantage.

The third ship entered the lock, and the gates closed astern of her, while the crowd in the street below our balcony waved their hats, and cheered.

"'Allo, Sammee," shouted the onlookers, whereat the boys who crowded the decks of the ship cheered with typical American abandon.

Cigarettes, candy, fruit were tossed aboard, and in return the new arrivals sang American songs that to those of us who had been long away from home seemed to be the latest echo from Broadway.

Our balcony was not more than fifty feet from the bridges of the ships as they passed. It was easily possible for us to shout our greetings to old shipmates as they lay in the lock waiting for the water level to change. We had shouted to several and had found that the trip had been uneventful so far as submarines were concerned, when one of the young women of our party gave a shriek of delight, and seizing a signal flag that lay near, she waved it enthusiastically at the crowded deck.

"Bob," she cried, "Bob!"

For a moment no one answered, and then a handsome young lieutenant leaned over the rail, looked intently for a moment, and took off his hat in astonishment. He looked again to make doubly sure, and waved his hat in greeting.

"Mary," he called, and could say no more.

The ship began to move, and in a few minutes had slid into the inner basin, where his form melted into the khaki-colored blot that covered the deck.

The girl turned to those of us who had watched the incident. Her eyes were bright with tears she could not hold back.

"That's my brother," she said. "I didn't even know he had gotten his commission."

The upper gate of the lock closed. The water level dropped quickly. The lower gate opened, and the —— entered. She was formerly a German liner. Slowly she crept into the lock, with squads of men carrying her hausers. She filled the lock from end to end, and towered high above the surrounding buildings. Her decks were filled with thousands of men. The lock gate closed, and she was made fast. A babel rose from her decks. The crowd in the street below cheered with renewed vigor, and then on the forward deck an army band appeared. The soldiers cleared a place for it. The leader waved his baton, and the music started. The crowd leaned forward, listening eagerly. One by one the men in uniform straightened, and stood stiffly at attention. The shouting ceased, and every Frenchman stood with his hand at his visor in the French military salute. The band played on, and the blood of those of us who came from across the Atlantic rushed in thrilling vigor through our veins, as the strains of the "Star Spangled Banner" floated out over the heads of that silenced multitude.

The music ceased. For a moment the crowd was quiet, and then, with the energy born of the enthusiasm the music had imparted, the cheering commenced. Wave on wave of sound passed up and down the street. And then the band master again waved his baton. Quickly the crowd was silenced. Once more French hands met French visors. The silence of the crowd was remarkable, but it lasted only a minute. Then in low, but ever-increasing volume, their voices joined the music. The soldiers on the ship joined in, humming when they did not know the words, and the rapidly increasing sound boomed across the bay, until a squad of German prisoners, begrimed by their work on the coal pile, stood spellbound by the marvelous music of the Marseillaise.

The scene was too large to grasp: I could not get it all, but one incident forced itself upon me.

Below us, in the dusty street, stood an old woman. She was dressed in mourning, probably for a son she had lost in the fight for liberty. She was bent from toil. Her hands, as she leaned on her cane, were gnarled and crooked. Her dress was shabby. I had not seen her until the crowd had surged toward the ship, leaving her in a little open spot. As the band played the national anthem of her country, her hands tremblingly searched in her bag for her handkerchief. She drew it forth, and wiped her eyes. Then a wave of sound surged over her, and she broke down. Crying as if her heart would break, she tottered through the crowd, and I saw her last as she turned a corner, where she disappeared from sight.

Dusk had fallen, and the lights on the ships shone softly. The —— passed from the lock, and another ship entered. The supper hour came and went, but the crowd remained. As each ship entered, the crowd found its energy renewed. It was dark before the last one

passed into the security of the basin, where the thousands in khaki were safe for the moment from the submarines they had passed and the shells they are to meet.

It was early the next morning when I heard the bugle that started the disembarkation of the newly arrived contingent. Dressing hurriedly, I walked down to the docks. Already troops were filing down the gangways, and forming into companies. An hour later one of the ships was unloaded, and the troops marched down the street, across the bridge, and up through town, halting just as the first of the column disappeared over a rise in the street.

Another ship landed its men, who joined the first companies, and the transport, having gotten rid of her soldiers, swung a scaffolding over her stern. Sailors swarmed down the lines that held it, and, with chipping chisels in their hands, started to work cleaning away the marks in the paint where the former name of the ship had been. The letters had been removed long since, but the accumulation of paint made the name still easily legible. The street was crowded with soldiers. They reached out of sight over the rise, and still four huge ships were crowded with men.

A squad of German prisoners, guarded by several French soldiers with long bayonets fixed to longer rifles, marched down the street. They wound in and out among the companies of soldiers, and finally found their way barred by a regiment waiting for its place in line.

The faces of the Germans bore a puzzled look. They seemed to be wondering what witchcraft these Americans had used to get through the invulnerable zone of the submarines. They looked around at the thousands of troops in the street, and at the other thousands on the ships. They glanced up, and found themselves under the overhanging stern of the huge liner on which the American bluejackets were changing the name. One man touched another, calling his attention to work going on above them. Others glanced up, and soon the squad had gathered the meaning of what was happening. They stood there for ten minutes or more, while overhead the laughing American sailors were chipping away the remains of a Hohenzollern name. I wondered if that could be taken as an omen.

The squad of prisoners marched away, disappearing among the khaki uniforms. A band marched down the street, playing a lively air. By noon not a soldier remained of the thousands that had landed, but the camp outside the town that had been all but deserted on the previous day had become a crowded city—another contingent of Americans had arrived in France, unheralded and unsung.

FIGHTING STARVATION IN BELGIUM

The Long Soup and Bread Lines, and the Scant Rations of a Hunger-Stricken Nation —Some Details of Belgium's Misery—Splendid Sacrifices of the Women— From the Official Records of the Commission for Relief in Belgium

BY

VERNON KELLOGG

[of the Commission]

THE story of Belgium will never be told. That is the word that passes oftenest between us. No one will ever by word of mouth or in writing give it to others in its entirety, or even tell what he himself has seen and felt. The longer he stays the more he realizes the futility of any such attempt; the more he becomes dumb."

My wife wrote these words in Brussels just a year ago as the first paragraph of an attempt to describe a single phase of the story of Belgium in martyrdom—the phase of the work, beautiful in its loyalty, its intelligence, and its sacrifice, of the "Women of Belgium turning tragedy into triumph." *

The words are literally true. My own feeling, in face of my wish to make real to the readers of the WORLD'S WORK the actual situation and the actual course of the relief

* "Women of Belgium," by Charlotte Kellogg, 1917. Funk & Wagnalls Company. $1.00. All profits of the book go to The Commission for Relief in Belgium.

work in Belgium during the last three years, is one of helplessness, of despair. I have held back from attempting this chapter about the details of the relief work inside Belgium, its organization, its method, above all its intimate relation to the Belgian people in all their misery and nobility. And I know now that it will be a chapter like the others before it, of dry facts and figures, of cataloguing but not revealing details of human suffering and human activity in an amazing emergency and an equally amazing effort to meet this emergency. The time I spent inside of Belgium between May, 1915, and March, 1917, is now all a dream; or is it the rest of life in a country of safety and comfort among a generation of mankind that knows not war that has been all a dream? Can there exist on the same earth, at the same world time in reality the two kinds of human experience represented by the days and events of a Kansas village and a California college through the years of a generation, and of Belgium through the months since August, 1914? One of these must be the long, sweet sleep of childhood, or the other the horror of a drug-created delirium. One or the other must be unreal.

In those first days of November and December, 1914, the requirements of the organization of the work of the Commission in New York, London, Rotterdam, and Brussels were serious and had to be met swiftly and effectively. To meet them Mr. Hoover called on engineer friends. Mr. Lindon Bates, as first director in New York, Mr. Millard Hunsiker and Mr. John B. White in London, Capt. J. F. Lucey in Rotterdam, and Mr. Dannie Heineman in Brussels were all engineers or men of engineering affairs, so that the Commission started work on a basis of "engineering efficiency." Its maintenance on that basis has undoubtedly been due to the successive incoming of other engineers to fill its active directorships. New York's later directors have been Mr. White, Captain Lucey, and Mr. W. L. Honnold, all engineers. London's later directors have been Mr. Honnold and Mr. William B. Poland, both engineers. Rotterdam's later directors have been Mr. C. A. Young and Mr. W. L. Brown, also both engineers. Only in the Brussels office have other men than engineers sat in the director's chair. And there have been twice as many men used to fill that chair as have been used in any of the other head offices: the Brussels directorship wore on men's nerves. Following Mr. Heineman, Captain Lucey, who had thoroughly organized the Rotterdam office and work, was in charge in Brussels for a few months. He was followed by Mr. A. N. Connett, an engineer, and he in turn, by Mr. O. T. Crosby, another man of engineering affairs, now Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. I followed Mr. Crosby. It was the first break in the engineer's monopoly! After me came Mr. Poland, another engineer and now director in London. After Mr. Poland the office was in my hands again for several months, and following me came Mr. Warren Gregory, an attorney of San Francisco, and thus the second exception to the engineer character of the series. Finally, when Mr. Gregory left Brussels with all but seven of the Americans on March 31, 1917, he turned the director's office over for the last month of its occupation by an American, a month of great stress and difficulty, to Mr. Prentiss Gray, a shipping man of California.

Under these successive directors—all of them in turn under the stimulus and inspiration and the immediate supervision of the "Big Chief," Mr. Hoover—the manifold details and relations of the relief work inside Belgium gradually unfolded. From the beginning this unfolding has gone hand in hand with the development of the many and widely inclusive activities of the great relief machinery of the native Belgian organizations headed by the *Comité National.*

But the initiating and working out of these myriad details of the relief work was not exclusively or even chiefly due to the merit of the head offices of the American and Belgian organizations in Belgium. On the contrary, the credit for these details of control should go principally to the field men of the Commission, the active young American delegates in the provinces, and to the many devoted Belgians of the provincial, regional, communal, and special committees. It was these men—and women—who came constantly in immediate contact with the conditions and needs of the people, conditions and needs varying from region to region, and who determined on a basis of observation and experiment—the trial and error method of experimental scientists—the forms taken by the relief work in its various phases. The coördination of all the variety of work and the various methods of accomplishing it, and the general organization ne-

cessary to support it, were the functions of the head offices. But the actual work was done in the thousands of communes; the thousands of cantines and *soupes*, the hundreds of centres of the special charities, the scores of regional and provincial headquarters.

Next, probably, in difficulty and complexity to the problems of internal transportation came the problems of flour making, baking and bread rationing. In order that perfect control could be maintained over the supply of breadstuffs the basis of the whole food ration, and a fair distribution of bread to rich and poor alike be accordingly insured, the entire business of milling and baking in Belgium was carried out under the immediate direction of the relief organization. The amount of wheat to be milled was determined for each mill; only that much grain was assigned it; the kind of flour to be made was determined, and, finally, its distribution to the bakers adjusted in detail. No baker who baked bread from relief flour could use, or even have in his bakeshop, any other flour—there was always some smuggled in from Holland, and there was always German flour to be baked for the German officials and their casinos. Each baker was assigned so much flour; he had to produce from it so many loaves of a determined quality and weight, and he gave out these loaves only to certain listed cantines or communal depots or to a listed number of clients each furnished with a personal or family bread card, which allowed him to obtain at a fixed price a fixed amount of bread, determined by the number of persons dependent on him. If the customer was destitute he received the money or a ticket for his bread from the benevolent committee of his commune.

The baker's profit was precisely determined by the relief organization, and for any infraction of the regulations governing him and his work he was haled before a "baker's court," wholly outside of any Belgian or German legality but presided over by members of the relief organization. There he could be "warned," or flour withheld from him for a week or a fortnight or month or for all the rest of the time of the relief work, according to the seriousness of his offense.

WAR BREAD AND WAR RATIONS

All the bread used in Belgium for the last three years has been "war bread" made from flour, derived from wheat milled at 80 per cent. to 97 per cent. (changing with the varying need at different times of "stretching" the wheat), mixed with a varying per cent. of flour made from other cereals, as rye, barley, corn, and rice. "Wheat milled at 80 per cent." means that only 80 per cent. of the whole wheat grain goes into the flour; the rest composes the "grain offal" (middlings, shorts, bran) and is used for animal feed. Our experience has shown that a whole population (except for a few invalids and weakly children) can be safely fed on bread made from wheat flour of from 80 per cent. to 85 per cent. milling, but that when coarser flour is used a part of the population cannot stand it. This has also been the experience of the other war-bread eating countries. Germany mills at 82 per cent., England at 81 per cent., France at 85 per cent., and only Italy at 90 per cent. The milling percentage of American standard white flour is about 70 per cent.; of the fancy patents considerably lower. The Belgian daily ration of this war bread has averaged about twelve ounces, varying at times in accordance with the abundance or scarcity of the wheat available.

The other items of the daily relief ration were listed on a separate card. These were bacon (a trifle more than one ounce), lard (a trifle more than two thirds of an ounce), rice ($2\frac{1}{8}$ ounces), dried beans and peas ($1\frac{2}{5}$ ounces), cerealine ($1\frac{2}{5}$ ounces), potatoes ($10\frac{1}{2}$ ounces), and brown sugar (a trifle more than two thirds of an ounce). The ration of all these together, with the addition of the bread, which the relief organization has tried to maintain, amounts to about 870 grams ($30\frac{1}{2}$ ounces) in weight. The protein content in it is about 45 grams and the fat content about 43 grams. It is capable of producing about 2,000 utilizable calories, which is nearly enough for an ordinary individual doing no work, but is hardly more than half enough for a man at work.

FEEDING BELGIANS ON EIGHT CENTS A DAY

This ration, all of it, except the potatoes, composed of foodstuffs imported into Belgium by the Commission, cost about eight cents a day laid down in the communal depots. It is a ration worked out very carefully to make money go as far and as effectively as possible in the providing of a scientifically balanced, readily transportable and storable, and easily divisible food supply to a people whose whole eating could be controlled and directed.

Many Belgians have lived on it almost exclusively for three long years.

But in the same breath it must be added that many Belgians have had more. All those who can afford it have been able to buy certain native supplies, especially vegetables, fruit, milk, eggs, and some meat. On the other hand many have not been able, for lack of sufficient money from charity, to have all this ration. The hundreds of thousands of unemployed have found their little weekly allowance insufficient to allow them to purchase the whole ration. And the truly destitute, the millions of the soup and bread lines—what of them? And the little children who need special food, above all milk? And the young mothers, and the mothers-to-be, and the aged and ill? And at the other extreme the strong miners in the coal mines that have to be worked if Belgium is not to freeze, and is to have light, and some moving trains and trams? What of these, whose ration is enough for a man resting but not more than half enough for a man at hard work? What happens here is that their wives give up part of their share that the men may have more. We have seen women fall fainting from hunger weakness in the miners' homes; they had given their food to the husband and children.

It is all this side of the picture that is indescribable. We have neither the brush nor the color to paint it. And yet it is the struggle and the incident of this phase of the work, of this personal contact and effort with misery, this heart-breaking race against death, that stand out in the memory of every Commission man who worked in Belgium, as the real "relief of Belgium." And it is what he saw, in connection with this, of fortitude and nobility, of self-sacrifice and untiring effort for others among the men and women of Belgium, that makes his memory a glorious one despite the background of all the harrowing scenes of suffering and tragedy that he can never efface from the picture.

The most conspicuous revelation of the degree to which a great fraction of the Belgian people is dependent on charity for its daily bread is that afforded by the long "soup lines" visible in every hamlet and every section of every town and city in the land. More than a million and a half people were standing every day in these lines by the end of last year. How many there are now, as time and events have gone on bringing with them increasing exhaustion of national and individual resources and a steady lessening in the monthly totals of imported food for distribution from the communal depots, I cannot say. In the province of the Hainaut alone the number jumped from 60,000 in February of this year to 400,000 at the time the American delegates had to leave in May. In Antwerp the number increased in the first half of this year from one third of the whole population to one half of it. On the 1st of May in one of the Antwerp soup lines twelve persons fainted and fell from the line as they waited their turn. It is probable that every third man, woman, and child in Belgium to-day depends for continued existence on the daily pint of soup and ten ounces of bread doled out in the soup lines.

A NATION SLOWLY STARVING

One of our Commission representatives in the province of Liége made a careful study in November and December of last year of the actual economic and food conditions of a considerable number of workingmen's families. A few of these working men had full work, more had only partial work, while some were idle and wholly dependent on charity. He found the families of these men to average five to six persons, the weekly family income from work and charity to average 20.81 francs (about $4), being an average income per person of 53 centimes (10 cents). Of this income 72.7 per cent. was expended for food, 2.7 per cent. for rent, 7.2 per cent. for clothing, 6.5 per cent. for heat and light, 10.9 per cent. for miscellaneous items. The food value averaged 1,500 calories a day per person. Taking the daily minimum number of calories necessary for a person at rest to be 2,000 (or 2,250, as most physiologists hold), it will be seen that the individuals of these families in Liége were actually living on a ration considerably less than the actual minimum needed for bare existence at rest.

Yet some of the men are at work. That they can work at all means that the women and children are making sacrifices for the wage-earning husbands and fathers. The daily bill of fare for many of these families reads thus: breakfast, bread with a little lard (for butter), and a hot drink made of roasted grain; dinner (at noon), soup and bread from the soup line for the father and mother, charity school lunch for the children; supper, rutabagas

and some of the soup and bread saved from the noon meal.

But the long privation and semi-starvation is having its effect. The people exist; yes, but how many are wasting away! In the coal mining regions of the Hainaut, about Mons and Charleroi, this is especially apparent. A certain mining company which looks closely after its employees and does its utmost for them has determined that the mortality among its thousands of men in the first trimester of this year was three and one half times as great as the average for the same period during the preceding three years. The weight of all the workers except the developing young men, composing but 5 per cent. of the total, has decreased; among 35 per cent. of the men the reduction has been from ten to forty pounds each. Three times as many men are on the sick and disabled list as there were before. Everywhere over Belgium, and among all ages, there is an alarming increase of tuberculosis. It is simply the expression of the steadily weakening capacity to resist disease.

The Commission to-day is struggling harder than ever before to obtain and transport overseas and into Belgium the needed food. But the ever-increasing shortage of ships, coupled with the ever-increasing demands from the Allies and our own nation for these ships for military transport, the carriage of men, munitions, and food is making the "relief of Belgium" more and more difficult. The real relief that the Belgians and the civilized world are praying for is the early rescue of the Belgian land and people from German occupation. That alone will really save Belgium; and even that must not be too long delayed.

But in the meantime, and all the time, the work of caring for the Belgians must go on, and is going on. It is not limited to the general *ravitaillement* and the general *secours* of the soup lines which apply to the people, or to great groups of them, *en masse*. It takes also many special forms adapted to the many special needs. The babies and the aged; the young mothers and the women immediately expectant of motherhood; the "ashamed poor"; the churches and the priests and sisters; the farmers needing help to restore their wrecked buildings; the mutilated soldiers of the early war days; the distressed special groups, thrown out of opportunity to work, the artisans and artists and professional men; the lace workers; the soldier prisoners in Germany dependent for their very life on the special food packages regularly sent them; the women and girls in the great *ouvroirs*, where the old clothing from America and Canada and England is worked over—all these and other special needs are struggled with every hour of every day. And it is in this special work, the work of these special charities, that the Belgian resourcefulness and quiet, persistent heroism and self-sacrificing devotion have been exhibited in superlative degree.

THE PROBLEM OF FEEDING CHILDREN

But American help has done what it can for these special *oevres* as well as for the general *ravitaillement* and *secours*. Side by side the Belgians and Americans have worked for the saving of the unfortunate. The Americans have offered all their resources of world charity; all their influence with the occupying authorities; the Belgians have offered their intimate knowledge of the condition and psychology of their own people, and given their brains and hands, and their own charity, as well, to an amount as yet incalculable. Take the special care of the babies and children, for example. Besides the carefully developed system of school lunches by which more than a million Belgian children of school age are having their insufficient home feeding eked out by a daily simple meal in the school room, the special children's cantines are giving food and —no less important—medical attention to more than 200,000 infants under three years. In the single province of Liége there are 111 special charities for children faithfully looked after by 1,500 volunteer workers giving all their time day after day through the long months to the service of love and patriotism.

WHAT THE "LITTLE BEES" ARE DOING

In Brussels the famous "Little Bees" are taking care of practically every child needing help in the whole great city. These "Little Bees" existed before the war as a benevolent organization composed of the daughters of well known families of Brussels banded together to help poor children, especially those sub-normal in health or mentality. With the outbreak of the war the mothers joined the daughters, the funds were swiftly increased, the cantines expanded in number, more than a hundred well-known physicians of Brussels added to the volunteer helping staff, and now

the "Little Bees" mean the difference between life and death to tens of thousands of Belgium's next generation.

Here is a swiftly drawn picture of a visit to one of the Little Bees' cantines:

"On the second floor, between two large connecting rooms, I found Madame, in white, superintending the day's preparation of the tables for 1,662. That was the size of her family! Fourteen young women, with bees embroidered in the Belgian colors on their white caps, were flying to and fro from the kitchen to the long counters in the hallway piled with plates, then to the shelves against the walls of the dining room, where they deposited their hundreds of slices of bread and saucers for dessert. Some were hurrying the soup plates and the 1,662 white bowls along the tables, while others poured milk or went on with the bread-cutting. Several women were perspiring in the kitchens and vegetable rooms. The potato-peeling machine, the last proud acquisition which was saving them untold labor, had turned out the day's kilos of potatoes, which were already cooked with meat, carrots, and green vegetables into a thick, savory stew. The big fifty-quart cans were being filled to be carried to the dining-room; the rice dessert was getting its final stirring. Madame was darting about, watching every detail, assisting in every department.

"It was raining outside, but all was white, and clean, and inviting within. Suddenly there was a rush of feet in the courtyard below. I looked out the window; in the rain 1,662 children, between three and fourteen years, mothers often leading the smaller ones—not an umbrella or rubber among them—were lining up with their cards, eager to be passed by the sergeant. These kind-hearted, long-suffering sergeants kept this wavering line in place, as the children noisily climbed the long stairway—calling, pushing. One little girl stepped out to put fresh flowers before the bust of the Queen. Boys and girls under six crowded into the first of the large, airy rooms, older girls into the second, while the bigger boys climbed to the floor above. With much chattering and shuffling of sabots they slid along the low benches to their places at the long, narrow tables. The women hurried between the wiggling rows, ladling out the hot, thick soup. The air was filled with cries of '*Beaucoup, Madamoiselle, beaucoup!*' A few even said, 'Only a little, Madamoiselle.' Everybody said something. One tiny, golden-haired thing pleaded: 'You know I like the little pieces of meat best.' In no time they discovered that I was new, and tried slyly to induce me to give them extra slices of bread, or bowls of milk.

"In this multitude each was clamoring for individual attention, and for the most part getting it. Very little ones were being helped to feed themselves; second portions of soup were often given if asked for. Madame seemed to be everywhere at once, lifting one after another in her arms to get a better look at eyes or glands. Her husband, a physician of international reputation, was in the little clinic at the end of the hall, weighing and examining those whose turn it was to go to him that day. Later he came out and passed up and down the rows to get an impression of the general condition of this extraordinary family. When for a moment husband and wife stood together in the middle of the vast room, they seemed with infinite solicitude to be gathering all the 1,662 in their arms—their own boy is at the front. And all the time the 1,662 were rapidly devouring their bread and soup.

"Then began the cries of 'Dessert, Madamoiselle, dessert!' Tired arms carried the 1,662 soup plates to the kitchen, ladled out 1,662 portions of rice, and set them before eager rows. Such a final scraping of spoons, such fascinating play of voice and gesture—then, the last crumb eaten, they crowded up to offer sticky hands with '*Merci, Madamoiselle,*' and '*Au revoir.*' The clatter of sabots and laughter died away through the courtyard, and the hundreds started back to school.

"The strong American physician, who had helped ladle the soup, tried to swing his arm back into position. I looked at the women who had been doing this practically every day for seven hundred days. Madame was apparently not thinking of resting—only of the next day's ration.

"I discovered later that at four o'clock that afternoon she had charge of a cantine for four hundred mothers and their new babies, and that after that she visited the family of a little boy who was absent, according to the children, because his shirt was being washed.

"All attempts to express admiration of this beautiful devotion are interrupted by the cry, 'Oh, but it is you—it is America that is doing the astonishing thing—we must give ourselves,

but you need not. Your gift to us is the finest expression of sympathy the world has known.'"

There are nearly 50,000 lace workers, women and girls, in Belgium. Before the war they supported themselves, and some of them their families, by their work.

The Belgian laces had been long the pride of the country. The Queen had patronized the industry; famous artists vied with one another in devising beautiful patterns. The laces found their way all over the world.

Came the war. No more of the necessary fine thread could be brought in; no more lace could go out. Ruin faced the lace industry, starvation the lace-workers. The Belgian and American relief organizations exerted every effort to make some arrangement with the blockading and the occupying Powers. A number of Belgium's noblest women gave their wits, some money, and their whole hearts to an effort to help save the precious industry—and the more precious bodies and souls of the stranded girl workers. And Mrs. Whitlock, a woman perfectly representing America's most beautiful type of feminine development, capable, great-hearted, simple, direct, devoted, and radiating love of home and humanity, threw herself into the struggle with all her energy and influence. Needless to say, she carried with her all her husband's official and unofficial aid.

The result of all this struggle has been to effect an arrangement whereby more than forty thousand of the lace-workers have been enabled to go on, in some degree, with their work. Each woman and girl can work two weeks out of each four. The Commission is made absolutely responsible to the Allied Governments for every bit of thread imported by it. For each pound of thread a pound of lace must be turned over by the lace workers to the Commission to take out of the country. Sales are made in Paris, London, and New York. Part of the money may be remitted into Belgium to pay the wages of the lace workers, who are thus kept from the soup lines—and worse; and part is kept in London for future payment when the war is over.

THE "ASHAMED POOR"

Another charity characterized equally by heart and good management is that known as the *Assistance Discrete*, with its significant motto: *Donne, et tais-toi* (Give, and be silent). It looks after 5,000 or more of the "ashamed poor" of Brussels. It is not possible to put all of a proud people into soup lines. Some will starve in silence first. And so a group of noble women, giving their own service and money and with the assistance of some funds that the relief organization have assigned to them, has developed discreet methods of saving many of these *pauvres honteux* despite themselves. They are helped by means they do not understand, by persons they do not know.

A most effective special charity maintained exclusively by American aid is one that takes cognizance of "special cases." It is known as the "Forbes Fund" having been founded by Mrs. Cameron Forbes, of Boston. One of the saddening things ever before the relief workers in Belgium is the inability to give particular help to individual cases needing special attention. Our system calls for an even distribution of the ration, but evenness in distribution is not always synonymous with wisest or most equitable distribution. There may be two war widows each with three dependent children; but one mother may be able to work and win a little; the other may be ill, or her children may be ill. This family needs more help than the other; but the system which is devised primarily to effect an even distribution to millions has difficulty in adapting itself to the "special case." The "Forbes Fund" is a fund for "special cases." It has been a godsend both to relief workers and to their wards. Its founder has been blessed and prayed for in Flemish and French by hundreds of sick mothers and despairing husbands and fathers. Divided into little portions it has accomplished great results; it is one of the happiest inspirations in the way of special charity.

But why catalogue the tears and the blessings? Why try to enumerate a few of the special charities where the list is so long? It is only that the reader may know that such special charities do exist; that the work of relief is not all simply that of a great commercial agency, a "sublimated grocery store," as some thoughtless critic has expressed it. The grocery store is there; but it is only one part of an organization that uses brains and heart in no less measure than commercial acumen and efficiency. The people of Belgium do not know the Americans as grocers; they call them "saviours."

THE JAPANESE MENACE TO CHINA

The Pledges of Viscount Ishii and Simultaneous Assaults upon China's Independence

BY
FREDERICK MOORE
Managing Editor of *Asia*

WHILE Viscount Ishii was touring the United States in August and September as a special envoy and pledging the honor of Japan to maintain the independence as well as the integrity of China, his Government at home appears to have been simultaneously pressing new demands for the surrender of certain of China's sovereign rights.

On September 29th, Viscount Ishii, who headed the Japanese War Mission to this country, speaking at a public banquet given by the mayor of New York, used the following language.

Circumstances for which we are in no sense responsible gave us certain rights on Chinese territory but at no time in the past and at no time in the future do we, or will we, seek to take territory from China or to despoil China of her rights. We wish to be and to continue always to be the sincere friend and helper of our neighbor, for we are more interested than any one else except China in good government, only we must at all times, for self-protection, prevent other nations from doing what we have no right to do. Not only will we not seek to assail the integrity or the sovereignty of China, but will eventually be prepared to defend and maintain the same integrity and independence of China against any aggressor. For we know that our own landmarks would be threatened by any outside invasion or interference in China.

One of the newspapers the next day called Viscount Ishii's declaration a Monroe Doctrine for the Orient, which caused the Viscount, speaking the following evening, to describe how Japan's policy was more liberal than the American doctrine. He said:

In a speech delivered Saturday night I made particular reference to the policy of Japan with regard to China. The reference took the form of a repetition of the pledge and promise that Japan would not violate the political independence and territorial integrity of China, would at all times regard the high principle of the open door and equal opportunity. Now I find that this utterance of mine is taken as the enunciation of a "Monroe Doctrine in Asia." I want to make it very clear to you that the application of the term "Monroe Doctrine" to this policy and principle, voluntarily outlined and pledged by me, is inaccurate. There is this fundamental difference between the "Monroe Doctrine" of the United States as to Central and South America and the enunciation of Japan's attitude toward China. In the first there is on the part of the United States no engagement or promise, while in the other Japan voluntarily announces that Japan will herself engage not to violate the political or territorial integrity of her neighbor, and to observe the principle of the open door and equal opportunity, asking at the same time other nations to respect these principles.

The pledge could hardly be more definitely stated; and coming from the special ambassador at a time like the present it cannot be understood that he was speaking for himself alone. Indeed, he definitely states that his declarations are the policy of his Government, and it must be that he was authorized by his Government to make them.

This is a renewal of the Root-Takahira Agreement of 1908, and a confirmation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, both of which Japan under the Government immediately preceding the present attempted to disregard. Count Okuma's Government, in 1915, threw over all pledges regarding China's independence and attempted to compel her to agree secretly to the terms of the notorious Twenty-one Demands, and by misstatements tried to deceive the world and take advantage of what he is quoted as calling "Japan's opportunity of ten thousand years." Whether the words are correctly credited to the venerable statesman I have no means of knowing, but the opportunity of the war was indeed the greatest that had ever come to Japan, and the Premier of that day proved himself willing to take advantage of the occasion.

In one form or another the facts have often been recorded; but they are worth retelling at this moment of the renewal of the pledge,

"CENTRAL" IN A DEPARTMENT STORE IN TOKYO

JAPAN'S SHORTAGE OF SKILLED LABOR

In the process of leaping in a generation from medieval handicrafts to Twentieth Century industrialism, Japan's railroads and factories have grown faster than the skilled labor has been educated to man them. But already her industries are becoming formidable in the markets of the world

THE NEW JAPAN, OF ELECTRIC SIGNS AND MODERN WARES

The upper picture is from a photograph made in Tokyo, where dazzling bill-boards advertise factory products of the new industrial era. The lower picture shows a Japanese shop in China, one of the hundreds that were rapidly achieving a commercial conquest of China before the boycott of Japanese goods, in protest against the famous "twenty-one demands," put many of them out of business

THE OLD JAPAN, OF BEAUTIFUL ARCHITECTURE AND HAND-MADE EMBELLISHMENTS
Still characteristic of interior towns, but giving way in the ports and cities before the march of industrialism, with its ugly square buildings, and standardized, machine-made products

OFFICE BUILDINGS IN TOKYO

The type of building that houses the offices of the new industrial and commercial companies that are transforming Japan and that are bringing it into competition with the other modern nations

THE SHIPS THAT SHARE IN THE NEW INDUSTRIAL MARCH

Subsidized companies maintain fleets of luxurious passenger ships that carry mails and freight at a loss which the Government makes good because shipping is essential to get the products of the new factories to the markets of the world —and they must get there cheaply enough to be able to compete in price

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THE FINANCIAL POWERS BEHIND THE NEW INDUSTRIAL ADVANCE

Baron Shibusawa (left), "the J. P. Morgan of Japan," and Taka-Kawada, two powerful financiers of the new era

COUNT OKUMA

A Liberal in internal politics but an Imperialist in foreign affairs; one of the most powerful stimulators of the Japanese ambition to play a great part in world trade and world politics

OUR GOVERNMENT'S REPRESENTATIVES IN JAPAN

Mr. Post Wheeler, minister ad interim, and Rear Admiral A. M. Knight, Commander of the Asiatic Squadron. Our immediate problem in the Orient is how to adjust Japan's "Monroe Doctrine of Asia" to our open door policy

FREIGHT MOVEMENT IN JAPAN TO-DAY

As in shipping on the sea, the Government has provided the most modern facilities on land for moving the products of the new factories on their way to the world markets

© F. O. Koch

FREIGHT MOVEMENT IN JAPAN YESTERDAY

A symbol of the medieval era of industry and commerce from which Japan has stepped at a bound, to become one of the most modern of manufacturing nations

THE ENTRANCE TO THE MITSUKOSHI DEPARTMENT STORE, IN TOKYO

Japan has been Germanic in the zeal and thoroughness with which it has accepted the ideals and methods of a new epoch in its life and has set about to make the transformation complete

THE JAPANESE TROOPS LANDING TO ATTACK TSING-TAU

When Japan seized the Kiao-chau region from Germany in the early part of the present war. Japan's status at Tsing-tau and her future intentions concerning it are perplexing elements in the growing problem of the Pacific

COUNT TERAUCHI, PREMIER AND MILITARIST

With the British and Prussian ambassadors. Japan is Germanic also in its union of a quickly developed and very modern industrial system with a political organization which is substantially a medieval military autocracy in league with high financiers and in command of a nation of feudal vassals

if only to show that statesmen who practise Count Okuma's methods are a danger to a country like theirs, whose diplomatic position is always delicate, and a disgrace to any people. But no people know this better than the Japanese, who, though they may not always follow the high principles of Bushido, understand them thoroughly and often adhere to them with amazing nobility.

Within two weeks after Great Britain declared war, in August 1914, Japan, proclaiming her duty to her ally, likewise sent an ultimatum to Germany. What had taken place behind the diplomatic doors of Tokyo has not been divulged, as far as I know; but the action of Great Britain in sending a thousand soldiers to participate with the Japanese in attacking the German Leased Territory on the Shantung (China) coast is evidence that Great Britain wished at that time to have justification for a voice in the adjustment of Shantung territory at the peace conference. The British participation—with so meagre a force, all they could muster at the time—was somewhat resented in high quarters in Japan and in the Japanese army of 30,000 men which took the Tsingtau fortresses.

The uneasiness of the British increased with the further operations of the Japanese Navy, which began to take over the German island possessions in the Pacific. Of course the Japanese had just as fair a right to attack, capture, and hold the possessions of an enemy as the British had and as they were likewise doing; but justification does not allay suspicion. Australia, constantly fearing the territorial progress of the Japanese, disliked their approach among neighboring islands.

WHEN OKUMA BROKE FAITH

Finally, within six months after the declaration of war, without informing the British Government, and therefore contrary to treaty, the Okuma Government made secret demands on President Yuan Shih-kai for substantial authority over the internal affairs of China, which would have subjected that country to the position of a dependency. It seemed to mean the conquest of this state of 400,000,000 people! The game was so large that the few Japanese officials who were attempting to play it appeared to feel that pledges and promises did not matter, and the Premier, himself, gave out statement after statement officially declaring the information coming from China to be false. His pronouncements are on record. Of course Russian and German statesmen, and at times others, have been guilty of similar deceptions, but that does not justify Japanese behavior.

Troops were mobilized and sent to China; but before the ultimatum was presented the Elder Statesmen of Japan interfered and caused the Government to withdraw those vital demands to which the Chinese Government refused persistently to accede.

In the course of the negotiations—which extended over a period of four months, the Japanese, attempting to wring the concessions from China by threats, persuasions, and other means rather than by show of force—the foreign press, especially the British and American, let the Japanese know very definitely that they were playing false to an ally while that ally was unable to protect her interests. Among some Japanese statesmen a praiseworthy chagrin became apparent, and within a few months the Okuma Government was displaced by that of Count Terauchi, which continues in office. Viscount Ishii was at first the Foreign Minister, but his place was soon taken by Viscount Motono, who now holds that office.

THE TERAUCHI POSITION THE SAME

The policy of the new Government was declared to be one of conciliation and friendliness toward China, but the distrust of the Chinese was not dissipated and foreign observers continued to be suspicious. At the time the twenty-one demands became known there were articles in Japanese newspapers attacking the Okuma Government, but seldom was the attack on the grounds of ethics or of the advisability of keeping hands off China. The blundering methods which had been adopted whereby the Japanese failed (though they accomplished much in obtaining local influence and concessions in different provinces) to obtain authority in and over the central government was the reason for the display of annoyance. And one paper—a sensational one, it is true—advocated applying the screws to China in future by methods that would not be discovered by the European Powers and America until the purpose of the Japanese was achieved. I should not now quote this newspaper article except for the fact that it seems to throw a light on the policy of Japan. One of the most important statesmen of Japan, a man only second in position to that of Count Terauchi informed me in

private conversation at a very recent date that the foreign policy of Japan was permanent and unchanging with regard to China and that all of Count Okuma's demands were just and warranted, his only error being that he attempted to obtain them secretly from China without informing Japan's ally according to the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. And Viscount Ishii, in the former of the two speeches quoted above, made this statement: "The policy of Japan with regard to China has always been the same." It may be that Viscount Ishii, though he read his speech, failed to notice the inconsistency, but if his words are as he wished to phrase them, he made contrary statements in the same oration. It is impossible to contend that Count Okuma's Government did not attempt to impair gravely the independence of China with Group V of the Demands, and if Count Terauchi's administration has the same purposes in view, the Viscount's pledges are no better than Count Okuma's.

On October 26th the following cablegram was sent from Peking by the Associated Press, which, owing to the seriousness of the situation in the Far East, is cautious to a degree with the news despatches which it carries:

"The Japanese are exerting every effort, officially and unofficially, to close the Chinese arms monopoly contract, carrying control of the Nanking iron deposits and the employment of Japanese military advisers and a director of the new arsenal at Nanking. It is asserted by the Japanese that they are extending credit, and not making a loan, and consequently that they are not violating the six Powers' exclusive rights to make political loans.

"This view is not shared by the French and the English and a large section of the Chinese press, as well as diplomatic circles, which unite in denouncing the deal as a revival of the most objectionable features in Japan's demands presented to China in May, 1915, known as 'Group V.' The principal provisions of those demands, which were twenty-one in number, concerned the appointment of Japanese military and political advisers for China and Japanese supervision over the manufacture or purchase by China of munitions of war.

"Minister Reinsch has advised the Foreign Office that China has invariably taken the position that it would hold the remainder of the iron deposits for national use whenever Americans have sought development rights, and that consequently the United States now would insist that American interests be given consideration in the Chinese iron industry. The ministers of several other countries have taken the same position."

China is a vast, valuable territory crowded with human beings, most of whom are constantly in a state of semi-starvation. The Government is utterly incapable. The only competent and effective branches of the administration are those controlled by foreigners, who have been put in office by foreign governments against the wishes of the Chinese. Not only are the natural resources of the country undeveloped (except where foreigners control concessions) but no Chinese dares risk his savings in large native investments. The army, though numbering hundreds of thousands of hirelings, is hopelessly ineffective; the idea inspiring it is "squeeze" and brigandage. The Government at Peking can be overturned, as has been seen within the last few months, by a brigand chief with 5,000 men. And the so-called regular troops do not attack such interlopers but attempt to scare them off by show of force and noisy cannonade and finally agree to pay them to disperse. As for modern education and a modern press, neither exists in the country except such as foreigners conduct or assist in directing.

JAPAN'S DANGER

The possibilities of such a country and such a willing, energetic people are, of course, enormous. Traders have sought for a century to open and develop it. Following them have gone their governments; and troubles, intrigues, and wars have ensued. Great Britain has been afraid to assume the task and responsibility of administering such an empire, Russia has not been permitted to take it over; Germany has had no chance. But all these European governments, and France as well, have obtained vested interests there with unusual privileges wrested from the unworthy Government. Should these Powers attempt at any time to partition China, as they came near doing two decades ago, the position of Japan would be seriously menaced; vital conflicts of interests with one or more of them might occur continually, and her only safety would rest in a great army and navy and in supporting alliances.

If an alternative developed, should China become suddenly, as Japan did, a modern

state able to administer her own affairs and defend herself, what would Japan's future be? It is impossible to foretell, but probably that of Belgium with no adjacent Power to come to her protection, lying at the mercy of her colossal neighbor.

With the pride of the Japanese and their ambition to be equal to other nations in power and privilege (which "exclusion" and other measures do not permit them), they naturally, as a race, seized upon the opportunity accorded them by the outbreak of war among the European Powers, while America was lying back neutral and unprepared. When England went to war, Japan dominated the Orient. Had she taken sides with Germany the last permanently open way to Russia, her Siberian routes, would have been closed; and the alternative would have been forced upon France and Great Britain to sacrifice their possessions beyond Suez, or, by dividing their fleets, save themselves in the Orient at the cost of defeat in Europe. There was only one danger for Japan in such an alliance and that was the attitude of the United States. There is little doubt that this country would have found reason to go to the rescue of France and Britain. The situation is one, of course, that encourages the Japanese to undertake the control of China.

THE CONSORTIUM

Is there no remedy or solution? I believe there is, and I think it lies in a development of the so-called Consortium which President Wilson, at the beginning of his term of office, injured seriously in his desire to treat China as a free and deserving independent among the nations. The President, I have been told, now recognizes the mistake he made in refusing this Government's support to the "American Group" of bankers and in issuing a statement impugning the motives of the banking groups and governments of other nations with which the Taft Administration had allied.

For a score of years the nations had been competing dangerously for concessions and trade positions, and even for territory in China. Finally, a few years after the Boxer Uprising, the principal lending nations, France, Great Britain, and Germany, managed to get together, agreeing to make loans jointly, and not otherwise, to China. Their governments supported the banking groups concerned. by restricting and giving no support to other banks which sought independently to do business with China. Without such restriction the agreement would have been a farce; yet outside bankers, like those who advised President Wilson, contended that the agreement was in restraint of fair and equitable competition. The American Group had been taken into the partnership under the Taft Administration, and the Consortium then became a Quadruple Group of bankers supported by their governments. Their programme was to finance China and to exact in return authority over that Government's financial administration. As a rule money lent to China is squandered or stolen by the officials. Foreign overseers and controllers, chosen with the approval of the four governments as well as the four groups of bankers, were to check expenditures. Railroads were to be built, mines opened, industries developed, and a sound currency established. China might have had a chance to develop, organize, and make progress.

Just prior to the withdrawal of the American Group, Japan and Russia sought and obtained places in the Consortium, which became then a "Six Power Group." It is now an association of five Powers, we being out but Germany still being recognized as one. No loans, however, are being made to China and practically nothing is to be done to assist her financially during the war.

It would be a wise policy to encourage an American banking group to reënter the International Group, and for our Government to cooperate internationally in the reconstruction, reorganization, and development of China. Such an international group cannot, because of its might and the vast sums of money involved, ever fail to work progressively and effectively toward the end desired. Though individual Europeans, Americans, or Japanese employed in the Consortium may prove unworthy or incompetent for the tasks they may have to perform, the purpose of such an undertaking cannot be corrupted. Some such programme would seem to afford the only hope.

A China controlled by Japan or any other single Power would be a constant menace to the world.

GERMAN EFFORTS IN MEXICO

A First-Hand Analysis of Our Present Relations With the Republic—Just What the German Menace Amounts to—Emphasis Hitherto Laid on Non-Existent Dangers—A Perfected Economic Propaganda Adapted to War Purposes—German Activity and German Potentiality—Things Coming Our Way

WHAT seemed a Mexican problem only before the war has now become a German and Mexican problem for us. Mexico as a whole dreads and hates the United States. Mexico has nothing against Germany. A shallow winding river and a wire fence are all the natural obstacles that keep the United States out of Mexico. Germany is oceans and continents away. Dread and hatred of the United States has been a tradition and a habit of mind in Mexico for a hundred years, founded upon wars, invasions, and lost territories, exploitation, the endemic irritation of a rough-house border, and the epidemic exasperation of diplomatic correspondence. In the relations of Mexico with the German Empire there has never been a Buena Vista, a Vera Cruz, a Columbus.

Negatively, therefore, it is easy to see why Mexico is not anti-German. Positively, also, it is easy to understand why Mexico is anti-United States. The bulk of Mexico, rather inarticulately but none the less sincerely, considered itself at war with the United States from the time of the Columbus raid until Pershing got out. That is a fact most of us never properly appreciated. And if by some unforeseen chance the fortunes of war had swung overwhelmingly in favor of the Teutonic Powers, we should have had to deal with a Teutonic ally on our southern flank. But destiny is unfolding differently. In the Mexican game we hold all the cards.

The public has gotten pretty well over its interest in alleged submarine and raider bases on the Mexican coast, in German wireless plants installed on Mexican territory, in Germans migrating by thousands southward across the border into a friendly and a promised land, in the importation of arms and ammunition into Mexico, in Teutonic fuses laid to bandit border hostilities, and in German attempts to fire the Tampico oil fields.

Every one and all of these dangers may be consigned to the scrap heap of alarmist rumors. As threats or dangers they do not exist. A real German menace of a much more subtle kind, organized and quietly continuing, does exist. It doesn't make good scare headlines but it is much more difficult to counter-check than the kind of fancied dangers which do.

Before considering the actual German menace in Mexico, it will help first to clear away these other much-touted perils one by one. Submarines and their bases first. For months now a highly organized international secret service of all the Entente Allies, including that of the United States, backed up by their navies, merchant marine, consular, customs, and lighthouse services, has quartered and raked and combed the Mexican coast of the Gulf and the islands which separate the Gulf from the Caribbean. Their search has been unremitting, tireless, thorough. They have found no German submarine or any other kind of base in those territories and, furthermore, it is a safe assumption that there is not now or ever has been a German submarine lurking in those waters.

We may also fairly presume that the German Admiralty thoroughly understands the prohibitive difficulties of establishing and maintaining a submarine base in the Gulf of Mexico. Even the sending of submarines into Mexican waters, like the raid of the *U-53* off Newport or the voyage of the *U-51* to Barcelona with drugs for German sick ashore and a letter for the King of Spain, could only have the value of a naval stunt. Possibly, for similar value, the German Admiralty may attempt a naval stunt in the Gulf of Mexico. But it is not good reasoning to suppose that a Government which is now rigidly economizing every pound of material and every human life will waste any of its capital in a purely spectacular performance which could at best only yield a trifling loss to their enemies.

As for wireless, German agents in Mexico with some Mexican assistance have made determined and continuing efforts to establish communication with Germany. All their efforts

have been closely watched, and so far no such communication has been established, nor is there any direct communication between Germanic wireless on Mexican territory and German shipping. These are the facts.

The Mexican Government has now in working order sixteen stations established in the States of Mexico, Sonora, Chihuahua, Baja California, Sinaloa, Coahuila, Tamaulipas—Querétaro, Guerrero, Vera Cruz, Oaxaca, Campeche, Yucatan, and Mexico City. They have also under construction or repair fifteen more stations. That makes thirty-one wireless plants altogether, Mexican, not German. Originally, the equipment of most of these stations was French, but Huerta threw out the French employees and scrapped their equipment. The Germans, with whom he replaced former French employees, installed their own plants which are, in most cases, first-class German Telefunken sets. Of all these thirty-one wireless sets, the plant in Mexico City in the Bosque, close to the Castle of Chapultepec, is the only high-power establishment. It is now in fine working order, a five-kilowatt Telefunken apparatus, with a single mast more than 400 feet high and umbrella antennæ. At night, this, the highest powered wireless station in all Mexico, has an effective radius of less than a thousand miles. By day it carries about 600 miles. Every one of the Mexican stations is under the direct control of the Government, which is still, nominally at least, maintaining a strict neutrality which would be wrecked by one deliberate attempt to send helpful German information.

It is interesting to know that three of the employees on the Chapultepec wireless station are Germans. They helped with the installation and are far more competent than Mexican operators to do the work of so large a station.

But the Germans have wireless stations of their own in Mexico. They have three in Mexico City, which they fondly believe we are not fully aware of. At Cuernavaca they have another one, and three in Lower California—at Cape San Lazaro, Cape Quentin, both on the Pacific side, and near Tubayo on the Gulf of California. With two exceptions, all these plants were built before the entry of the United States in the war, and not one of them is of sufficient power to be of any service to our German enemies except in inter-communication among themselves or across the border to possible German stations on the American side. This leaves out of account several private plants on ranches or mines in Mexico, every one of which is listed and checked up and watched by the international secret service. All of these are genuine bona fide private means of communication, without any belligerent significance.

OUR CEASELESS VIGIL OVER WIRELESS ACTIVITY

Neither the Mexican Government nor the German organization in Mexico has any adequate appreciation of the steps taken by the Allied Governments to keep track of all wireless activity in Mexico. Just what these steps are cannot be specified here, but it is permissible to indicate their scope.

Leaving out of account the steps taken by our Allies, the United States Government alone has wireless plants in active operation all along the border from Brownsville to the Pacific. We have more plants on ships in the Panuco River and off the bar at Tampico. Over on the Pacific coast other ships of our Navy have their wireless ears open, and right in Mexico City we are not deaf to aërial messages. Consider for a moment what these precautions mean. On both coasts of Mexico, along the border and in the capital, all day and all night, American wireless operators with receivers strapped to their devoted heads are listening for every whisper in the air. It would be absolutely impossible for any Germanic agency in Mexico to communicate with German agents outside of Mexico without our hearing the sound thereof. It would be far easier—and the exasperated Germans in Mexico know it—to use the censored cables or the post for their communications than to spray out overheard messages in the air. In brief, then, the Germans in Mexico cannot send anything by wireless direct to Europe, and what communication they have through the air among themselves in Mexico, at sea, or across the border is unconsciously addressed to a very large and attentive audience for whom it is not intended. This must not be taken to mean that the American and Allied authorities underestimate the will, but they can very emphatically discount the power, to accomplish anything by wireless in Mexico of direct benefit to the German cause. German equipment, German employees, and German sympathy in Mexico, yes. But net benefit to Germany, zero. The German Minister von Eckhardt's

real means of communication were made public by the State Department in a despatch from that country, a part of which follows:

Imperial Legation, Mexico, to his Excellency the Imperial Chancellor:

Herr Folke Cronholm, the Swedish Chargé d'Affaires here, since his arrival here has not disguised his sympathy for Germany, and has entered into close relations with this legation. He is the only diplomat through whom information from a hostile camp can be obtained.

Moreover, he acts as intermediary for official diplomatic intercourse between this legation and your Excellency. In the course of this, he is obliged to go personally each time to the telegraph office, not seldom quite late at night, in order to hand in the telegrams.

After all the accounts we read several months ago of German migrations into Mexico, it is reassuring to know that there are now less than 5,000 Germans in that republic. About 1,500 of them are living in and around the capital, the remainder widely scattered in the various states. Between February 1st and June, 1917, less than 350 Germans had come into Mexico, most of them from the United States, but several of them escaped officers and sailors from imprisonment in Siberia. Only one German steamship, the Hamburg-American liner *Antonina*, at Tampico, is interned in a Mexican port, and eleven German sailing ships are collecting barnacles and seaweed at Santa Rosalia. There are several members of the "migration" on Mexican soil: a great many of them have already found new jobs and a great many more are hunting money-making and life-saving employment with all sincerity.

Germany is not using Mexico as a base for submarines or as a spy centre from which to send wireless. In several ways Germany has taken advantage of the situation to try and make Mexico itself break with us and by so doing keep some of our attention from Europe. For example, the Germans make use of the strong German slant in Mexican military affairs. The serious and professional part of the otherwise happy-go-lucky picnic called the Mexican army has been obsessed by German military efficiency, in theory and in practice. They have made good use of German reservists in the more scientific parts of their army organization. In addition to German employees in the Government wireless plants, Germans and Japanese are showing Mexicans how to manufacture ammunition, and other Germans are employed in the aviation plant which Carranza's favorite nephew, young Colonel Salinas, is superintending in Mexico City. Forty German officers hold commissions in the politico-military Constitutionalist army. The most prominent of them is General Maximiliano Klos, who has lived in Mexico many years, is married to a Mexican woman, and fought all through the four years of the last revolution as an officer of artillery. General Obregon told the present writer at Chapultepec that Klos and all the rest of his compatriots were Mexican citizens and not Germans any longer except in sympathy and efficiency.

This recognized German influence in Mexican military affairs is undoubtedly an ingredient in the real Mexican menace against which we have to guard. But its strength is rather political than military, and in this respect it is only part of the general pressure constantly brought to bear on the Carranza administration against us.

In business as well there is a pro-German slant. It arises chiefly from the difference in the kinds of business which Americans and Germans do. With the exception of the Minerales Gesellschaft of Berlin and its constituent companies, there is practically no Germanic ownership of the great agricultural and mineral wealth of the country. As a class, the commercial German residents of Mexico are wholesale and retail dealers in hardware, chemicals, and other imported small commodities. That is another reason why they have never got on Mexico's nerves. They cannot be represented as monopolizing the natural wealth of the Nation, as the British and American oil, mining, railroad, and banking companies are currently represented. Moreover, Germany put no pressure on Carranza to preserve order—German property being little damaged—and here again the contrast has been unfavorable to us. Added to this, whenever we suggested that brigandage be suppressed, Carranza's government answered that our embargo on munitions kept them without means of making campaigns against the pirate bands.

AMMUNITION AND OIL

Little Colonel Alberto Salinas y Carranza, of whom mention has been made above, is an eager and very intelligent boy. At twenty-

three, he is chief of the Mexican Government's munition factory and chief of the new aviation department. He is a graduate of St. John's, Manlius, New York, and of the Troy Polytechnic Institute, but he has bitten off a great deal more than he can possibly chew. His munition plant turns out cartridges, but lots of them won't shoot. He has really contributed something to the science of aviation by the invention of a new wooden propeller impervious to air abrasion, but his airplanes leave the ground unwillingly.

In late spring of the present year, Colonel Salinas took a consignment of his own airplanes to Salvador and returned on a Mexican transport with six million rounds of cartridges. With the exception of the Colonel's own denatured product, this was the only considerable importation of ammunition into Mexico since the embargo went on. There were two theories as to where the six million rounds originated: some said straight from Japan and others were sure that a former Huerta general had cached that amount of unexpended ammunition in Salvador three years ago.

Up to last May the Carranzista administration was literally without ammunition. Their bankruptcy was their regular answer to every representation on the part of our Government or other Governments as to the maintenance of order anywhere in the republic. They hadn't enough ammunition to drive the Zapatistas more than eight miles away from the capital. From the roof of our Embassy, with a glass, you could see their big hats out beyond San Angel. You could play golf at the Country Club four miles out from town and paddle on the canals at Xochimilco with enjoyable impunity, but if you ventured two miles farther into the suburbs you were pretty sure to lose property and self-respect and stood more than a fair chance of getting hurt.

"Only give us the ammunition," said General Hay, "and we will drive these *hombres* back over the hills into Morelos."

Travel by railroad in Mexico is still an extra-hazardous undertaking. There is a *de facto* and partially *de jure* Government of the Republic, but the jurisdiction of various powers and principalities, locally *de facto*, overlap upon it. Railroads are their particular province and source of revenue. The Cedilla brothers hold the country around Tuxpam and whenever they feel like it cut the line between San Luis Potosí and the Gulf coast. If you are desirous of proceeding by rail from Mexico City to Tampico you have to go up to Monterey and then come all the way back south again to avoid the domain of these baron brothers. The oil fields of Tampico are entirely in the hands of another baron by the name of Pelaez, who collects a royal tribute from the foreign producing companies, which they charge up to insurance. That portion of the national railroads of Mexico south of San Luis Potosí down into Guanajuato is under the suzerainty of a graduate of Notre Dame University, a young ranch owner named José Maria Guiterrez, who has found ranching much less profitable than the collection of tribute from the traveling public. Hijiñio Aguilar—to be carefully distinguished from his illustrious namesake, Candido Aguilar, of Vera Cruz—makes a fair living off the line between Mexico City and Vera Cruz and a lot of small and independent bands, operating in Michoacan and Colima, practically control traffic in those states and on their Pacific coasts.

All this is chiefly interesting because the one answer of the government authorities to complaints about railroad traffic is, "Give us the ammunition. Lift your embargo and we can keep the railroads running." Not a word of all these bandit activities ever appeared in the Mexican press, although several lives were lost and traffic seriously impeded on the main arteries of the *de jure* republic

THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO

If this attitude on the part of the Mexican Government was a bluff it was perfectly called in July by Ambassador Fletcher, who, on a special trip to Washington, succeeded in getting the embargo lifted on supplies of ammunition bought by the Mexican Government in the United States and held up by our customs officers on the border. The Ambassador's theory was in effect to give the Carranzista Government a chance to make good on their continued representations. If they couldn't keep the ammunition out of the hands of the other little principalities, or if certain of their chiefs or the soldaderas saw fit to sell it at a profit to Messrs. Villa, Zapata, et al., well and good. Our case as regards the embargo would then be proved flawless.

The upshot of all this and other related facts and incidents is that Mexico was starved

for ammunition; neither from Japan nor from any pro-German source were they getting importations of this wasteful commodity. But for five months now the embargo has been off, and Carranza has been free to get ammunition from the United States. At the time this is being written none of the major bandits have been caught, but at least one source of irritation at us, one handle for Germany to use against us, is removed.

At Tampico, the plants, docks, refineries, tanks—the whole terminal investment—is in plain sight along the Panuco River, where it can be easily protected by United States gunboats. The plants themselves are also built on such a scale that it would take a very effective organization with possession of the region to destroy or even seriously to affect the war supply of oil through this port. In the jungle hinterland where the pipe lines run and the oil wells spout are 1,500 husky Americans, armed and sincerely pro-oil and anti-German, not to speak of My Lord Pelaez with his 5,000 thane-men equally pro-oil, fervidly anti-everything which might or could interfere with the princely insurance premiums they are regularly drawing from the foreign producing companies. In that territory no German and no group of Germans would have a chance of success.

But—German influence is at work in Tampico. Among the seventy-five Germans cooped up there is a German consul by the name of Eversbusch. He is also the employer and the *patron* of the stevedores along the Tampico wharves. These stevedores once in a while go out on strike and successfully incite some of the other guilds of Tampico, employed by American and British oil producers and refiners, to strike for a 25 per cent. raise and a seven-hour day. During such times money in small denominations is distributed from Consul Eversbusch's office to the strike leaders, who deal it out among the striking workmen—those of four companies, the Aguila, Pierce Corporation, Standard, and Texas.

German money and influence will be back of recurrent strikes or attempts to strike at Tampico and Tuxpam and Minatitlan and Puerta Mexico. The point to remember about this menace to the oil supply is the indirect character of it. We need not fear any direct acts of violence on the wells or the pipe lines or the terminal plants. The new Mexican Constitution enunciates in Article 27 a policy of nationalization of natural resources which in the case of the oil wells would, if carried out, amount to confiscation. German influence in Mexico is very naturally being brought to bear toward a realization of this new policy. But with or without German influence, the Carranzista Government will not carry out this policy. With or without German influence, the Carranzista Government cannot carry out this policy. As was said at the beginning of this article, we—the twenty-odd Governments now allied against the Central Powers, including those of Latin Europe and Latin Central and South America—hold all the cards.

Unless something happens to change the face of nature the British and American fleets will continue to get their fuel oil from Mexico. And then, never forget that Carranza and his advisers, slipping behind two and a half million gold dollars every month, are beginning to comprehend clearly that their only hope for financial salvation lies in a loan of one hundred millions from a friendly United States.

In spite of their dislike of us, in spite of the German influence in the army, in the oil fields, and elsewhere, Carranza and his advisers are beginning to see that they must turn to us. But Carranza and his advisers do not hold Mexico in the hollow of their hand. They may know that a continued pro-Germanism means ruin, but can they lead Mexico away from it?

THE REAL GERMAN MENACE

The presentation of these facts ought to help emphasize the truth that the German menace on our southern flank is not an obvious thing. The Tampico situation is exactly in point. German influence in Mexico, as in other neutral countries, never works in the open. It is subtle, working underground to disorganize business, poison public opinion, and hamstring independent action. This continuing influence, in spite of the popular conviction to the contrary, is not particularly devoted to plotting acts of violence. Instead, it moves in a hundred different ways to agitate, to arouse race hatred, religious prejudice, and political discontent. In Mexico, exactly what does this subtle influence amount to?

In brief, it is devoted to cutting off the raw products, chiefly minerals, of the country necessary or helpful to the enemies of Ger-

many in the conduct of the war, and to the forcing of a break between Mexico and the United States with the idea of embarrassing this country when all its resources and energies are devoted to the stupendous task of carrying on offensive warfare in Europe.

The material threat comes down practically to oil. It is really less of a German than a Mexican menace. Now as to the immaterial working of the German contagion.

For many years before the war began Germany had perfected a thorough organization in Mexico for the extension of their trade interests and the furtherance of their political influence. This is called the *Verband Deutscher Reichsangeböriger* (Union of Subjects of the German Empire). It has headquarters in the Boker Building in Mexico City, with branches established in thirty-one Mexican towns and cities, including all the principal commercial centres. The First Chief of the *Deutscher Verband* is an energetic German subject by the name of R. von Lubeck, who lives at 28 Calle Berlin and has his own offices also in the Boker Building. He is a retired merchant, formerly of the firm of Boker & Company, the leading hardware company of Mexico City. Last May one Fritz Sommer, the son of E. Sommer, leading jeweler of Mexico, was traveling around the country organizing and perfecting the work of this society.

When the war came to Mexico the whole of the *Deutscher Verband* shifted, from a commercial to a war footing. They have ever since continued to function on a war basis. A committee under the chairmanship of Lubeck is actively working with the forty German officers in the Mexican army. They are also closely associated with Colonel del Campo of the Corps of Engineers and with an able anti-American Spaniard named Guardiola, the editor of *La Regeneración*, of Saltillo. Left to itself, the Mexican army would be pro-German. It is easy to see why much of it is keenly pro-German.

The press of the country is an increasingly active force in literate Mexico. The United Reichsangehöriger works through the Mexican press. It furnishes inspiration and financial backing for the *Boletin de la Guerra*, *Informaciones Inalambricos*, *Crónica Alemania*, and *Deutsche Zeitung von Mexico*. Two other newspapers in Mexico City, *El Demócrata* and *El Defensa*, are directly subsidized by German funds through the *Deutscher Verband*. In Monterey it subsidizes *El Heraldo Europeo* and furnishes, gratis, pro-German news for papers all over Mexico. In conjunction with *La Sociedad Ebero Americana* of Hamburg and the *Transocean* of Berlin, it publishes and distributes broadcast in Spanish well-written pamphlets on the German side of all current questions arising out of the war.

GERMAN PROPAGANDA IN MEXICO

Efficient and shrewd are the United Subjects of the Empire. They back up their news in the practical way of encouraging their own and other business men to advertise in the Mexican papers which print their propaganda. The movies work for them, and they hire lecturers. In May, Manuel Ugarte, the well-known anti-American agitator, a Portuguese mulatto from Buenos Aires, was giving a series of "conferences" in Mexico City under the academic auspices of the University and the financial management of the *Deutscher Verband*. In Vera Cruz, Cordoba, Puebla, Mexico, Querétaro, and San Luis Potosí, I found *Deutscher* posters plastered over the walls of gardens and buildings, abusing the United States in vigorous Spanish and interpreting events in bright German colors. Every Mexican town is similarly plastered. You wonder where they get the money, but even in your wrath you can't help admiring the effective way in which the money is spent. Mexico has Boy Scouts, several thousand of them, but they are all of the German variety, drilled in German style. It is very amusing to see the little rascals pounding their native soil with the German goose step. German influence is felt all through the Department of Public Education and, as in the case of the press, it is effectively backed up by practical advantages in the form of free courses in the German language, in calisthenics, and some forms of industrial teaching. One morning all the papers recorded the munificent gift of ten thousand pesos ($5,000) donated by the German Minister, Von Eckhardt, for the founding of a good hospital. The papers did not record that he collected that fund by levying tribute on his hard-pressed nationals.

All through the strained relations which have existed between Mexico and the United States, even before our declaration of war against Germany, this unseen, subtle working of German influence kept up an active and

helpful sympathy with Mexico. They promised money, they spoke of alliance, they hinted at the gift of territory. This sympathy paved the way for the diplomatic blunder of the Zimmerman note which, however fatal in other respects, did unquestionably have the effect of flattering Carranza and the 5 per cent. of Mexico which he represents by the international notice it gave them. It made the task of Ambassador Fletcher more difficult in winning the nominal accession of Mexico to our cause, or at least a proclaimed neutrality. Carranza, up to the first of November, had not proclaimed the neutrality of Mexico, although he mentioned it in his address to the Mexican Congress at its extraordinary session on April 15th, and "reaffirmed" it in an interview with a representative of the New York *American* on April 28th. In November, 1916, however, when Carranza got out his amazing note proposing that all neutral Governments unite in cutting off food and fuel supplies from all the Allies, the nominal neutrality of Mexico was necessarily therein implied, but it is helpful to know that this interesting document was issued within a week after the return of Zubaran, the Mexican Minister to and from Germany. In its English form, this note will not go back into idiomatic Spanish. It will re-translate into perfect German.

A TYPICAL INCIDENT

At the extraordinary session of the Mexican Congress, on April 15th last, already referred to, an incident, that was variously and incorrectly reported at the time, occurred which was so characteristic of German machinations that this brief exposition of German influence in Mexico would be incomplete without a mention of it.

The session was convened in order that the Primer Jefe might read before it an account of his stewardship and officially chronicle events which had taken place since the beginning of the revolution four years before. It was—Ladies and Gentlemen, and Outsiders, Venustiano Carranza presents Mexico. A big crowd gathered in front of the doorways and greeted arrivals with varying degrees of approval and insult. The German Minister was one of the first to arrive. He was enthusiastically applauded and *viva*'d outside—indeed, the crowd made more noise than they did on the arrival of the First Chief himself—and as he entered the building and appeared in the gallery assigned to him he became the object of a demonstration by the spectators and by several Germanophile members on the floor of Congress. The applause was quickly suppressed by General Hay, the presiding officer, who announced that demonstrations for or against foreign representatives would not be permitted.

Nevertheless, when the American Ambassador arrived with the members of his staff he was received with a little perfunctory handclapping and a lot of vigorous booing and whistling. In Mexico they don't hiss except to attract attention in a friendly way; to express disapproval or insult they whistle. For five mortal hours the First Chief read his interpretative report. Shorn of its departmental summaries, it is an extremely able and interesting State paper. At the end of the reading, as Congress adjourned, another demonstration took place in the building and outside.

It was now eleven o'clock at night, but a crowd larger than that which had greeted the opening of the session at 6 P. M. gathered about the steps, shouting, *Viva Alemania! Viva el Emperador de Alemania!* Not a solitary policeman or a soldier was on hand to preserve order or control the crowd, as the American Ambassador, followed by his staff, made his way as best he could through the press to his motor car. The crowd whistled and hooted, but there was no violence. A particularly vigorous *Viva Alemania!* stopped Mr. Fletcher for a moment. *Viva Mejico!* he replied, with a good-natured smile, so that all near by heard him. The German Minister, following closely behind, was *viva*'d enthusiastically and escorted by a cheering crowd to his car.

This whole performance was staged and paid for by German agents and sympathizers. Manuel Ugarte took a hand in it by providing a great many students from the University who were his supporters in his anti-American conferences.

That same night a telegram was sent to the German consuls at Guadalajara, San Luis Potosí, and Monterey, and to German agents in other Mexican towns. The telegram was signed "Von Lubeck." In the towns where it was received, not more than twenty-four hours after its receipt the walls were plastered with posters recounting the episode in Mexico City on the opening of Congress. In spite of all their trouble, the German trick fell rather flat. The undisturbed composure and the

good humor of the American representatives actually disarmed the crowd, which in spite of itself seemed at the end rather more good-natured itself than malicious or hostile.

WHAT TO DO ABOUT IT

Unquestionably the object of our diplomacy for Mexico's sake, and for our own sake, is to maintain and improve the *status quo*, at least until the conclusion of the war of all nations. Progress has unmistakably been made toward that end. But it is progress against the grain of Mexico. It has nothing to do with the heart or the inclinations. It is purely a matter of policy, of necessity. Mexico, that part of Mexico which can read and reason, is beginning to see that we hold all the cards.

In case of a break, we would not have to send a soldier across the line. We could police the border with the citizen soldiery of the border states, blockade every Mexican port, and starve Mexico into good behavior. This we could do and we could also take our pressure off the forces antagonistic to the Government, which we alone have enabled to remain partially *de facto* and have impliedly recognized as *de jure*, and thus allow Messrs. Villa, Zapata, Felix Diaz, and their co-agitators to work their will on their forlorn fatherland. Such a campaign would divert very little money or effort and need not materially distract our attention from our main job. After that were finished, Mexico could be summarily dealt with by a nation in arms.

But that is a last resort. Carranza and his advisers are beginning to see that they must turn to us. It is hard for them to muster the political strength to do it in the face of the German propaganda and the previously existing natural antipathy. The thing to do is to meet Germany at its own game and make the United States popular enough for Carranza to turn to.

We can counteract German propaganda by our own propaganda in good Spanish. Our consular officers ought to be provided with accurate war information fed in to them through our own and our allied sources. They ought to be instructed to disseminate this information through all their business connections in Mexico. Let us also back up our news by advertising in the Mexican papers. The very scale and unity of our preparations for the European war will affect Mexico. We ought to make sure that it is not minimized. We can found and support hospitals, give free instruction in schools, help Mexico get on its feet—not in an offensive, patronizing way, but in spite of rebuffs, in a patient and a friendly way—and we can influence our own daily and periodical press to treat Mexico and its administration as sympathetically as possible. It is really up to us whether or not Germany continues to be a menace on our Mexican flank.

And things are coming our way somewhat. For example, late in October the following despatch came from Mexico City:

MEXICO CITY, Oct. 19.—Local papers comment favorably on the statement made in Congress by General Vigil, who contended that Mexico should join the Allies. Editorially they say that is the only possible means for Mexico to take her place in the world. The declarations of General Vigil caused surprise. He is one of the leaders of the Constitutionalist Club, which nominated Carranza for the Presidency.

A group of Senators, headed by Rafael Zubaran, ex-Minister to Germany; Jesus Urueta, ex-Speaker of Congress; Sanchez Ancona, ex-Minister to France; Juan Zubaran, General Nafarette, Senator Cutbert Hidalgo, and Alberto Pani is behind a movement to force a declaration in favor of the entrance of Mexico into the war with the Allies without further delay.

In his speech before the Chamber of Deputies yesterday General Vigil declared it the duty of Mexico to take sides against Germany. The speech was applauded by the great majority of the members and the galleries.

The General said he thought that Mexico and the present Government had not shown a proper spirit of gratitude to President Wilson and the United States.

"Why vacillate?" he asked. "Is it because the Government has not gained information of the true course of public opinion? No. It is because the lower instincts of our people have been stimulated by those who, enthusiastic over the ferocities of Huerta, are now enthusiastic over the German Government, which has trampled upon all the sacred rights of nations and shown no respect for treaties.

"I will continue to proclaim in Congress that Mexico should unite frankly with the countries who are defending democratic principles, which are the same Mexico fought for during the revolution and which Mexico will continue to fight for."

The newspapers here devote much space to the discussion of a possible break with Germany. The *Universal* says that a simple declaration of benevolent neutrality would not be sufficient because, according to the statements of several Senators and Deputies, this would leave in existence German propaganda, information bureaus, and espionage.

LETTERS FROM AMERICANS OVERSEAS

From Members of The Americans Abroad Club, Who Tell of Their Work and Experiences in Other Lands

SHORT rations of sugar here in the United States have made even the stay-at-homes realize the physical discomforts of war, but a letter from an American who gives his address as "Somewhere in Greece" carries a suggestion of compensations that may accompany even greater restrictions upon diet. His rhapsody upon the aroma and taste of plain white bread after its absence from the table for months recalls a famous dissertation upon roast pig:

"SOMEWHERE IN GREECE."

I salute you (with a letter that may never get there):

What funny things you are like to come up with if you just nose around this old world long enough. Now, I was brought up to a sort of fine contempt for what is sometimes known as "the staff of life," but more vulgarly called "bread." But Lo! yesterday was a red-letter day in this house, because, forsooth! there was a loaf of white bread brought to the board —brought in a sort of solemn state—and served to five watering mouths that consumed it with all the avidity of hungry wolves.

And why? Well, that is a bit of story—and withal a bit of history as well. For, you see, there has been a strict blockade of all these coasts since high noon on the Eighth Day of December, Nineteen Hundred and Sixteen (as the high officer commanding the blockading fleet writes it in his official proclamation, thinking the matter of sufficient note to set it all down in good round words instead of leaving it to the treacherous hands of mere ciphers). And since that fateful hour nothing has passed in or out along these coasts—except it might be some late-flying bird that found its way in beneath the dark. No, not so much as a fishing boat with its orange sail has been granted leave to put out into the Bay nor a row boat to bring a brace of duck from the farther shore where game is said to abound.

And as a result of this isolation, the stock of wheat and flour in the land, never at high-water mark, has sunk and sunk till at last the bottom of the bin is in sight. Long since has good white bread passed from market and home. When it had ebbed low, the authorities tried to come to the rescue by ordering the public bakers to mix wheat and barley flour in proportion—with a result that what the bakeries turned out was not an article of food at all, but more in the nature of a weapon of offense such as primal man might have hurled at his prey to bring it down. Later, under strict police supervision, some advance was made in the quality. But always the output of the bakeries was wholly beyond the power of delicate digestion. It resembled dark chocolate mud hard-baked, and was of about the same specific gravity. Taking wisdom to be the better part of valor, this house has refrained for the past month and more from partaking at all of the bread the market offered. And as Greek houses are never so appointed in their kitchen premises as to make possible the baking of bread at home, the family has been entirely without "the staff of life" for that length of time save such poor hoe-cakes as could be cooked now and then over a slow heap of coke embers—not much to boast of in the way of bread, it must be confessed in all frankness. Rice, potatoes, and beans—when they could be got—have been made to take the place of bread as best they might; and withal those who sat at table did not go away with appetites unappeased.

But on a day to be remembered, the old scrub-woman affirmed that if she had flour she could make bread herself and take it to be baked in the public oven. A modest sack of flour was stored in the pantry, the outcome of an appeal made by the head of the house to the Governor of the Province before the doors of the country were closed (for even then the authorities were controlling foodstuffs). This treasure, veritably worth its weight in gold, was brought forth. The scrub-woman posted off to the baker's for yeast. Was back like the witch in the story. Made the dough. Set it by the fire to rise. And next day made good her promise by bringing from the bakery four long, creamy loaves of pure wheat bread that made you fairly drivel at the mouth to look at, much less to smell.

How the bread was fallen upon and carved to pieces it were vain to narrate—for you would have to see the eyes of the youngsters (and older ones, too, for that) as the good work of demolition went on, to get the least apprehension of the epoch-making event.

Ah, you fortunate ones, who never know whether you eat bread at meal or not—you utterly miss the meaning of those simple words we trip from our lips, "the staff of life." And may you never have to learn their meaning in the school of Jean Valjean.

A side-light upon Lord Northcliffe's recent declaration that the submarine is still the

most sinister element of the present war is thrown by a letter received from Mr. Edward J. Norton, written from Malaga, Spain, after a visit to Gibraltar:

An American living in Spain to-day neither hears nor sees anything of the war. He finds the Spanish people firmly resolved to keep out of the struggle, and astonishingly unconcerned about the great fight for democracy that is convulsing the world. Below the surface there is widespread ignorance as to the cause for which the Allies drew the sword and the ideal which made the United States join them.

But one has only to take the ferry from Algeciras and steam six miles across Gibraltar Bay to feel the meaning of war. I have just returned from a two weeks' stay at Gibraltar. I have seen and heard Americans who have been on the foreign fighting line—the ever-changing, deadly, and quickly disappearing furrow cut in the seas by the searching submarines.

HOW THE "PETROLITE" WENT DOWN

Of the hundred or more men—crews of torpedoed American ships—that I saw in Gibraltar, all but a few were anxious to return home. Not to get off the sea, but to find another ship—to get to sea again and play the Great Game. The men who did not want to go home were four gunners. They formed part of the naval crew (the others are still missing) aboard the *Petrolite*, which was torpedoed and sunk just before dawn on June 10th. None of the watch on deck saw the submarine; none saw the torpedo until a few seconds before it struck the ship. The *Petrolite* was split and cracked as though she had been built of lath instead of steel, and she went down in five minutes.

These gunners got off in a boat and sailed along for twelve hours before a British steamer came along and picked them up. Two hours later the British steamer was busily engaged in a running fight with another—perhaps the same, submarine. The fight lasted two hours. The return of the *U*-boat awakened joy in the hearts of our naval boys. They were not content with yelling at her. They got right around the guns and helped their British cousins. The result was that the slow old steamer beat off the submarine.

Upon being landed, the four gunners appeared at the Consulate begging Mr. Sprague not to send them home. "Can't you keep us somewhere around here, Mr. Consul? We want to fight this thing out; we don't want to go home. The papers say that an American torpedo squadron is in the Channel or the North Sea—send us on to join our fellows. Please cable the Department. Say that we didn't have a chance on the *Petrolite* and that while we are over here we want a real whack at the Germans."

Somewhere off the Balearic Islands, the *Moreni*, a fine big tank ship flying the Stars and Stripes, was shelled and sunk the other day. I was aboard her as she lay in Gibraltar Bay. I saw her guns, with the naval detachment polishing, oiling, and swinging them about. "We are ready for any Hun submarine that has the crust to tackle us," said one of the gun crew, a handsome young American boy. How little that sturdy young gunner thought that the *Moreni's* voyage was nearly over. Little did any of us dream that the guns the crew were so carefully watching were being made ready for battle. Or that the broad steel deck we stood upon would soon bear red stains and then glow red over the burning cargo.

THE LAST TRIP OF THE "MORENI"

As I came up on the train yesterday I bought a newspaper at Bobadilla. Two brief paragraphs told me the fate of the *Moreni*. But the young gunner was right. They were ready for the submarine. Both guns worked as steadily as though in drill instead of battle. After a while a shell fired by the submarine exploded in one of the oil compartments, and in a few minutes the *Moreni* was a moving mass of flame. Only then were the gunners driven from their platforms. Three men are reported dead. And kindly Captain Thompson is a prisoner aboard the submarine.

The American merchant marine has become a shipping that fights. And there is an American merchant marine. It is, perhaps, one of the marvelous productions of war. But during the past two weeks I have seen more ships carrying the American flag than in all the twenty years I have lived abroad. Queer looking ships from the Lakes now voyaging in salt water; and old sailing vessels laid up for many years are again doing duty.

I wonder if those at home are aware of the dauntless gallantry of the other Americans who cross the watery fighting line these days? The men in our merchant ships were the first to fight for us in the titanic struggle for the world's freedom. And I wish those at home could have seen and heard something of what I saw and heard at Gibraltar these past two weeks.

I listened to other stories of American ships sunk by torpedo or shell fire. And I better understand what is meant by terrorism on the high seas. I better understand why the submarine forced us into war. And I understand why the Allies and the United States must beat the Power that is waging this war of widespread destruction and terrorism and all the while demanding "the freedom of the seas."

The Sea-Wolves of the sixteenth and the pirates of the seventeenth centuries were as much entitled to the freedom of the seas as the Germany of to-day is entitled to it.

Another American in Spain, A. I. Wright, writes from Seville. He has compared the United States with other lands, and tells us some reasons why we should be glad of our origin and birthright as Americans:

I have lived abroad (in Spanish America and in Spain) for about fifteen years. Two fine things I have gotten out of it:

First, the comprehension that nationality is not a question of the geographical location of the particular place where a man hangs his hat. Nationality is a formation of mind. Americans are not merely 100,000,000 people located north of Mexico, south of Canada, between Coney Island and the Cliff House. Americans are people who, no matter where they happen to be drinking ice water, "think American" regardless of environment.

U. S. AS SEEN BY AN AMERICAN ABROAD

Second, residence abroad has given me wide tolerance. I have never seen any country that did not surpass my own—on a point or two. On the whole my own so far surpasses every other that I can well afford to admit their excellencies. No man can "rile" me by any criticism of America, its ideals or its manners. Most of the adverse criticism one hears of us is justified. We are rude and "pushy." Young, growing things are. We have no aristocracy of birth; our pretense at it is ludicrous. That we do not possess it is our greatest good fortune. We possess an aristocracy of accomplishment, to membership in which every American is born eligible. Every American may aspire to walk with kings. His limitless liberty of aspiration is his very finest heritage. I am not even sensitive as to the language we speak. The Scotch, Australians, and good folk from Saint Lucy's protest that it isn't English; the Englishman usually has less to say than they. It annoys them if we confess that it is not, and claim to "talk United States." Whatever we talk, it is a living, elastic medium, which develops new terms and sloughs them off, if they do not stand wear and tear of usage. It becomes us—for we are untrammeled by even a glorious past, expressed in families, castles and traditions which hang, not so much like beautiful ancient jewels, but like disastrous millstones, about the necks of other nations. We are all strident present and boundless future! Against a William the Conqueror we can set a Hill, a Harriman, a John D. Rockefeller any day—against a Warwick Castle, the Yosemite. And against the traditional law of entail—glory be!—the fact that a beggar may come to have and to hold a little kingdom anywhere within our territory until a better man appear to take it from him again!

The things for which at home we lose appreciation are, when one views one's country from abroad, seen to be vital components of it: Freedom of thought and action, and Democracy—the equality of possibilities. Resident Americans who come tripping annoy us with talk of money-power, class, dirty politics, and declining interest in individual citizenship. Local ills and local pessimism! The generalizations are right! America is the land of Freedom—but one must get outside America to see clearly that it is so.

And no matter where we sojourn, we expatriates "belong," while we continue to "think American," in tune to the liberty and equality which is carrying America forward. "Thinking American" makes us see America as logical, comprehensible, sound, and full of measureless promise and infinite possibility.

On the other side of the world, an American, Charles H. Crooks, has charge of a hospital in the interior of Siam. His letter is a picture of cosmopolitan industry coöperating to carry civilization to a backward corner of the earth—but, after all, Siam is forward-looking enough to have joined the nations that are fighting Germany for the freedom of the world:

If in imagination the reader will go to a point slightly south of Mexico City and pass through the earth to his antipodal position, the destination will be in the vicinity of our place of business. Or if preference be for the ordinary routes of travel there is little difference in distance between the Atlantic and Pacific routes from New York to the Port of Bangkok, approximately thirteen thousand miles, thence northward into the tropical jungle four hundred miles; roughly 100° E. Long., 18° N. Lat.

A HOSPITAL IN SIAM

Our institution is located in the chief city of a province of two hundred and fifty thousand population and area larger than any of a number of the smaller states of the Union. It is the only institution in the entire province offering the advantages of modern medicine and surgery; in fact it offers the only opportunity for surgical treatment, the native practicians making no attempt in this line. We operate a hospital and two dispensaries and are the only source of supply for dependable drugs. In normal years some fifteen thousand persons receive treatment and in epidemic smallpox years we have vaccinated thirty thousand persons in addition to our regular clientele. Those in every grade of society receive treatment from the highest official down to the coolie; subjects of ten nations including European princes have received treatment in a single year. Malaria and bowel diseases produce the majority of the medical cases; and stone of the urinary bladder, a disease causing most excruciating suffering but very amenable to treatment, is the source of most of the surgical cases.

Nearly every disease prevalent in the Western Hemisphere exists here in addition to many peculiar to the Tropics. We have been conducting a hookworm campaign for some months.

We are also in charge of a similar institution operating a hospital and two dispensaries, touching perhaps one third the number of people in a neighboring province of population and area about one half our home province. To reach this Station we ride a motorcycle built in Massachusetts; a railway carriage built in France, pulled by a locomotive built in Germany and traveling over rails manufactured in Pennsylvania; and a motor-bus built in England. Most of our surgical instruments are made in London, and our quinine and other lines of tablets, stamped to our own order, are manufactured in Michigan, the bulk of our other supplies coming from Chicago and London.

I am also responsible for the operation of the only tannery in Siam using the Chrome chemical process. This manufacturing enterprise uses domestic hides and tanning compound made in New Jersey. The purpose of establishment is to demonstrate to the Government and people the possibilities in the development of local industries.

My wife edits the only periodical published in the Lao language, spoken by more than ten million people. The Buddhist Scriptures are their only written literature, and this periodical, printed on paper from Great Britain and with type cast in New York, is their only source of general information.

Farther south in the Antipodes, in New Zealand, an American woman, Miss Mary Bachelder, has heard rumblings of the World War that harmonize with the mutterings of Nature in Rotorua, where volcanoes and geysers have for generations waged war upon men who have ventured to live near them:

An American in far-away New Zealand, where the guns of war are never heard, could tell you but little of the "foreign fighting line," save only of the 60,000 soldiers who have gone thither, of the mothers who work and pray here, of the men who come back, maimed witnesses to the fact that even these tiny islands are bearing their part to-day. So my letter to you will not dwell on these things, others can tell of them far more vividly. Instead, may I write you of a true experience in Rotorua, safety-valve of New Zealand as it is called, Rotorua, where the ground is soft and steaming beneath one's feet, land of geysers, hot lakes, and boiling mud pools? To me, at least, the incident of my visit there was both interesting and memorable.

Imagine, then, that you were there, as I was, on a certain fateful night in May. Listen! Did you hear that low, ominous rumbling in the distance as the goddess of the doomed region stirred uneasily in her sleep? Suddenly the surface of the earth shook and heaved, and out of the darkness a tongue of flame shot upward. From ugly, yawning cracks rocks and lava spurted, and columns of steam and water issued forth. Strange, weird sounds rent the air and above them all the piteous wail of a little child, for that night the goddess claimed three victims. Later, when all was quiet, fearful yet curious tourists passed by to look at the havoc wrought. And the newspapers reported the greatest eruption since the Pink Terraces were destroyed.

The wonders of Rotorua have a fascination for the sight-seer which danger has no power to quell. Always the traveler will go to see Sikitere, even after such an eruption as this, always there is employment for the guides at Whakarewarewa. But the greatest sights of all are to be found in the Wairaeki Valley which we next visited. There is a pool of boiling, bright blue water, of infinite depth at which the tourist gazes steadfastly, lured, fascinated by the bubble-bubble-bubble, everlasting bubble of its clear, deceitful waters. There is a narrow path which leads to a little bridge, over which a geyser plays intermittently, and the desire to climb it as it winds upward on the other side drags the tourist across between its eruptions. And always the geyser plays at definite periods, and always the traveler relies blindly on the goddess who holds his life in the hollow of her hand. But some day—I dared not think of that as I crossed the little bridge, but hurried on, staff in hand, to the Dragon's Mouth, a fearful, roaring geyser, also intermittent. And here, also, adventure bade me go forward, and I entered those forbidding jaws, stared for a second down that black mouth, and fled. A second later and the spot where I had stood was covered with a whirlpool of boiling steam and water. Amidst all this, quite close to that pool of bubbling mud called the "Devil's Trumpet," is a strange contrast. From an immense height, drowning all other sound by their roaring, the Aratiatia Rapids fall and rush onward in a sheet of seething foam—a second Niagara. Among so many wonders, so many weird sights, they are for some the most wondrous sight of all.

Then, with the vision of geysers and boiling lakes before my eyes, with the "plop" of mud pools and the sound of the rapids in my ears, I came home, back from the enchanted land, beneath whose smiling exterior the goddess lies, watchful, merciless, awe-inspiring, with the weapons of death in her hand. But I have seen a valley laid waste by her power, I have seen the beauties of the legend-country. Was it not an experience?

Lee L. Johnson's letter, from Pernambuco, Brazil, paints a picture of tropical life and people that may be useful by its suggestion of Latin-American qualities which we should understand if we are to make our country popular south of the Rio Grande:

As this city lies only some eight degrees south of the equator, the climate is sufficiently warm to dispense with the necessity of all clothing not demanded by conventionality. This latter word seems to be missing from the vocabulary of many Brazilians, for it is common to see a half dozen urchins, six or eight years of age, clad only in Nature's costume, playing in the street. The poorer people go barefoot the year round. Thousands never owned a pair of shoes, and others use these man-made encumbrances only on feast days and Sundays.

The residences are usually built, joined one to another, to open directly on the street. The most common diversion of the ladies is to sit in the open window and gaze at the passers-by.

GAY LIFE IN PERNAMBUCO

The customs as to courtship and marriage seem very strange to "Yankees," as all North Americans are called. Passing along the street, one frequently sees a victim of Cupid standing on the sidewalk conversing, maybe for hours, with his lady love who sits in the open window. All the world knows that the lover has not yet won "the promise true," for when that important event occurs, the door will be opened to the "noivo" and henceforth the courting will be in the parlor. It is said that the mother-in-law always receives the first kiss. The engagement is always announced at once, and to break an engagement is considered almost an unpardonable sin. In this, it seems to me, the United States might profitably take some lessons from Brazil.

The most of the transportation is done on the heads of "corregadores" as the carriers are called. An American lady, recently arrived, was greatly interested, a few days ago, in seeing our piano moved on the heads of six men as they chanted their peculiar song to keep the step.

NO MIDDLE CLASS IN BRAZIL

Brazilians may be classified in two great divisions: the educational, wealthy class, representing, perhaps, ten or fifteen per cent. of the people, which governs the country, directing all its affairs, religious, social and financial; and the other class composed of the ignorant laboring people. There is no great intelligent middle class, as we have in the United States.

Brazil has an area almost equal to that of the United States, and is endowed with rich deposits of gold, silver, and other minerals, largely unexplored, and with a soil unexcelled for productiveness. But her methods of agriculture are fifty years behind compared with the United States. The cultivation is almost exclusively by the hoe. In traveling somewhat extensively in a number of states of North Brazil, I have seen only two plows at work. I know of no more inviting field in all the world for the investment of American dollars or American lives.

There are letters from the front somewhere in France, but here are some extracts from Switzerland, on the other side of the fighting line. Mr. George D. Herron, writing from Geneva, says:

What appeals to me is the valor and worth of the peace which a little nation has maintained in the midst of the warring world. I have been for several months in the midst of this little nation, toiling there, with many other foreigners, at one of the teeming cross-ways of Europe. It is to Switzerland I refer, of course. There are those of us who have been her guests at a time when her people are under an increasing economic stress and uncertainty; and her guests we still are. We are also under her protection. Her attitude toward us, amidst the menacing complications that beset her on every hand, has been one of forbearing and chivalrous hospitality. Even when expressing opinions that were perilous to her neutrality—so vitally necessary to the world as well as to herself—we have had the benefit of her political benevolence, her intellectual tolerance.

We have also witnessed the greatness of soul with which this little republic has borne the burden of the world's woe. We have seen her giving home and healing, giving every kind of moral and material succor, to all the contending nations. She has done this at enormous expense and inconvenience to herself, involving a sacrifice as yet unreckonable. She has poured out her treasure from every valley, from every mountain village. She has made her land an oasis of mercy in a world from which many of the ancient mercies seem to have departed. And, in order to keep her armed sons upon her frontier, protecting the strangers within her gates as well as herself, she has had to suspend many of her industries and modes of economic sustenance.

And now Switzerland is immeasurably imperiled by an agitation finding voice in the press and even in Congress to prohibit all shipments to her borders. If such a step is taken, in six months the Swiss people will be in a position of greatest economic doubt and difficulty, and even menaced with the probability of starvation. Switzerland is amazed and appalled by this campaign, and grieved at the misrepresentation upon which it is based. Her people cannot believe that America will refuse her the necessities of life. Switzerland trusts America; and does not believe—not for a moment—that America will betray that trust.

In preserving Switzerland, America will be preserving the rudimentary form of the new political earth—the earth upon which a new and more intimate heaven shall open new and common doors of communion with mankind.

MAN AND HIS MACHINES

Destroyers to Fight the Submarines—The German "Pill Boxes"—The "Liberty" Truck—The Caproni Airplane

SEVERAL of the largest American shipyards are devoting all their energies at present to the production of destroyers. England is exerting all its energies to turning out this type of ship on an unprecedented scale. Both nations have practically abandoned construction work on other kinds of war vessels and are concentrating on destroyers. England and the United States probably together have not far from eighty or ninety dreadnaughts and an enormous number of cruisers and other standard types. Thus there is little chance that the German Navy can ever make a successful or even a moderately successful stand. But both England and the United States need new destroyers by the hundreds, perhaps thousands.

The new destroyers will emphasize all the features that have made them so indispensable in fighting submarines. Up to the present time 30 knots has represented the limit of speed. The new vessels will make 35; that is, they will make about 41 miles an hour—a speed almost as great as the average railroad train. As the submarine makes only about 15 knots on the surface, it will stand little chance if one of these new vessels appears on the horizon. Not only do the destroyers have this terrific speed, but the speed is under almost perfect control. The ships can turn at an exceedingly acute angle and can be brought to a stop almost as quickly as an automobile. They can thus dash forward, make circles, back, turn corners—they cut capers on the surface with the same ease as an expert skater on the ice. On the other hand the submarine on the surface is one of the clumsiest crafts in the world. These new destroyers, instead of the three- and four-inch guns popular in the old days, will carry five- and six-inch guns. The new German submarines have a stronger armament than in the old days—hence this increased shooting power of destroyers. The builders are also

THE DESTROYER, ARCH-ENEMY OF THE SUBMARINE

The destroyer is capable of a terrific speed and is practically immune from torpedo attack. That is the reason why the submarine invariably avoids an encounter with a destroyer

I. A GERMAN "PILL-BOX"

For use in northern Belgium, where water is often found only a foot below the surface, the Germans have devised concrete block houses (known among the British Tommies as "pill-boxes") as strongholds for machine-gun emplacements

straining every nerve to make the new destroyers as shallow in their draft as possible. None of them will draw more than eight feet. As the torpedo sails most successfully fifteen feet under the water these new ships will be almost immune from torpedo attack.

The German "Pill Boxes"

THE principal element in the German defensive scheme is the machine gun. It has been demonstrated that the German infantryman has no stomach for the bayonet.

II. A GERMAN "PILL-BOX"

Each concrete chamber is capable of holding from thirty to forty men (although sometimes not half that number) and is of such strong construction that only a direct hit from a large gun can destroy it

The essence of the defensive plan, therefore, is to prevent the advancing infantry from completing the crossing of No Man's Land and so making the attack a hand-to-hand affair. The machine gun was the most effective instrument in carrying this plan to a successful conclusion. Previous to the invention of the creeping barrage this was a simple matter. All that was necessary was to keep the machine guns and their crews in the dugouts until the opposing infantry came "over the top," at which time they were rushed to the parapets and put to work. The barrage, however, combined with a much more lavish use of high explosive shell, forced a change in these tactics. It was found that even if the bombardment of heavy guns did not destroy the dugouts or block up their mouths, the barrage kept the machine gun under ground until the advancing infantry was so close that there was not sufficient time to get into action before the bayonet fighting began. The final step was the fortification of specially selected positions and turning them into machine-gun posts. These posts were always selected with a view to their field of fire and their angle of fire with respect to the line which the enemy infantry must of necessity assume. The problem of selecting such positions was simplicity itself about Lens, for example, the uneven ground and the cellars of innumerable houses furnishing many. In the low-lying plain of northern Belgium, however, the problem was acute. Here was a stretch of country which, except for the now celebrated Passchendaele ridge, is without distinguishing feature of any kind. With water found only a foot below the surface, even the ordinary trenches and dugouts are out of the question. This necessitated a still further change in the plan of defense, although chief reliance was still placed in the same weapon. The result was what has been called the elastic defense system. This consisted of a number of concrete block houses, placed well forward without any definite line, but so arranged that they defended one another by an enfilade fire. These "pill boxes," as they have come to be called, are very small, holding not more than thirty or forty men, sometimes not half that number, and are so strong that only a direct hit from a large gun can destroy them. They are garrisoned entirely by machine-gun crews specially trained for their

THE "LIBERTY" TRUCK

Built for the especial use of the United States Army. A product of the coöperation of forty engineers, hundreds of draftsmen, twelve motor truck plants, and of sixty-two factories that manufacture automobile parts

© Edwin Levick, N. Y.

A CAPRONI BIPLANE

Flying over New York (the structure to the right is the tower of the Woolworth Building) on its journey from Norfolk, Va., to Mineola, L. I., with nine passengers during the recent Liberty Loan campaign

work. Behind them, in reserve, the infantry lies in wait, so that, when the Allied infantry, badly used up by the machine-gun fire, passes beyond the block houses, these reserves of fresh troops counter-attack heavily against the advanced line and drive it back.

"Liberty" Trucks For Our Army

THE "Liberty" motor truck, a photograph of which appears on page 223, is the product of the combined genius of forty American engineers and hundreds of draftsmen from all over the country, plus the co-operation of twelve motor truck plants and of sixty-two factories that manufacture automobile parts. All these parts have been standardized and are interchangeable, so that a number of trucks may be taken apart, the parts mixed, each with each, indiscriminately, and the trucks reassembled without any great difficulty. The virtue of this standardization may be seen in the fact that our army's motor truck transportation will necessitate the manufacture of less than 7,500 parts. It has been said that our Allies keep in stock at all times more than 2,000,000 parts for their various kinds of motor vehicles.

The chassis of the new truck weighs, with body attached, about 10,000 pounds. The truck is said to be the strongest, for the load it is designed to carry, ever turned out in this country.

The Caproni Airplane

TWO Italians, the Caproni Brothers, Gianni and Federico, are convinced that the day is fast approaching when "aërial lines not only will join town and country and country to country, but will span continent to continent with aërial trains transporting hundreds of passengers traveling from 125 to 190 miles an hour." Such airplanes are to be built according to the biplane and multiplane systems and fitted with a series of motors varying from 300 to 500 horsepower, "because the plurimotor types obviously afford a genuine guarantee of safety." One such air line would be that between Rome and New York, the distance to be covered in approximately thirty hours of continuous travel; the trip to be made in forty-eight hours.

However visionary these views may be, Gabriel D'Annunzio, the Italian poet, who is at present serving in the Italian army, recently piloted a Caproni biplane, with three passengers aboard, 875 miles without landing—a distance approximately corresponding to that between New York and St. Louis "as the airplane flies." And during the last Liberty Loan Campaign, Captain Antonio Silvio Resnati flew from Langley Field, near Norfolk, Va., to Mineola, L. I., a distance of 320 miles, in a big Caproni biplane carrying eight passengers besides himself.

SEEING A WORLD'S WONDERS IN CLEAR-AIRED ARIZONA

The Apache Trail, Roosevelt Dam, and Cliff Dwellers' Homes as Inspiration for Tourists

BY
EDGAR G. CRISWELL

THIS RUGGED AND ROCKY SECTION OF THE TRAIL IS CALLED "THE LITTLE ALPS"

SOME rather new conditions will enter into folks' traveling plans this year.

One will say: "We'll go South this winter and stop off at Camp to see Billy." Another will say: "We'll go to California as usual—they have such wonderful automobile roads, and there's golf out there that is in a class by itself." Still another will say: "We'll do things a little differently this year. There are so many distractions of all kinds nowadays, that it gives us a sort of 'here and there' feeling, so we're going to stop now and then on our way West. Going to stop in New Orleans a bit—it's so individual—and then at Camp in Texas, and break the trip again out in Arizona while we do that Apache Trail and see the Roosevelt Dam. Then when we get to California, we'll be ready for whatever's doing. California is such a livable place."

Suppose you are en route to Los Angeles and Southern California in general, traveling on the Sunset Limited of the Southern Pacific Lines, one of the world's greatest trains. At El Paso, you change to a sleeper which will carry you through a night's trip up the picturesque Gila Valley, a veritable garden spot of Arizona, to Globe. You arrive in what must seem to the general run of Easterners as an entirely new world, for here you are in the heart of the great copper country. Arizona is the nation's leading copper producing State. Besides, you are looking out on a country which produces gold, silver, lead, and zinc. Including the copper, Arizona digs up out of her soil more than $200,000,000 worth of these precious metals, each year, especially when prices are high as they are nowadays, and this is real, new wealth added to the world's storehouse—no mere bookkeeping credit. If you've ever "dabbled in coppers," you will find a familiar name at Globe in the word Dominion, for here the famous Old Dominion mine was located. Off to the westward, only a few miles, is Miami, where another familiar name bobs up in the Inspiration mine. Globe and Miami are typical mining towns with their mines, smelters, concen-

RUINS OF CLIFF DWELLERS' FORTRESS HOME

AN ANCIENT WATCH TOWER

trators, and other proper indications of the miner and his town.

If Globe and the copper country gave you a new and fresh view of things, another equally new and fresh view, only much more so, is coming to you quickly, for we're off now on one of the most inspiring automobile trips in all your "born days"—a regular scenic railway trip, laid out on such a scale that you are carried through 120 miles of marvelously beautiful ups and downs without being fully able to realize it all at the time. Leaving Globe in the touring cars after breakfast, you immediately "hit the trail"—the Apache Trail. You are traveling over a road which the United States Government has built, with usual Government completeness, over the identical route of the roamings of the ancient Toltecs, and the cliff dwellers, and the earliest Indians in days when it was a real trail through canyons, over mountains, and through forests; the same road which the Spanish conquistadores of Coronado traveled in 1540 in their search for the fabulous "Seven Cities of Cibola"; as well as the same which Uncle Sam's soldiers used when they "cleaned up" our red skin brothers when Geronimo and his braves took their last fling at fighting the "pale face." You are on your way now to the Roosevelt Dam. Up the mountain your car reaches the summit at a 4000-foot elevation, 20 miles from Globe. Here is a panorama of amazing views, vast in expanse and spread out like a map below you. Here is your first realization of Arizona atmosphere, so clear that mountains 60 miles away seem no more than 15 or 20 miles distant at the most and beyond, 27 miles away and far below, you see the glistening water of Roosevelt Lake held there by the famous Roosevelt Dam. Your road winds down now 1,600 feet in seven miles to the floor of Tonto basin, giving really wonderful views of variously colored vegetation, equally wonderful rocks and, if not a total of 57 varieties of cactus, surely a great many, the most unique vegetation in America. Soon your auto approaches Roosevelt Lake, the road skirting the cliffs, while you see in the waters below a remarkable panoramic reflection of the entire mountain-rimmed horizon. A turn in the road and we are in full view of the Roosevelt Dam. You circle it, following the 16-foot driveway, almost 1,200 feet long, crossing the crest of the dam, and bringing up at the Lodge, very strikingly situated on a rocky point which sticks out into the lake—an ideal spot for luncheon.

When the Government started its great project of making the desert land of Arizona "blossom like the rose," it decided to dam up the waters of Salt River and Tonto Creek at their junction at what is now called Roosevelt. It had to have great quantities of material to make one of the world's largest dams and so, Government-like, it just created a great modern highway out of an Indian trail, 120 miles from Globe to Phoenix. The Roosevelt Dam is 283 feet 8 inches high, 168 feet thick at the bottom, and 20 feet at the top. It takes up the water of Salt River and Tonto Creek, which for most of the year are inconsiderable streams; but every spring when the snow melts in the mountains in that country, they pour out perfect torrents of water which just runs away and leaves nothing to show for its presence. The dam holds up a three-year supply of water, which makes a lake 30 miles long and four miles wide. Below the dam is spread out a domain of over 230,000 acres of land made useful by irrigation. A thoughtful Government stocked the lake with black bass, and tourists who stay long enough to try their skill find that the fish are a gamey lot and will fight to the finish.

A visit to the cliff dwellings furnishes another reason for a stopover at Roosevelt. Their ancient habitations are seen at long distance as dark niches in the mountain side. You can go right up to them in a short time and examine these oldest homes of the American continent. At least they date back beyond 1540 or thereabouts when Coronado ran across them, and are enough to fill one's imagination for days with thoughts of what sort of people these folks must have been. A first-hand investigation is very much worth while.

After luncheon and your inspection of the dam, you are off again on the Apache Trail, bound now for Phoenix, the capital city of Arizona, the western end of the road, 80 miles away. You follow the Salt River canyon for seven miles. A glance backward gives one of the best views of the dam with its northern spillway foaming almost 300

ACROSS THE ROOSEVELT DAM

FROM THE DEPTH OF FISH CREEK CANYON TO THE CACTI OF MORMAN FLATS

THE ROOSEVELT DAM FORMS A MIGHTY PRECIPICE OF MASONRY

feet in a wonderfully graceful Niagara-like waterfall. Farther on are the so-called Painted Cliffs of the Apache Trail, a really notable view. Fish Creek Canyon is entered beyond with walls 1,000 feet high beside you. A steep incline lifts you to the side of the cliff 1,000 to 1,200 feet above the trail. The summit on this part of the trip is reached at 3,470 feet and here, as at the summit on the other side of the dam, is another truly awe-inspiring view. The Mazatzal range of mountains, the Four Peaks, and McDowell mountains stand out with beautiful color effects, brightened by the highly colored shrubbery nearer at hand on the roadside. The road winds down to the level of the Salt River Valley, going through Black canyon and skirting the base of the Superstition Mountains. Gradually the landscape opens out into the Salt River Valley, which irrigation has made a land of oranges, cotton, dates, alfalfa, and ostrich farming. Again the many varieties of cactus appear. It is a fine run of 30 miles into Phoenix, an attractive city where your Pullman car awaits to take you on to "the glorious climate of California," to its famous roads for motoring, its flowers, its fruits, its golf, its bungalows and hotels.

The Southern Pacific Lines offer the only convenient means of reaching the "Trail," and through tickets over these lines in either direction will be honored for the trip upon payment of $15 additional. This expense includes all railroad transportation and the auto trip between Globe and Phoenix.

Through Pullman Sleeping Cars in connection with the "Sunset Limited" are operated from El Paso, Texas, and Globe, Arizona, every Sunday, Tuesday, and Friday. Globe is the Eastern terminus of the "Trail." This new service adds greatly to the comfort and pleasure of the trip. The westbound tourist may now arrive in Globe in a through Pullman Sleeping Car in time for breakfast, and immediately thereafter step into the waiting automobile for the "Apache Trail" trip to Phoenix. At Phoenix, through Pullman service is maintained to and from Los Angeles.

The eastbound traveler arriving from Phoenix may enter the Pullman Sleeper at Globe in the evening.

The World's Work

ARTHUR W. PAGE, EDITOR

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TERMS: $3.00 a year; single copies, 25 cents. For Foreign Postage add $1.00; Canada 60 cents.
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Unsolicited manuscripts are welcomed by the editors and are carefully read. They cannot, however, be returned unless they are accompanied by proper amount of postage.

F. N. DOUBLEDAY, Pres. H. S. HOUSTON, Vice-Pres. ARTHUR W. PAGE, Vice-Pres. S. A. EVERITT, Treas.
RUSSELL DOUBLEDAY, Sec'y.

DOUBLEDAY, PAGE & COMPANY
The NEW COUNTRY LIFE — The GARDEN MAGAZINE
CHICAGO: Peoples Gas Bldg. GARDEN CITY, N. Y. NEW YORK: 11-13 W. 32nd Street
BOSTON: Tremont Bldg. LOS ANGELES: 412 W. 6th Street

MR. DANIEL WILLARD

Chairman of the War Industries Board of the Council of National Defense, perhaps the most important of the advisory positions concerned with the actual preparations for war

THE
WORLD'S WORK

JANUARY, 1918

VOLUME XXXV NUMBER 3

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

LET there be no misunderstanding. Our present and immediate task is to win the war, and nothing shall turn us aside from it until it is accomplished. Every power and resource we possess, whether of men, of money, or of materials, is being devoted and will continue to be devoted to that purpose until it is achieved. Those who desire to bring peace about before that purpose is achieved, I counsel to carry their advice elsewhere. We will not entertain it."

This paragraph was the heart of the President's message. It is a simple fact and is told quickly, but its significance is not measured by its length. And the President's pledge of our determination to fight the war through is given added weight by the declaration of war against Austria-Hungary.

In a large part of the message the President restated our aims in the war, our insistence that Germany "repair," as the President phrases it, the damage she has done, and on the other hand our denial of any intention of exacting indemnities in a spirit of revenge. It is well to keep our motives clear before our Allies and ourselves. But it cannot very much affect what Germany will pay. If she repairs even part of the damage she has done wantonly, purposely, and contrary to the rules of war to Belgium, to northern France, to Serbia, there will not be left the power to pay any indemnity, except of course in territory and people. But none of the Allies in their bitterest moments have ever wanted to incorporate territory peopled by Germans within their borders. The land and the people of Germany must remain. Its ambitions and kultur must go, and the German people must expiate the crimes which they have committed by restoring the countries which they have wrecked in so far as it is humanly possible. There is little likelihood that they will do this until they are forced to do so, and that is why we are faced with the necessity of gaining a military decision, which is but a pleasanter way of saying that we must kill, capture, or disperse the German armies until they can no longer fight.

When this is done the Germans will all know that the Kaiser and his system have failed them. The legend of German invincibility will be gone. The precedent of 1864, 1866, 1870-71 will be shattered. The German hold on Austria, the Balkans, and Turkey will be broken. There will be no opportunity for another attack on civilization. The world will, for the time anyway, be free from the menace of the German ideal of blood and iron and have an opportunity to begin again, in peace, the effort to perfect social and political systems designed to give all men a chance for mental and material well-being and advancement—to begin again the everlasting and all-important task of trying to make the world a better place to live in.

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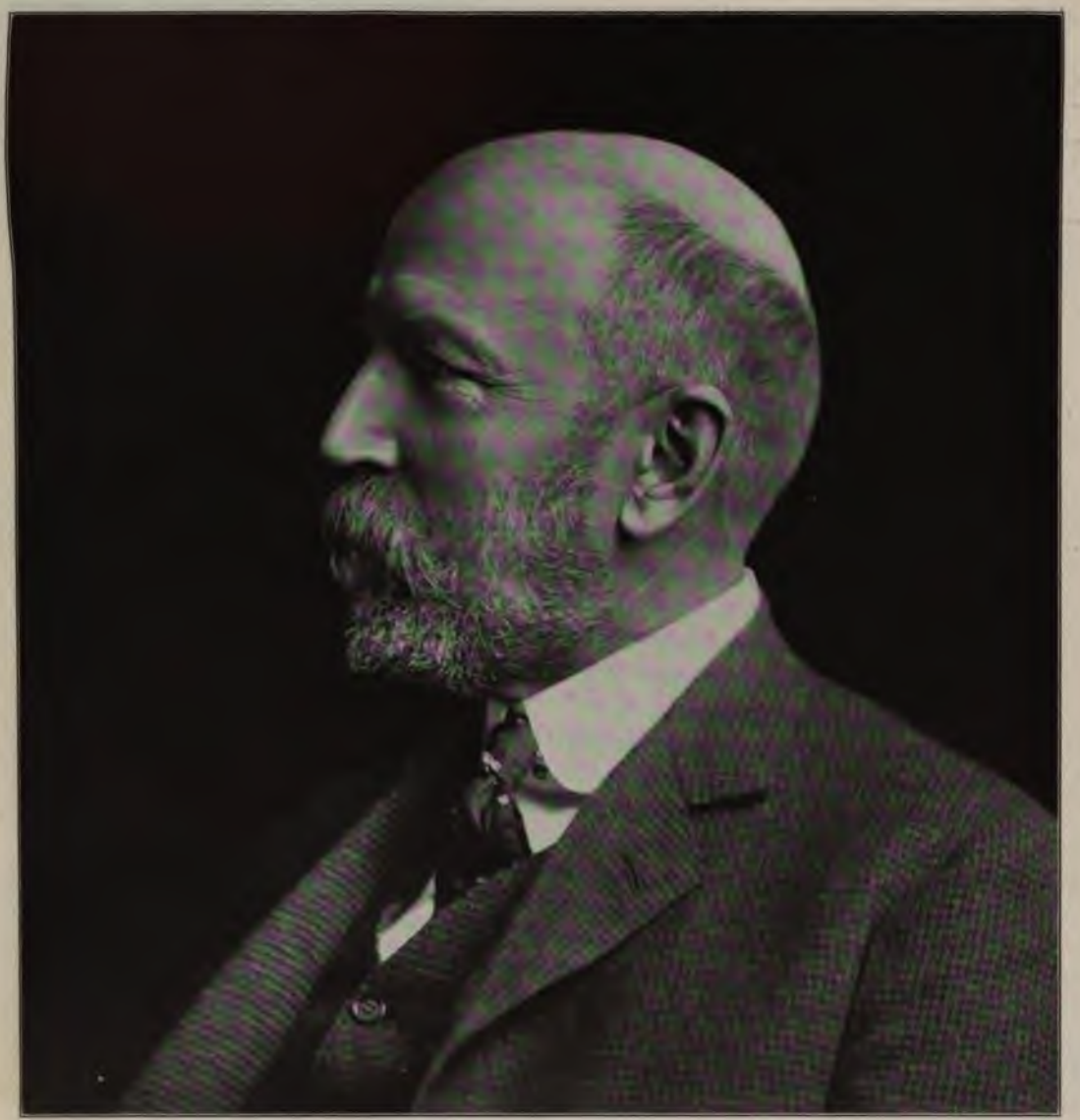
MR. OSCAR T. CROSBY

The financial member of the American mission to the Inter-Allied Conference in Paris, who remained in London as a member of a permanent Allied body there that will deal with finance, shipping, munitions, and other economic aspects of the war

M. GEORGES CLEMENCEAU

The new French Premier, the fifth since the war began. The French cabinet has been changed seven times, all in an effort to prosecute the war with more vigor and success.



THE LATE DR. HOLLIS B. FRISSELL

For twenty-four years the head of Hampton Institute, in Virginia, through which he made perhaps the largest single contribution of any white man of this generation to the solution of the Negro problem [See page 306]

Will Labor Keep Its Latest Promise?

THE annual convention of the American Federation of Labor has closed, after reëlecting Mr. Samuel Gompers president for another year and pledging the loyalty of labor to the Government in the present emergency. Mr. Gompers's reëlection may itself be regarded as a triumph for the patriotic forces in the labor ranks. That a considerable element in the American Federation has secretly striven to depose the present head is well known. This element represents that same advanced Socialist wing, strongly pro-German and anti-English in its sympathies, which denounced the war at the St. Louis gathering and called upon all Socialists to engage in "mass action" against it. This Socialist wing in American labor is German in its origin, is German in its sympathies, and is undoubtedly largely financed at present by German money. The opposition which threatened to break out against Mr. Gompers's leadership came almost exclusively from this class, and it is, therefore, a cause for general satisfaction that it has failed.

Yet it is a disquieting fact that this same element, though it did not dare to test its strength against Mr. Gompers himself, did succeed in wreaking its vengeance against one of his oldest associates and supporters—it defeated John B. Lennon as treasurer, electing in his place Daniel J. Tobin, a man whose enthusiasm for the present war is said to be lukewarm. There are plenty of evidences that the American Federation of Labor does not have its affiliated organizations under complete control, and that its most recent pledge of loyalty does not necessarily mean that the present labor disturbances will cease. Last April, two days after the declaration of war, Mr. Gompers and a representative labor committee issued a statement which was generally interpreted as meaning that both employees and employers would lay aside their differences for the period of the war. Events have shown that this pledge was written in water. The last six months have witnessed strike after strike in those industries most essential to the prosecution of the war. Workmen have walked out of Government ammunition plants and navy yards; shipbuilding plants have been the scenes of almost endless disturbances, steel mills have had to close, coal and copper mines have been idle for weeks, and the possibility of railroad strikes that would paralyze our transportation systems has constantly menaced the country. Mr. Wilson, in his speech at Buffalo, informed the workingmen that he had found them generally more reasonable than employers. In view of the generosity with which the Nation's industrial leaders have come to their country's assistance, and the disposition which many labor unions have shown to take advantage of the existing situation for their own profit, it is a little difficult to understand precisely upon what grounds the President bases this statement.

In the Buffalo convention, however, the more patriotic elements in the labor unions evidently gained control. Let us hope that they will maintain this ascendancy. Yet it is evident that they will have difficulty in doing this. The fact that the recent convention refused point-blank to give up its right to strike—that is, to accept compulsory arbitration—shows that the future is not all plain sailing. There are charges that certain union leaders who are more devoted to unionism than the Nation's safety are taking advantage of this crisis to promote the cause of unionism; there are charges likewise that certain employers are similarly seizing the opportunity to destroy unionism. The policy which both employers and employees should adopt is plain enough. Both sides should accept a truce. Let them lay aside, for the period of the war, the several matters over which they have been fighting for years, such as the open shop, hours of employment, "collective bargaining" and the like; and accept the *status quo* as the basis of operations. After the war is over, let them renew this battle to their hearts' content; while hostilities are progressing, however, let both sides temporarily drop these issues and devote their energies to defeating the enemy. In view of the high wages which are now generally paid there should be little difficulty on that score. If both sides show an accommodating spirit, such difficulties as do arise can be readily adjusted by mediation and arbitration. The one thing which is evident is that, with labor conditions as they are, the Washington Government is constantly embarrassed in its war preparations. For this reason the attitude officially manifested at the recent Buffalo convention is a matter for public rejoicing.

Solving the Railroad Problem

THE Interstate Commerce Commission's special report to Congress on the present serious transportation situation disclosed a broader and more forward-looking view of the railroad problem than has ever before been exhibited by a majority of that body. It was a businesslike treatment of the situation in a constructive manner. The immediate railroad problem is an operating one—how to handle more traffic with the present inadequate facilities. The only answer is, of course, by greater efficiency of operation. To accomplish this the Commission believes that complete unification of the entire railroad system is necessary. It sees but two ways to accomplish this: either the carriers themselves must operate as a unit, or, as an alternative, the President must so operate the roads during the war. Such operation is what the railroad managers have been moving toward, with no other warrant than the public necessity for so doing. The Commission now proposes the suspension of such anti-trust and other laws as might prevent the pooling of traffic and joint operation of all lines. It would give the roads a free hand to do their best. In addition it would have the Government advance funds to the roads for the purchase of additional facilities. If with that would go the use of the Government's priority power, as it probably would, this measure would become effective within a reasonable time.

There is no hint of Government ownership in the report. Some people confuse the possibility of Government operation with the complete taking over of the roads. Those who realize the cost and vast amount of detail that government ownership would involve know there is little likelihood of it in war times. Government operation, if that should become necessary, might be a long step in that direction; but, on the other hand, if government ownership depended on the success of such operation, it might not be. It is evident that the Administration wants the railroads to solve the war transportation problem themselves; it has enough to do.

The Commission, of course, does not acknowledge that its policy of rate regulation (which has steadily reduced earnings per unit of service rendered) has had anything to do with the present lack of equipment. It now realizes, though, that regulation of the roads for the sole benefit of the shippers is not for the national good. It is right, however, in saying that an increase in rates will not now solve the railroad problem. Nevertheless it indicated in this report an inclination to take into account in rate-making the unavoidable increases in operating expenses due to the substantially lower purchasing power of the dollar. These are all signs of a broadening view of the railroad situation. The war gives the Commission an excellent opportunity to reverse its entire attitude toward the roads. With public opinion becoming more favorable to them, is it not reasonable to expect the Commission's attitude to change?

A Step Toward Responsible Government

IF WE were living in less exciting times, one paragraph in the President's message would arouse the greatest interest. It is that in which he practically asks for a revolution in our system of making appropriations. At the present moment we have nine or ten committees in Congress employed in the congenial pastime of spending money. Not one of these committees has the slightest knowledge of what its associated spenders are doing. While the Army Committee is appropriating for the Army, and the Naval Committee for the Navy, the River and Harbor Committee is putting in bills for the dredging of waterways, and the building committee is spending money on post offices and customs-houses. There is not a single central committee that receives all these appeals for public money and allocates the claims in accordance with the public needs and the condition of the Treasury. If we could imagine a private business in which ten or a dozen departments dipped their hands in the central treasury whenever they needed money and with no central organization having a controlling hand over such expenditures, we should have a financial system identical with that which prevails in Washington. A private corporation organized on such lines would end up speedily in the bankruptcy court.

It is true that Congress does have an Appropriation Committee, but the real fact is that this is only one appropriating committee. Its name is an inheritance from the days when Congress had a somewhat more sane organization than prevails at present.

For the first seventy years of our national existence a single committee, that on Ways and Means, had charge of both raising and spending money. This committee collected taxes with one hand and appropriated for the several departments with the other. That, of course, is the only efficient way of managing a government; this system of concentrating both functions in the same hands made it reasonably certain that Congress would not spend more money than the Treasury contained. In the last year of the Civil War, Congress took the first step toward disintegrating our finances when it created a special committee to appropriate money, leaving to the Ways and Means Committee merely the business of raising it. The only reason for this unfortunate division of responsibility was that Thaddeus Stevens, then chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, was not in good health and was not able to carry all the work of his committee. Many of the foremost statesmen of the time, including Mr. Stevens himself and James A. Garfield, warned Congress that this step would lead to chaos and extravagance. Though events abundantly justified this prediction, Congress, in 1885, took a step that was more deplorable still. It began to split up the appropriation committee into several parts. In doing this Congress not only disorganized national finance, but it laid the foundations of that great Pork Barrel system which has gained such enormous proportions.

President Wilson suggests, as a first step in integrating federal expenditures, that we go back to the status of 1885; that is, that we have one appropriating committee. The recommendation is a wise one, and represents perhaps all that we can do as a first step in the direction of a federal budget. When this change is established, perhaps we can turn the clock back to 1865 and place in the same hands the raising and spending of money. So gradually we may approach the budget system.

Have We the Ships to Carry and Feed Our Army?

OUR papers have had much to say about the end of the submarine menace. For the winter the menace may be over, if by menace we mean the sinking of not more than an average of fifteen or sixteen ships a week. But the results of last summer's submarine offensive are not over. The results are more apparent than ever. There is a lack of ships to carry steel and food to our Allies, and a lack of ships to carry our soldiers abroad and feed men and guns after they are over there.

Another year in which the submarines sunk so many ships more than were built would come very near to keeping our armies out of the war. There are two ways of meeting next spring's submarine drive. One is to sink the submarines or drive them home. The other is to build ships faster than they can be sunk. The British, French, and American navies have lessened the submarines' activity, but it is hardly fair to say that a submarine flotilla is defeated which is still sinking fifteen or sixteen ships a week in the winter time.

But even if our navies cannot reduce this loss, we have a building programme that will more than offset it during 1918, although we are still far from having made good the losses of 1917. We have the yards and the material to meet our building programme. But at present we have not the labor. The labor is in the country but not in the shipyards. If enough labor does not come voluntarily or we do not conscript it quickly, our shipping programme will not be made good. In whatever it fails, by that much we shall lack ships to transport our armies and keep them abroad. And by that much will the war be lengthened.

As the German Sees the War

AS THE German reads his daily paper, how does the war look to him? He looks at the Russian front. His biggest enemy has collapsed, and in the collapse has given weight to the idea taught for years by the German Government, the idea that there is neither consistency nor strength in a Democracy. The German looks at the Italian situation. The Italians rallied and have robbed the Fatherland of another glorious campaign like those in Rumania and Serbia, but there again the behavior of parts of the Italian Army strengthen the belief that a democratic country is not a firm foundation for an army. On the western front, the French line is still full of fight, but he knows that the French have used up their last reserves and are in desperate straits. He has read as much of this in his papers as we have read about the German lack of food. The British, he knows, are better off, but with

the armies from the eastern front the British pressure can be stopped. He had hoped that England would be starved out by the *U*-boats, but with Russia no longer to account for, Germany will have the men to do on land what she had hoped to do by a cheaper method at sea. Altogether, it looks to him as if Germany was still only a little way from forcing a peace on the Allies which would leave her with most of her gains. This does not take into account the influence of our troops on the war. The German Government has taken pains to explain to its subjects our unprepared condition and to deduce from it that we cannot have a force in France that could materially change the aspect of the war before the spring or summer of 1919. So the average German does not worry much about us but pins his faith on the ability to force a peace this coming year. It looks more hopeful than at any time since the Rumanian campaign more than a year ago. With Russia out of the war, Rumania isolated, Italy on the defensive, France exhausted if defiant, there cannot help seeming to the German a good hope of a German peace, and Lord Lansdowne's proposals were greeted as the first sign of the long-expected disintegration in England which the German expects from every democratic country.

Despite the Allied successes on the western front and in Turkey, the events of the last six months have given the Germans new courage founded on a renewed hope that they can force a German peace on the world.

This hope will die only in military defeat.

To the Captains of Germany's Commerce

BESIDES the two most important paragraphs in the President's address to Congress, that reaffirming our intention to fight until Germany is defeated, and the recommendation of war with Austria, there is another paragraph which will receive the earnest consideration of those who control the German State. It reads:

> The worst that can happen to the detriment of the German people is this, that if they should still, after the war is over, continue to be obliged to live under ambitious and intriguing masters interested to disturb the peace of the world, men or classes of men whom the other peoples of the world could not trust, it might be impossible to admit them to the partnership of nations which must henceforth guarantee the world's peace. That partnership must be a partnership of peoples, not a mere partnership of governments.
>
> It might be impossible, also, in such untoward circumstances, to admit Germany to the free economic intercourse which must inevitably spring out of the other partnerships of a real peace. But there would be no aggression in that; and such a situation, inevitable because of distrust, would in the very nature of things sooner or later cure itself, by processes which would assuredly set in.

In other words, if, as the Germans hope, they could finish the war without being defeated, the President promises them that neither we, nor any one else that agrees with us, will deal with them. If this were rigidly enforced by Great Britain and the United States, the coaling stations around the world would be closed to Germany's ships, her overseas trade could not start again, and her land-borne trade would be confined largely to her impoverished allies. This is a result which commercial Germany has shown plainly that it dreads above almost everything else. And the President's words are given an acerbity they might not otherwise have by the establishment of a blacklist by our Government of 1,600 firms in South America that trade with the enemy. German captains of industry know we can carry out this threat in the President's message.

It is difficult to reach or convince the German people, for the German Government acts as a non-conductor between them and the rest of the world. But the captains of industry in Germany will read the President's speech and will understand its significance.

They no longer hope for a German victory. They hope for a statement in war followed by a negotiated peace which will leave them free to build up their business. They are now confronted with the fact that even if their hope of a negotiated peace were realized their opportunity to renew business would not come with it.

If Germany wishes to do business with the rest of the world it must change its government, for no one can trust the present one or any of its kind.

Warfare by Whispers and Innuendo

IT IS clear," says General Frederick B. Maurice, reporting on recent events in Italy, "that a great part of the disaster, for it can be called nothing else, was due to the insidious propaganda which has gone further than Cadorna suspects." German agents, sometimes lay, sometimes clerical,

have entered villages, especially in northern Italy, and filled the minds of civilians and soldiers alike with suspicions, innuendoes, and sometimes open demonstrations—the purpose of all being to weaken Italian enthusiasm for the war and to inspire distrust in the Italian Government. Thousands of Italian soldiers had their pockets stuffed with newspapers which preached that kind of Socialism which has proved most useful to the German autocracy. A similar propaganda largely explains the Russian collapse, and there are not lacking signs that German emissaries have used identical methods in attempts to weaken the morale of France.

This system of waging warfare has the utmost interest for the United States, because this country presents unusual opportunities for such activities. It is true that the intelligence of our established population presents a higher level than that of any European country and so furnishes a safeguard against such an infiltration of sedition. On the other hand Germany possesses here what she has not possessed, to anything like the same degree, in France, England, Italy, or even Russia—that is, a population of Germans and Austrians, nominally citizens of this country, but ready with little stimulation to serve the Imperial will. That millions representing the Germanic stock are loyal Americans is true enough; yet the tone of the German-American press clearly proves that a vast number have only a lip allegiance to American institutions. It is also a deplorable fact that a large number of the Russian immigrants who have received so hospitable a welcome here in the last twenty-five years have developed little love for their new country. It was this class which made so successful Morris Hillquit's recent campaign for the mayoralty of New York. It is this same element which is making so much trouble in the New York public schools. In the last recent political campaign New York witnessed scenes which have no parallel in its history: "striking" school children, small riots of disaffected parents whose hostility to established institutions found expression in smashing the windows of school houses. But our American Bolsheviki are not confined to the foreign class. A considerable element of perverted idealists whose ancestry goes back to the *Mayflower* is ably coöperating in making an atmosphere of unrest. Many of these forces are consciously working in the interest of German propaganda; many are unconsciously doing so, in both cases, however, the net result is to start in motion here the same forces that have caused the military collapse of Russia and undermined—happily only for the moment—the stamina of the Italian army.

Fortunately, we have a public which has been solidly trained in American history and tradition and which forms a tremendous bulwark against such attacks. It is a time now for every American to be on his guard. He should constantly keep in mind that Germany makes war not only with submarines and forty-two centimetre shells, but with rumors and whispers. In promoting dissatisfaction and unrest, this propaganda descends to apparently trifling and ridiculous details. The Food Administration has found it necessary to warn the public that the stories of a lack of salt, matches, and laundry blue are "the result of the latest efforts of pro-German propagandists." Mr. Tumulty has felt called upon to deny in a formal newspaper statement that he has been shot as a German spy! The air is full of stories that American transports have been sunk, that the large part of the British and American fleets have been destroyed in a great naval battle. That story of the Red Cross sweater knitted by a mother for her son, and afterward found exposed for sale in a department store, has appeared in every town from the Atlantic to the Pacific—in each case with additional circumstances appropriate to the locality. All these things are simply the inventions of German agents—they form the minor details of a German propaganda that, in larger matters, is every day growing more active. Whenever any one hears such unofficial stories, he should not hesitate to place the authorship. All these things are the product of that perverted and frequently grotesque form of mental activity known as German efficiency.

American Women in War Industries

WHO are to take the place of the million and more men who have already been called from the industrial ranks into our military and naval forces? Any light we can gain upon this subject is important, and the recent investigation made by the Merchants' Association of New York concerning the use of women has particular

value. The scarcity of labor is seriously affecting American industry, and it seems not unlikely that here, as in France and England, women must replace men in many lines of work. Already women have been used in this country in many occupations usually regarded as the exclusive province of men, and the report of the Merchants' Association summarizes the experience of manufacturers who have so employed them.

It is found that women are as efficient as or more so than men in many kinds of labor. They are peculiarly capable at anything which requires dexterity of hand, mind, or eye. On the other hand, they are less efficient on work which calls for mechanical ability, control over other people, particularly men, or—as one would suspect—physical endurance. Yet many women do light machine work very well and they make excellent bookkeepers, timekeepers, and assemblers. The always puzzling question of women's wages and the question of equal pay for equal work will naturally cause much trouble, in case this source of supply is pressed into our factories. The substitution of woman labor for men will necessitate radical changes in organization, such as the appointment of female superintendents, provision for rest periods and lunch rooms, and certain innovations to comply with many state laws concerning factory conditions. Many changes in equipment must be made, such as conveyors for heavy parts, protection from accidents due to women's style of dress, proper rest rooms, and separate entrances. But employers must not assume that there is a great surplus of women workers, especially for factory work; the fact that many will probably be taken from other factories will seriously disarrange the employment situation in other industries. High wages, however, will probably attract many women to war work as it is attracting men.

Non-Sectarianism in Massachusetts

MASSACHUSETTS has recently taken an advanced ground on the use of public money for religious purposes which all parts of the country might well imitate. The practice, which has gradually developed in most states, of making grants to charitable and other institutions which are under the exclusive control of religious bodies, certainly violates the fundamental American principle of the separation of Church and State. Since such grants are made to all denominations, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish, any attempt at ending the abuse can hardly be regarded as an attack on any particular faith. Yet such attempts always inspire the bitterest hostility. Perhaps the one single act of Mayor Mitchel in New York that aroused the strongest feeling was his insistence on the right to investigate charitable institutions that received public money and his refusal to make grants to institutions that did not maintain the proper standards. In the convention which is now revising the constitution of Massachusetts this "anti-aid" amendment, has caused more trouble than any other question. It seems impossible to touch, even remotely, upon any matter involving religion without immediately starting a flow of intemperate language and arousing most un-Christianlike recrimination. Yet the discussion in Massachusetts for the most part reached a high plane. There is a popular impression that Roman Catholics are most active in fighting proposals to eliminate sectarianism from education and charity. Yet 75 per cent. of the Catholic members of this convention voted for the "anti-aid" amendment. They were the most vigorous of all in supporting it, both in the convention and in the public discussion that followed. It was due largely to their activities that the amendment passed the convention by the huge majority of 275 to 25.

The section in question provides that "no public funds shall be appropriated for privately controlled institutions, colleges, or hospitals." It was submitted separately to the voters at the recent elections. High dignitaries in both the Protestant and Catholic churches opposed it vehemently and called upon their followers to defeat it, but the voters swept aside these ecclesiastical appeals like so much chaff and adopted the amendment by an overwhelming vote. Even the city of Boston, a stronghold of Catholicism, gave this new regulation a great majority. This genuinely American principle, therefore, is now permanently fixed in the constitution of this great commonwealth. It is a wholesome thing not only for the State but for the Church. Religion flourishes in the United States and accomplishes its great purposes mainly owing to the fact that it is separated from the State. Any attempt to bring State and Church together

will merely reproduce all the religious and clerical troubles that have in the past distracted most European countries.

What the Universities are Losing and Gaining by the War

THOUGH American colleges and universities are losing in certain definite ways as a result of the war, they are gaining in others. The losses are all material, whereas the benefits may be regarded as spiritual. Plenty of figures are now available that show the great falling off in attendance. There are now about 20 per cent. fewer young men attending our higher institutions than last year. At first it might seem that hard times, the increasing cost of living, and great war taxes had something to do with this falling off, but the fact that attendance shows a material increase at the women's colleges rather disposes of this explanation. No, the fact remains that at least one college man in every four is rendering some military service. Yale's service flag contains almost 1,400 stars —all representing members of the student body or the faculty who are enrolled in the war, while 235 members of the Harvard faculty alone have dropped their professorial activities for the camp. The financial losses many institutions are suffering will last for a considerable period, since a small freshman class this year means a small sophomore class next and so on.

Yet the universities are not complaining. In fact, most have found that the war is conferring inestimable benefits of another kind. The present generation of students presents an encouraging contrast with those who have gone before, and college atmosphere has taken on a new seriousness and a real devotion to work. Thus the gain from the present tragedy is chiefly in matters that concern discipline. Problems which have vexed the trustees for years, and which have seemed unsolvable in times of easy-going peace, have practically vanished under the sobering influence of war. There has been a great decrease in drinking, in generally riotous behavior, and an increasing interest in the business immediately at hand—that of honest preparation for life in the new world which is forming. The fact that the Government is depending so extensively upon our educational plant for indispensable war work has given the colleges a new self-respect, and a new knowledge of their value. This in itself may have something to do in creating this new type of college man.

Canada Also Building Ships

DESPITE the Province of Quebec, Canada is still loyally doing her part in the war. The Victory Loan of $350,000,000 has had almost as great a success as have the Liberty Loans in this country. Canada is also increasing her shipbuilding facilities, and in such cities as Vancouver, Toronto, Kingston, Montreal, and Halifax, the shipyards are as busy as they are in Maine or on our own Pacific Coast. Old yards, which have been practically abandoned for years, have been reopened, modernized, and manufacturers are giving up their regular business to engage in this new enterprise. At present Canada has under construction seventy-four steel vessels and a large number of wooden ships.

Though the new impetus in shipbuilding has not gained the same force in Canada as in this country, there seems every likelihood that the Dominion will make substantial contributions to that immense Anglo-American fleet which will render futile the efforts of the German submarines. Like the United States, Canada is also looking to the future, and is laying the foundation of a maritime industry that is expected to last long after the war.

Moral Conditions Around Training Camps

A TYPE of sensational report to which the American people might as well accustom themselves is the tendency to spread alarmist rumors concerning moral conditions surrounding training camps. Inasmuch as the wildest stories are already circulated concerning the extent to which young women are being preyed upon by the soldiers who are commonly regarded as their protectors and defenders, the recent report of the Children's Bureau has a particular value. Naturally there is no subject which has a greater interest for the Bureau which is so capably presided over by Miss Julia C. Lathrop, and, when so many hysterical women are circulating reports of this kind, it is refreshing to have Miss Lathrop's sane analysis of the situation.

The same stories were widely published concerning the training camps in England. Yet

the investigation conducted by the Children's Bureau discloses that there were actually fewer illegitimate births in England and Wales in 1916 than in 1913. There was only an infinitesimal increase in the rate—it was 4.3 in 1913 and only 4.8 in 1916.

"Absolutely no foundation," says Miss Lathrop, "could be found in any one of the three towns for the statements made about the girls there." "It was a case of rumors added to rumors equalling facts," was the report made by one investigator who was assigned to run down these reports. No one is so absurd as to insist that the assembling of thousands of young men in cantonments does not present a problem of this sort. But the intelligent thing to do is to take safeguards, not to spread wild statements. The War Department is keenly alive to the situation and there is every likelihood that it will succeed, at least as well as England has, in dealing with it.

Patriotic New York Hotels

PROBABLY the last place in which one would look for a successful campaign of food economy is the hotel district of New York City. Yet these headquarters of extravagance, according to the Food Administration, are furnishing an example to all the homes and restaurants in the country. Should all American hotels and restaurants follow the example of New York's gilded palaces, they could furnish several shiploads of wheat and meat a week to our own armies and our Allies.

Many a weary frequenter at hotels has wondered precisely what these wheatless and meatless days have been accomplishing. The experience of the great New York establishments furnishes the answer. They are saving a thousand tons of wheat and a thousand tons of meat every seven days. Just take the latter item, which amounts to 2,000,000 pounds. At the rate of a pound of meat a day per soldier, the small privations to which the gay New York public subjects itself are furnishing the meat ration for two days per week of an army of one million soldiers—the number we hope to have in France next summer. At the same time these same reckless and expensive eaters are saving two million pounds of wheat a week. At the time these statistics were compiled, reports from only the largest New York hotels had been received; enough information had been obtained, however, to show the great success of wheatless and meatless days, as well as of the generally careful policy that obtains conserving of foods.

New Way to Finance Business

FOR the manufacturer, the merchant, and every other business man in the United States who buys or sells goods, there is now open a way to increase the efficiency of his business. It is provided in the Federal Reserve Act as now amended. In the past, when the merchant bought from the manufacturer, he either paid cash, taking the discount offered, or took advantage of the time allowed in which to make payment. That was the "open account" method, and the seller had to make allowance in his price for some accounts that were paid only after long delay.

Under the Federal Reserve Law there is provided a new way for doing business by which the financing of such transactions can be placed on the banks, whose function it is to finance business. When goods are received, if the purchaser does not wish to pay cash, he simply signs a time draft sent by the seller. This is in effect a note falling due on a certain date; it is furthermore an acknowledgment of receipt of the goods and of the validity of the debt. It puts the transaction on a business basis, and is known as an "acceptance." The seller, by endorsing this acceptance, can discount it at the banks at a lower rate of discount than any other commercial paper. This method of financing business has been in use in Europe for many years. It has been growing rapidly here since the machinery for it was established.

"Germany's Plots Exposed"

THE editors regret that it has been impossible to publish Mr. Rathom's first article in the January number of the WORLD'S WORK, as they had expected to do.

Ordinarily the change in a schedule of an article from one month to another would call for no editorial explanation, but Mr. Rathom's article having been announced extensively, the editors wish to apologize to the readers of the WORLD'S WORK for their inability to meet the schedule which they had set for themselves and had announced to the public.

MR. WALDO NEWCOMER ON INVESTMENT REQUIREMENTS

Every month the WORLD'S WORK *prints in this section of the magazine an article on investment, and the lessons to be learned therefrom.*

"IT IS a simple matter to lay down rules for investment, but an exceedingly difficult matter to follow them sensibly and rationally." This is the view of Mr. Waldo Newcomer, president of the National Exchange Bank of Baltimore, and vice-president of the Atlantic Coast Line Company, which company owns a large amount of the stock of the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad, which in turn owns 51 per cent. of the capital stock of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad.

"In making investments," Mr. Newcomer said, "the chief things to be considered are safety of principal, rate of investment return, regularity of interest payment, and marketability. This order of their enumeration is entirely without reference to order of importance, for the relative importance of these considerations varies according to circumstances. If a person is dependent on a small salary and is investing out of small savings, safety of principal must outweigh everything else. If such a person is not really dependent on the income from the securities, but is regarding it purely as a savings fund, he can disregard the regularity of interest, and endeavor to secure a slightly greater return in the long run. He is also not particularly concerned with marketability.

"If the purchaser is entirely dependent on an income from an investment, as in the case of a widow of small means investing the proceeds of her late husband's life insurance, it becomes of great importance that the interest should come in regularly, and it may be that in order to receive an adequate return she will have to take some slight risk of the principal being always safe in the full amount. A man of wealth can frequently take a 'flyer' for a moderate amount, feeling that the high interest return justifies a certain speculative chance in the principal where he would not be seriously hurt if he should lose it. The widow should not take such a chance.

"In investing for a banking institution, or when investing funds belonging to an individual who is likely to have sudden demands upon him for considerable amounts of money, it is frequently necessary to place the question of marketability somewhat higher in the list than the other considerations. Thus it is seen that the weight which should be given to the different points varies with the circumstances surrounding the investment. The individual should be sure he understands his own requirements before he invests.

"Now, as I remarked at the outset, it is difficult to follow the principles laid down. Assume for a moment that one has determined that he is going to require, first, absolute safety of principal; second, regularity of interest return; third, marketability, and pay very little attention to the amount of interest return. It now becomes the duty of the investor to satisfy himself that the principal is absolutely safe. How is he to do that? Outside of such extremely standard things as government bonds and municipals of the highest class, is there any way on earth that a man can be sure the principal is safe over a long period of years?

"A little consideration along this line will surely show that none of the principles outlined above can be absolutely and positively settled by any one short of an expert, and frequently not by him. Under the best circumstances, the real worth of an investment, I believe, is determined to a great extent by two elements—hard common sense on the part of the investor, a quality which is possessed by comparatively few; and secondly, by luck, which fails to strike a great many in an acceptable manner."

GEN. SIR JULIAN BYNG

ON THIS side of the Atlantic the name of General Byng first reached the public in the afternoon of November 21, 1917, when the papers announced he was in command of the Third British Army, which in the Battle of the Tanks was driving a hole in the German line in front of Cambrai. Whether or not he devised the tank-led attack without artillery, at any rate he carried it out to a brilliant success, and the people here and in every Allied country were immediately interested in a general of such a vigorous name and actions to match.

In the British Army he was pretty well known before this exploit. Like most of the other British Generals he was an officer of long standing in the old British Army. He had been in the army thirty years when he landed in Belgium in October, 1914, as commander of the Third Cavalry Division. Along with the Seventh Cavalry Division under General Rawlinson he covered the Belgian retreat from Antwerp to Ypres.

Byng's Third Division was part of Allenby's cavalry that held the southern half of the salient during the First Battle of Ypres. In May of 1915 General Byng succeeded General Allenby (now in Palestine) in command of the Cavalry Corps and in this position fought through the second battle of Ypres. In the summer of 1915 he was given the Ninth Corps at the Dardanelles, where he stayed until the expedition was withdrawn. In February, 1916 he came back to France and a few weeks before the battle of the Somme opened he was given command of the Canadian Corps, which then formed part of Sir Hubert Gough's Fifth Army, and which figured continuously in the desperate fighting on Thiepval Ridge. In the fall of 1916 General Byng and the Canadians were moved north to the neighborhood of Vimy Ridge as part of the Third Army under General Horne. It was Byng's Canadian Corps that took Vimy.

South of the Third Army was the First Army under General Byng's old commander of the days of the First Battle of Ypres. In June General Allenby left to join General Maude's forces in Mesopotamia, and as had happened once before General Byng succeeded him. In November, with his tanks clearing the way, he loosed his now famous attack toward Cambrai.

GEN. SIR HENRY HORNE

WHILE the battle of the Somme was still in progress Sir Henry Horne, then commander of the Fifteenth Corps of the British Army, was given command of the First Army. His headquarters were in an unpretentious house in a French village a very little way from the front lines opposite Lens and opposite Vimy Ridge. The Canadians moved up to this general area from the Somme about the same. time. Six months later the Canadians under General Horne's direction went over Vimy Ridge and into the suburb of Lens. The Canadians—one of their corps commanders being the recently become famous General Byng—were a part of General Horne's first army which was the left of the British attack in what was known as the Battle of Arras.

The commander of the First British Army is a Scotchman from Caithness, fifty-seven years old, the son of a soldier schooled for a soldier's career, and he has been in active service, including the South African War, for twenty-eight of his fifty-seven years. He landed in France in August, 1914, with the first British Expeditionary Force as brigadier-general in command of artillery of the First Corps under Sir Douglas Haig. He like the rest retreated from Mons to the Marne, then advanced to the Aisne, and fought there until transferred to Flanders, where he took part in the desperate first battle of Ypres. Next spring he commanded the Second Division in the first British offensive at Neuve Chapelle.

From November, 1915, to April, 1916, General Horne was away from the western front, part of the time with Lord Kitchener on his trip to Gallipoli, and later in command of the Fifteenth Corps in Egypt which he brought back to France to enter the Battle of the Somme. There his corps, serving as part of the Fourth Army under Sir Henry Rawlinson, captured Fricourt, Mametz, helped in taking Contalmaison and Bazentin le Petit, and on September 15th triumphantly entered Flers.

In command of the artillery of a corps on the retreat from Mons, at the Marne and the Aisne, in command of a Division at Neuve Chapelle and Loos, a corps commander at the Somme, and commander of an army at Vimy Ridge and Arras is the best criterion of the rather silent Scotch artillery general who now commands the British First Army.

From a drawing by Francis Dodd

GENERAL BYNG

The Commander of the Third British Army, which made the recent spectacular tank-led drive toward Cambrai. A cavalryman whose record in this war includes the retreat from Antwerp, the first battle of Ypres, the second battle of Ypres, Gallipoli, the Somme, Vimy Ridge, and Cambrai

From a drawing by Francis Dodd

GENERAL HORNE

The Commander of the First British Army, the conqueror of Vimy Ridge. An artilleryman whose record in this war includes the retreat from Mons to the Marne, the Aisne, the first battle of Ypres, Neuve Chapelle, Loos, the Somme, and the Battle of Arras, including Vimy Ridge

ALLIED PROSPECTS IN 1918

What Has Already Been Acomplished, and the Possibilities of the Coming Year—Assets and Liabilities of the Allies

BY

MAJOR IAN HAY BEITH, M. C.

(Author of "The First Hundred Thousand," "All In It—K-I Carries On")

THE Allied plans of 1917 were profoundly modified by the Russian revolution. In the spring of 1917, for the first time in the history of the war, the armies of France, Great Britain, Russia, and Italy found themselves in a position to undertake the offensive upon a grand, prolonged, and concerted scale. There was every reason to believe that it would be possible to squeeze the Central Powers into a state of repentance between the jaws of a mighty vise operating simultaneously from East and West. Then came the Russian breakdown, and one jaw of the vise went out of commission. The squeezing process so elaborately planned had to be discarded, and hammering tactics substituted.

Considering the fact that they were compelled to change their plan of attack at the very last moment, the Allies have hammered to some purpose. Within the past year the French have regained practically all the ground lost in the battle of Verdun—ground which cost the Crown Prince half a million men—and have driven the enemy from the series of ridges commanding the valley of the Aisne, capturing 94,000 prisoners and 736 pieces of artillery. Italy, before the present disaster fell upon her, had captured 40,000 prisoners. Even Russia, in all the tumult and distraction of her own revolution, has captured 57,000. The National Army of Great Britain, now an experienced and enormously expanded force, has gained complete control of the situation in Flanders. Two years ago, that army was holding on, grimly and desperately, to a line of trenches dominated at every turn by hills and high ground where the enemy, with great superiority in artillery, was apparently established for all time. Those hills were not high, but they were higher than anything else in the neighborhood, which rendered them Alps from a tactical point of view. This high ground is now entirely in British hands. Vimy Ridge, Messines Ridge, Wytschaete Ridge, and finally Paschendaele Ridge (which latter can serve as a striking point either for Lille or Ostend), are now entirely in British hands. The salient of Ypres has disappeared, and the line has gone forward many miles. Something like 110,000 German prisoners are now in British hands, and in one month alone, April, 1917, 437 pieces of German artillery were captured by the British Army.

On our Asiatic fronts, the late General Maude, having brilliantly retrieved that disastrous campaign of 1916 which culminated in the capitulation of Kut, captured Bagdad, and pressed on for more than 100 miles. On the left a parallel column, thrust north from Egypt toward Palestine, fed by a new double-track railroad across the desert (which has enabled it to cut down the time record of the last expeditionary force to pass this way—the Twelve Tribes of Israel—from forty years to eighteen months) is advancing steadily up the Coast supported by warships, and is, at the time of writing, already within striking distance of Jerusalem.

What are our prospects for 1918? What are our assets and liabilities? As these lines are written, the Italian army, its front pierced by a sudden and skilful blow, is in full retreat to a position unknown, and Venice is being evacuated by its civil population. Under the circumstances, prophecy would be dangerous, and comment, by the time of publication, superfluous. But, whatever the next few months may hold in store for the unhappy civilians of Northern Italy, the military situation presents an interesting field for speculation. In the first place, Italy is not isolated, like Rumania or Serbia. She is in direct geographical touch with France; and the forces of the British, French, and American armies are available for her assistance.

Secondly, the Central Powers are already

short of men. We know that Germany is calling up her 1920 military class, which means that she is employing boys of seventeen in the army. In addition, our enemies have just concluded a most disastrous summer campaign upon every front except Russia. They have been pushed back with enormous losses in Belgium, France, Palestine, and Mesopotamia. Why should Germany, instead of making a stupendous effort to arrest the tide of disaster on the western front—the front where the final issue of the war must ultimately be decided—turn her back upon her liabilities and employ troops which can be ill spared elsewhere in a spectacular drive upon Italy? The answer is obvious. Germany is suffering from the effect of "doping." For three years she has been spurring herself to further effort by the regular and systematic celebration of victories, real or imaginary. Of late the supply of real victories has not been equal to the demand. Even the docile Teuton is growing a little skeptical of celebrating with flags and music the "victorious retirements" of Von Hindenburg. Consequently, something had to be done to revive the flagging spirit in Berlin, and to prevent an entire breakdown in Vienna. Hence this political drive into Italy. What the outcome will be cannot be foreseen to-day, but this much may be safely said. War to-day is a competition in destruction. To gain ground is nothing; to exterminate your enemy is everything. It is a brutal but irresistible truth that we cannot win this war until we have killed enough Germans to make it impossible for Germany to go on any longer. Therefore, if the Great General Staff at Berlin chooses to detach troops from the comparative quiet of the eastern front, and send them to a front where the facilities for their destruction are so infinitely superior, the Allies, now being numerically superior both in men and guns, ought not to complain.

Still, at the present moment, the Russian and Italian situation cannot be regarded as anything but detrimental to our prospects of immediate success. So let us take the extreme step of leaving Russia and Italy out of our calculations for the time being. What other causes of anxiety confront us? There is the German submarine, and just as the submarine brings us to the end of our liabilities, so it also brings us to the first and greatest of our assets, the Allied command of the sea. This asset is none the less great because it is less tangible, less spectacular, than others. To-day German shipping trade is dead—has been dead for three years. Her commerce is swept from the face of the sea, and her High Seas Fleet has not ventured out of harbor since August, 1916. This looks bad for a country whose future, to quote the Kaiser, "lies upon the ocean." So long as our naval stranglehold is maintained upon her throat, Germany can never win a world war, and if the hold continues long enough and tight enough, she is bound to lose it.

WHAT OUR NAVIES ARE DOING

The progress of our armies on land is so minutely reported from day to day that we feel tolerably certain, when no report is issued, that nothing has happened. This circumstance reacts upon our navies, which seldom issue a report at all. Consequently, there has arisen a certain type of stay-at-home strategist who is wont to inquire, with what the police call "intent," what the Navy is doing? He is full of helpful suggestions. He considers, for instance, that it would be a good plan for British battleships to betake themselves to the Belgian coast and there, silhouetted on the skyline, bombard shore batteries which they cannot see but which can see them all too plainly. Even if the position of these shore batteries were known, the odds would still be about thirteen to one against the battleship; but the amateur expert does not concern himself with technical evasions of this kind. He simply throws the plan into shape, and leaves the working out of the details to the people who are paid for it.

However, what is the British Navy doing at the present time? In the first place we must bear in mind that Great Britain is an island, with a seaboard out of all proportion to its area; and the foremost duty of the Navy is to protect that island from invasion. The Navy has attended to the matter; it has bottled up the German Navy in the Kiel Canal, and now maintains a ceaseless watch upon the German ports. Such a watch bears little resemblance to the old-fashioned blockade of Nelson's time, when warships lay hove-to in the offing, sometimes for months, in plain view of the enemy's harbor. To-day such a method of patrolling would render a cruiser or battleship an easy mark for a torpedo launched by a submarine. (This, by the way, is the proper and legitimate use of the submarine.) Con-

sequently it is an axiom in naval warfare to-day that you must never stand still—not even "loaf around." There must be constant movement, keen observation, and high pressure all the time. This exacting duty is allotted mainly to speedy destroyers and other specially adapted patrol vessels. In one month of the past year no less than *seven million* miles of the ocean were patrolled in home waters alone!

Again, defensive areas have to be mapped out, and mine-fields laid therein; through which Allied and neutral shipping must be carefully piloted. Enemy mines, on the other hand, must be swept up. This task is performed in the main by converted fishing trawlers, working in pairs with the sweeping apparatus suspended between them. These little ships are manned by their original crews—drawn from that hardy race which for centuries has extracted a living for itself from the depths of the sea, and now, in the same waters, labors night and day to remove death from the path of others. More than three thousand are employed to-day. The work is hard, and must go on without ceasing, for the German submarines "lay eggs" all the time—in all weathers. It is excessively dangerous, for at any moment, in the course of duty, you may strike a floating mine. The skipper of one of these trawlers once showed me a photograph of a great column of water thrown up by a mine explosion. "I've been on the top of two of those," he remarked.

How necessary and effective this work is may be gauged from the fact that during the last three years between seven and eight hundred mines have been swept up in the Straits of Dover alone. In other words, that number of potential shipping disasters have been averted by one patrol.

BEATING THE SUBMARINE

The next duty of the Navy is to convey and convoy troops, not merely from England, but from Canada, Australia, India, and Africa to our various battlefronts in Flanders, Saloniki, Palestine, Mesopotamia and East Africa; and further, to protect commerce on the high seas. Ninety per cent. of the Atlantic trade is now convoyed through the danger zone. The results speak for themselves. During one week in November, German submarines succeeded in sinking only one British ship of more than 1,600 tons. During one week in April they sank forty. In addition, all sorts of protective devices are employed against the submarine. In narrow waters, like those of the English Channel, it is possible, by the employment of mechanical ingenuity below the waves—steel barriers and the like—and rigorous patrolling both on the surface and in the air, to hold the depredatory Hun in beneficent restraint. About one hundred ships, plying their ordinary trade, pass safely through the Straits of Dover every day. As for troop ships crossing to France, since the outbreak of the war, more than *three million* troops have been carried to France across these same Straits, and not a single life has been lost.

Further west, where the Channel widens out, the task is more difficult; but even here practically the only sinkings have been those of hospital ships—marked as such in plain figures and unprotected. One of the saddest sights of the war to-day is the spectacle of British wounded being carried on to the hospital ships for transportation to England, wearing life-belts over their splints and bandages.

The long arm of the Navy does more than protect the fighting troops, however. If you visit France or Belgium to-day—the great bases, roads, railroads, behind the line—you will behold huge gangs of laborers from all over the world—a cheerful, chattering polyglot crowd, living in their own encampments, provided with their own special food—engaged as dock-hands, road-menders, and the like. Who are these men? Where do they come from? They are Chinamen, Kaffirs, Indians, Egyptians—men of every race and color, thousands of them, conveyed from every quarter of the globe in the very teeth of that famous submarine blockade which was going to render the ocean a solitude and bring the Allies to their knees.

This naturally brings us up against the question: "How do we stand to-day with regard to the submarine menace?" Let it be said at once that so far no sovereign remedy, no patent panacea, has yet been devised for dealing with the submarine. But sometimes a number of little remedies are as good as one big remedy. Certainly they keep the enemy guessing all the time. But first of all, what are our chief difficulties in the matter? A modern submarine is an excellent sea-boat, both on and below the surface, and under the latest methods of control should rarely meet with an

ordinary sea mishap. Further, with the increased size of the boats and the increased comfort involved, the morale of the crew is no longer exposed to any great strain. So there is no longer anything specially heroic or romantic in the business. Moreover, a submarine is difficult to locate, especially in deep water. She can discharge a torpedo without coming to the surface. And she cannot be attacked unless she attacks first—for the simple reason that otherwise you would not know she was there. In other words, the initiative is always in the hands of the submarine commander. He need never betray his presence unless he wishes. Again, if you should catch him on the surface—taking in air, or charging his batteries—he can dive out of sight in less than a minute.

Still, despite all these facts in her favor, the submarine has not quite lived up to the pious aspirations of Grand Admiral Tirpitz. Allied losses in merchant shipping have been kept down, and are decreasing. There are many secret methods of putting the submarine out of business, which at present must remain secret. Some of them are most interesting—fascinating, in fact; and the mortality which they have caused among the U-boats has been very heavy. How heavy, only Potsdam knows! (One recollects the rather naïve reply made not long ago by the German Chancellor in the Reichstag, when questioned as to the latest submarine successes. He said it was impossible to give a full list at present, because all the U-boats had not yet returned to report!) But apart from these attractive secrets, a great deal can be done, and is being done, by regularly patrolling, which forces the enemy to remain under water or emerge at his peril; secondly, by sending all merchant ships by unusual and constantly varied routes, and lastly, as already mentioned, by a very complete system of convoying over dangerous areas. This convoying work calls for a very large number of war vessels. Until recently, the entire burden, on the Atlantic routes at any rate, has fallen on the British Navy, but recently America has reached a long arm across the ocean and deposited some fresh pieces on the board; and now, when an American crosses to Europe, he will as likely as not find himself escorted safe into an English harbor by a number of long gray rakish vessels flying a flag pleasantly familiar.

Germany, we know, is fighting for the Freedom of the Seas. She herself has told us so: that is how we know. Here is an illuminating sidelight on that claim: Into one single port on the English coast there have been carried, during the last three years, two thousand people from neutral ships which have been destroyed by German mines or torpedoes. These people—men, women, and children—are survivors. Others, hundreds of others, were not so fortunate. On the other hand, so far as we know, not one single neutral life, or rather death, can be laid to the charge of the British Navy.

But—how does convoying make merchant ships safe from an underwater foe, who can attack without showing himself at all? The proof of the pudding is in the eating. A U-boat commander does not like attacking a convoy. After all, he is human—in one respect, at any rate. He will not attack a swift ship, which may cause him to waste a torpedo, or an armed ship which may retaliate upon him, or a convoy of escorted ships, where he may find himself in a moment ringed round with destroyers—destroyers dropping overboard unpleasant devices which explode under water in his immediate vicinity. He prefers to attack a slow, unarmed, unescorted ship, because, like many of his countrymen to-day, his nerve is not what it was. He is taking fewer chances; he is becoming less thorough; more perfunctory. Two and a half years ago he started in on the *Lusitania* with eleven hundred victims; now he prefers, unless the circumstances are exceptionally favorable, to confine himself to six-knot tramp freighters with a crew of twenty or thirty, and an obstinate or careless master.

In February, 1917, the enemy announced a programme of unrestricted submarine warfare. They proposed to sink a million tons of British shipping a month, and starve Great Britain into surrender by the end of April. Allowing a discount of 50 per cent. for moral effect—or "hot air"—they probably reckoned to sink half a million tons a month. In fact, they have always maintained that they have done so. Here are the real figures. During the last eight months our net losses—that is, deducting new tonnage—have averaged 250,000 tons a month, which means that at the end of nine months—not three—Germany finds herself with only one fourth of her boast fulfilled. Our worst month was April, when we lost 560,000 tons. After that, our

new methods of repression began to take effect; with the result that the average net loss for July and August fell to 175,000 tons a month, and is still falling. These losses are serious enough—including as they do the lives of more than six thousand non-combatants, men, women, and children, who have been done to death in this way—but they are at the same time encouraging figures, because they show that our losses are decreasing, and our shipbuilding steadily increasing. To this I may add that we had stored in Great Britain at the beginning of this winter eight and a half million quarters of wheat, as against six and a half at the same period of last year—an increase of nearly 30 per cent.

SIZE OF BRITISH NAVY DOUBLED

But this work of patrolling, mine-sweeping, and convoying, vital though it is, is a mere department of the Navy's work. First and foremost and all the time we have to maintain the Grand Fleet—that bulwark that stands between Great Britain and national extinction—at the highest pitch of efficiency, ready at any moment for a great sea battle—perhaps the greatest sea battle in history. A visit to the Grand Fleet of Great Britain to-day is a wonderful experience. It is the greatest collection of fighting ships ever brought together—battleships, capable of firing whole broadsides from 15-inch guns, battle cruisers, light cruisers, destroyers, submarines, scouting and patrol boats, ammunition ships, repair ships, floating bases or depot ships—an Armada stretching as far as the eye can see. By superhuman speeding up, the size of our Navy has been more than doubled since the War broke out, despite losses. The shipping yards work day and night. One single yard on the Clyde formerly employed four thousand hands; now it employs thirteen thousand, including three thousand women.

These great ships, which have sighted no foe for fifteen months, have the hardest task of all. The men who handle them have had to continue practising and developing naval strategy upon purely *theoretical* lines, all for want of an enemy to experiment upon, and pursue the same under what are practically peace conditions, because upon the face of the ocean to-day there is no war. They must think of everything, yet without an actual engagement they can test nothing.

It is not easy, under such circumstances, to remain cheerful and contented. Think what it must mean to a thousand healthy and exuberant children to be shut up for months at a time in a steel box of tricks, full of fascinating levers and switches—forbidden to pull a lever or turn a switch except in make-believe. Yet they are cheerful, amazingly cheerful, under continuous conditions, not of enforced idleness—because a Navy is never idle—but of artificial activity.

Then, lastly, a Navy in these days cannot confine its activities to the surface of the sea. It must dive beneath; it must fly above. We hear a great deal, and we talk a good deal, perhaps too much, about German ascendancy in this direction—the Zeppelin and the U-boat, for instance. But the Zeppelin and the U-boat owe their fame not so much to what they have done as to what they ought not to have done. Therefore, it must not be imagined because the Allies do not drop bombs upon peaceful towns and villages or torpedo defenseless merchantmen, that they do not possess submarines and airships too. The Allied navies have other resources, too, of which little or nothing is to be heard—so-called "mystery ships" which go out upon their business without advertisement, and return without ostentation—ships manned by crews whose outstanding characteristics are reckless daring and a strong sense of humor. That is a combination which has helped our soldiers and sailors out of many a tight place, both on land and sea, all through this weary war. Some day, some of the adventures of these unobtrusive paladins may be known to the world. When they are, they will give us a romance that we shall never forget.

OUR PROSPECTS ON LAND

That is a rough outline of what our navies are doing in our cause. Our navies and armies meet and interlock off the shell-torn coast of Belgium, where the long, battered trench line, winding all the way from the Swiss border, dips wearily down into the North Sea, barbed wire and all. From that point the land defense merges into a sea defense, stretching, in a continuous line through the northern mists across the ocean—guarding England, Scotland, Ireland, and subsequently America. And the line on land is as impenetrable as the line on the sea.

This is no place for indiscreet facts and

figures, but it is safe to say, quoting from Mr. Lloyd-George's recent statement, that the strength and composition of the British Army is as follows: Our total forces recruited in England, Scotland, and Ireland are five and one half million men, to which we must add a million from the Dominions. The armies of France appear to be as indomitable and as elastic as ever; and the steady influx of American troops into the country has relieved her heroic people of all further anxiety on the score of man-power. As for material resources, Great Britain and America can offer almost boundless assistance. Their countries are not invaded. Their industrial activity is unimpaired, and their wealth appears inexhaustible.

Eliminating for the time being the probability of an offensive from Russia or Italy, it is plain that the bulk of the fighting in 1918 must take the form of a series of hammer blows on the western front. That will be no fresh experience for the western front; but on this occasion it should be possible to introduce a spice of variety by hammering in several places at once. Ever since we settled down, more than three years ago, to continuous trench warfare, on a line 400 miles long, interest has always centred at some particular point of the line. Yesterday it was Verdun or the Somme; to-morrow, for all we know, it may be some entirely new and hitherto tranquil spot, with the American army making its *début*. But to-day, undoubtedly, and not for the first time, the storm centre is in Belgium. There the flower of the German Army and the flower of the British Army have been locked together in a furious struggle for more than four months. The reason is obvious. Germany holds a strip of the Belgian coast—from Nieuport, where the western front ends, to the Dutch border, twenty-five miles further north. The possession of that strip is of vital importance to Germany, for it affords her direct access to the North Sea. If she loses that strip, a vital blow will have been struck at her submarine activity.

THE DEATH GRAPPLE AT YPRES

And no one realizes the fact better than Germany. An illuminating light upon German nervousness in that quarter is shown by the fact that opposite Ypres, in October, the Germans had concentrated troops to a thickness of nearly 5,000 men per mile. Sir Douglas Haig has been striking steadily east ever since the end of May. It has been an uphill task, quite literally. The city of Ypres lies, as it were, in the centre of a great saucer. For three years German troops have been sitting on the rim of that saucer, extending more than half way round, looking down into the salient and bringing direct fire to bear. Now the British have surmounted the slippery slope of the saucer, pushed their enemies off the rim, and thrust them, one might say, right off the tea table as well; for the Paschendaele Ridge, the last piece of high ground remaining between the British advance and the plains of Eastern Belgium, is now in British hands.

THE "CREEPING BARRAGE"

In that low lying region it is quite impossible to entrench deeply. One comes to water in two feet; and therefore it is impossible for the enemy to obtain shelter from concentrated shell-fire by constructing deep dugouts twenty feet below the surface, as in the chalky district of the Somme. Increased responsibility has consequently fallen upon two arms—the artillery and the airplane. Intensive artillery fire and airplane supremacy must of necessity go together; because it is obviously useless to maintain an intensive artillery bombardment unless your airplanes are in a position to circle over the target and signal back results, and so correct the aim of the gunners. After a furious battle of many months, aërial supremacy is now in the hands of French, British, and American flying men, with the result that we are enabled to extract full benefit from our artillery superiority. This fact in its turn has revolutionized infantry tactics. Two years ago troops went to the attack covered as far as possible by rather haphazard overhead artillery fire. Too often, troops penetrated so far ahead that the artillery, uncertain of their whereabouts, ceased fire altogether; and the infantry, as happened at the battle of Loos, were deprived of artillery support at the most critical moment of the fighting. That is all changed now. To-day a battle plan is built upon what the artillery are going to do, and the infantry conform to the plans of the artillery. A timetable is constructed, providing for a series of barrages, or curtains of shell-fire, moving steadily across the map in the direction of the enemy's position. This is known as a "creeping barrage." Behind that barrage, surprisingly close up, march the infantry, studying

the time table with earnest, almost painful, attention. In due course they arrive at the objective-point marked upon their maps. Here they stop, consolidate the position, however tempting the ground in front may be, and wait. Thus, by a series of such limited objectives, Sir Douglas Haig has battered his enemies right off the high ground in Belgium.

"PILL-BOXES"—AN ADMISSION OF WEAKNESS

The latest and most encouraging aspect of the fighting in Belgium to-day is this—that the enemy has fallen back on purely defensive tactics. Now, if you are prepared to abandon all hope of again taking the offensive, you can undoubtedly increase your powers of resistance very greatly. In fact, you need not take so many chances. This is what the Germans have done in Northern Belgium to-day. They have given up holding a continuous trench line, because a continuous trench line must of necessity contain many weak spots, and they have concentrated their defense into a continuous chain of strong posts, consisting of fortified shell craters and concrete circular forts (which the British Tommies call "pill boxes") with walls eight or ten feet thick. These "pill boxes" are proof against everything but the heaviest artillery bombardment, and they are capable of maintaining machine-gun fire in all directions, thus covering the intervening ground. Attacking troops have to penetrate through this zone under fire from every quarter, and capture or silence these forts one by one. That is obviously a very effective system of defense—far superior to the holding of a trench-line. But it is correspondingly useless as a base for offense. You cannot organize a great simultaneous assault out of an irregular cluster of isolated block-houses and shell-craters. And therefore, Germany's new policy is a confession of weakness. It is also a confession of failure. That is very comforting. What is more comforting still is the fact that this incredibly powerful system of defense has broken down in its turn, and the new positions pierced again and again. The conditions are infinitely difficult, for it has rained persistently since the first of August; and the best troops in the world cannot advance rapidly when up to their waists in mud, as our men have continually been. But their confidence is now superb. The sight of the German prisoners, and above all, of the German deserters, has instilled into them the knowledge that they are the better men, and that ultimate victory is now merely a matter of time. Stay-at-home pessimists are strongly recommended to pay a visit, however brief, to the western front to-day.

Altogether, 1918 should be an unhappy year for German kultur. The army of France, having now recovered the valley of the Aisne River and the long-disputed Chemin des Dames, which runs along the hilltops above the river, can continue their operations with renewed confidence. The victorious British Army is now in a position to strike north to Ostend, or east to Menin, thus cutting the main artery of German communication to the great captive city of Lille. Finally, it is certain that a third blow will be struck at some new and hitherto unsuspected point by the rapidly accumulating forces of the American army. And all the time we hold the sea.

But we must beware of one great peril. Our common enemy, beaten above ground, is reverting more and more to subterranean methods of warfare. He is endeavoring, by an enormous system of propaganda and agitation, to foster ill-feeling among the Allied countries. Some of his devices are characteristically transparent, as for instance his childish attempts to make trouble, though the medium of Irish political factions, between those very firm friends, the sailors of the American and British flotillas operating in the Atlantic. But his campaign makes up in comprehensiveness what it lacks in subtlety. The German propagandist is ubiquitous. French peasants are informed that the British Army will never evacuate Calais. Canadians and Australians are told that the British Army authorities habitually expose Dominion troops to the greatest dangers. Young American soldiers are asked why they are fighting for Wall Street. Working men all over Europe and the United States are urged to strike for higher wages on the ground that they are being exploited by profiteers. (There is just enough truth in this latter assertion to render it particularly formidable.) All this propaganda, clumsy and useless as much of it is, has a definite aim—to create an atmosphere of mutual distrust and war weariness until the time comes for another peace offensive. When the next German peace offer is put forward, it will probably be a tempting one. Germany, first, last, and all the time, is trying to create a

great Central Empire—a *Mittel Europa*—stretching from Hamburg to the Persian Gulf—a preliminary step to world dominion—and she will sacrifice much if she can contrive to keep this monstrous ideal intact. An offer, for instance, to restore Belgium and Alsace and Lorraine, though it would leave Serbia, Rumania, and Armenia at the mercy of the Hun and the Turk, and merely give the enemy breathing space to develop further mischief, would be an attractive peace bait, and would not impair the *Mittel Europa* policy one jot. Such an offer, if it came, would be backed, all over the world, by the full force of subsidized pro-German sentiment, and thousands of faint-hearted and feeble-minded persons on the Allied side would fall into the trap. We know them—the Peace-monger, the Sedition-monger, aided and abetted by that strange tribe which cherishes a morbid passion for every country but its own, and regards war in general as a species of discreditable brawl in which no really respectable nation should ever engage.

So let us beware. Let us not be led away either by friend or foe. We must "carry on," making whatever sacrifices are necessary, and remembering that the enemy is far more hard-pressed than we, until we are in a position to dictate terms of peace, and not merely discuss them. And with the Allied fleets supreme at sea; with the German Army being steadily battered to a pulp on the western front, and the enormous and scarcely touched resources in men, guns, and ships of the American people thrown into the scale at the most critical period of the war, to offset—and more than offset—the temporary paralysis on other fronts, there seems good reason to expect that the year 1918 will see the beginning of a complete and final triumph for our arms in this, the greatest of all Crusades.

LORRAINE THE TEST OF VICTORY

The Iron Mines That Give the Military Control of Europe Are Now in German Hands—When the Allies Can Take Them Germany is Defeated

BY

J. B. W. GARDINER

THE first stone in the foundation of the present war was laid in 1870, when Germany despoiled France of Lorraine. This was true not alone because France regards with jealous solicitude every foot of French soil. Rather, indeed, it was because of the importance of Lorraine in the German scheme of things, out of which scheme grew the Pan-German creed of a Teuton hegemony in *Mittel Europa*. In 1870 the French iron mines at Longwy, at Briey, and at Nancy were unknown. Lorraine was supposed to contain all the iron fields embraced within the boundaries of the French Empire; and Germany, being the most far-seeing as well as the most unscrupulous of nations, saw, in her seizure of Lorraine, the reduction of France to a second class Power, and the acquisition by themselves of the means whereby they could control the world. The fact that the basin of the Meuse subsequently developed iron ore in greater quantity and richness than were possessed by Lorraine, alone made an Allied victory in this war possible, while accentuating to Germany the necessity for her continued possession of the old French province.

It is entirely reasonable, then, that as between the western group of warring Powers, the real bone of contention should be Lorraine. Von Tirpitz, representing extreme Junkerism, demands the retention of Antwerp as the knife at the throat of England. This, however, would be readily swept aside were it the only obstruction to an acceptable peace programme. It is Lorraine that creates the gap between the Entente and the Germanic Allies, and it is a gap which cannot be bridged. The immovable German mind comes in contact with the irresistible determination of France and England. Until this question is settled there can be no peace, and a settlement can be reached in but one way—a distinct and complete military victory. A German victory is unthink-

able. A German defeat can be brought about only through the possession, by the Allies, of an overwhelming superiority in the mechanics of war—in guns and in shells—backed up by superior man power. Knowing that this superiority is being created, the proletariat of the Allied nations interprets success in terms of Berlin—considers that the acme of success will be reached only when the Allied armies arrive before the gates of the German capital. Unquestionably that is an end devoutly to be wished for. That the German people should see the war carried to their doors, that they should be visited with its inescapable horrors, and witness from within rather than from without, the complete devastation that goes in its wake, would do much to dampen their military ardor and to discourage the consummation of plans, *already under way in Germany*, for the next war. But however salutary the effect of such invasion might be, it is not necessary in order to insure a complete Entente victory, and by a complete victory I mean such a victory as would enable the Entente to dictate the terms of peace which Germany would have no alternative but to accept.

German leaders are indulging in much senseless prattling about ultimate victory. But all this comes only from the lips, and is intended solely to blind the non-combatant elements of the population. In their hearts, these leaders know that the victory about which they babble is impossible in this war. Germany cannot win, and the leaders know it. Therefore, we have seen all the force of the German propaganda here as in Europe exerted toward peace. Not yet beaten but fearing that she must be if the war continues to its logical conclusion, Germany wants peace while the situation is such that she can recover from the war more readily than her enemies. Then when the next war comes, which Germany will provoke when she is ready for it, the victory which has now been deferred will be attained. This situation exists because the German leaders feel that there is still hope of bringing about the desired end. On the map she is victorious; her enemies are war-weary and stale; they long for the day of peace to dawn when nations may escape from the all-absorbing, all consuming business of war and return to their normal life. This is all true. And Germany, realizing its truth, is using every means to advance the day of peace, so that she may avert the pending crash. This will continue as long as hope of such an adjustment of the world's troubles exists. But when this hope dies, when the victories of the Entente have been so fruitful that it is impossible even to hope, resistance will cease. And this point will come when Germany and her enemies face each other across the Rhine.

It is popularly supposed that, in the last extremity, Germany can fall back behind the Rhine, and, deeply entrenched in the hills which border its eastern bank, remain indefinitely unaffected by the Allies' blows. On these grounds many believe that Germany can never be beaten, that all the sacrifice which has already been made and which remains yet to be made will be futile, that peace on the basis of a "stalemate" is the only possible peace. But this is not true. The Rhine will not save Germany; neither its width, nor its depth, nor the hills which guard its banks will ward off the defeat which becomes inevitable when the German armies fall back to its farther side.

There are excellent reasons, aside from purely military considerations, why Germany will yield before the ravages of war are permitted to ruin the land between the Rhine and Berlin. Wilhelmstrasse is not blind nor unmindful of its own record. Always in the German mind will be ravished Belgium, its industries systematically destroyed, its factories dismantled, its citizens deported into slavery, its cities razed to the ground. The picture of northeastern France, with nothing left but the earth and the sky, every tree, every house, every architectural treasure laid low—these things Germany will remember, and more—will know that no Frenchman will ever forget. Germany can picture the scene as the Allied Armies march through wealthy, prosperous Westphalia, humming with its factories, quick with the activities of its commercial life. And if imagination is not totally dead in the German nature, it can see this state disgorging its wealth, its industry, its machinery—all but its walls, that it may replace those things of similar nature which German rapacity, coupled with German thoroughness, has so completely removed from both France and Belgium. This is one reason, economic in essence and to that extent military, since war is an economic problem as well as a struggle of brute forces. But there are still other reasons whose essence is altogether military.

As preliminary to this study, we must go back to the primal truth that Germany can be beaten only through an overwhelming superiority of the artillery of her enemies. Artillery means steel—steel for shell, for guns, for rails over which the shell can be rushed to the front, for rolling-stock in which it can be carried. Machine guns, on which the Germans place so much reliance for their defense, rifles, small-arm ammunition, engines for motor cars and airplanes, submarines, and battleships—all these add to the demand. Steel and steel production has come to be the great thing of the war, and the demand is becoming more insistent as the months pass by. There is not a single element in all the mechanics of war in which steel does not enter. In consequence the amount of steel consumed for war purposes alone reaches staggering figures. In 1913, when Germany was feverishly making extensive preparations for the war which, since she meant to provoke it she knew was coming, Germany produced, within the empire, 19 millions of tons. A small portion of this, so small as to be almost negligible, was exported, the remainder being consumed at home. Since that time the home consumption has remained practically constant, about 18 million tons annually.

GERMAN IRON ORE SUPPLY, IN TONS, 1913

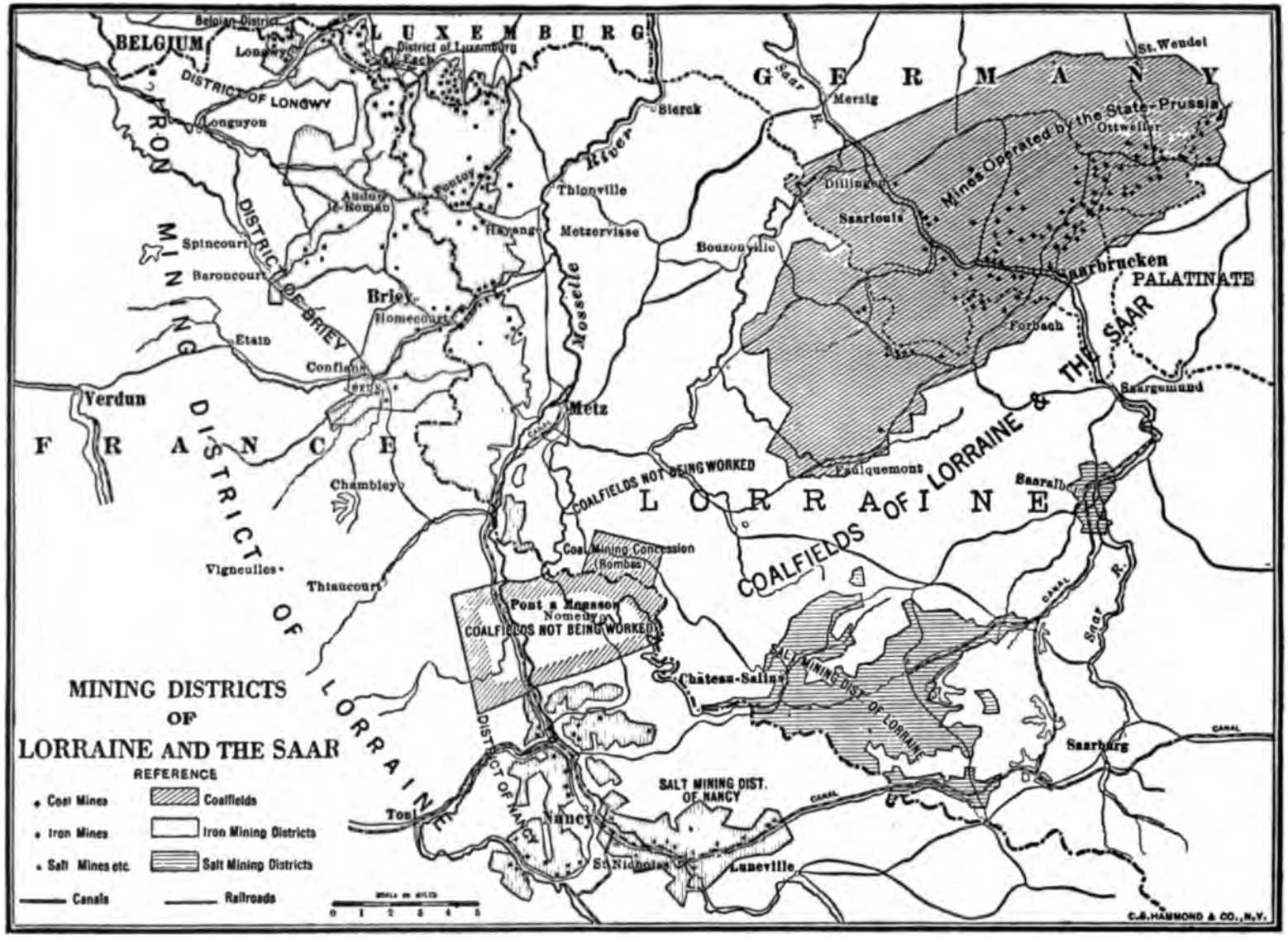
Domestic		
Lorraine	21,000,000	
Other German Fields	7,000,000	
Total Domestic Supply		28,000,000
Imported		
Sweden	4,600,000	
Spain.	3,600,000	
France	3,800,000	
Russia	500,000	
Miscellaneous . .	1,400,000	
Total Ore Imported.		13,900,000
Total Ore Smelted .		41,900,000

In 1913, Germany obtained her iron ore from a variety of sources, the principal of which are shown in the accompanying table.

These figures are to-day subject to but little change. Importation of Swedish ore is, of course, continuing without interruption. Shipments from Spain and Russia have naturally ceased, but the loss has been more than made up by the fact that the Germans hold the two great French fields centering at Longwy and at Brie. These fields, together with those of Lorraine and Rhineland, Westphalia, Saar, and of the other German states, are in all probability being heavily worked. Nor is the output being seriously impaired by the fact that the supplying of troops about Nancy and Verdun places such heavy demands upon the existing railroad facilities. The more important German blast furnaces are located in Rhineland and Westphalia, and even though the trains moving westward to the battle lines are strained with the quantities of supplies which must be sent to the troops, on the return trip they can and do take the ore which is needed to keep the blast furnaces busy.

Let us suppose that the Allies succeed in driving the German army behind the Rhine. Let us, moreover, assume the most favorable condition for Germany in her relations with Russia, i. e., a separate peace. What would the German situation with respect to steel be then? At the outset we may ignore Austria. The Austrian production of pig iron in 1913 was only 2½ million tons, woefully insufficient, to say the least, to supply her own requirements. The first loss would be that from the Lorraine and Luxemburg fields, more than half of Germany's total supply of ore. The French fields of Longwy. and of Brie would, of course, be restored to their rightful owner, involving another net loss of at least 10 million tons more. Germany's total would be still further reduced by the loss of the Rhineland fields, so that the net result would be approximately as shown in the table on the following page.

On such a basis, then, Germany would have left only 10 million tons of ore—only 25 per cent. of her requirements. This, of course, is not in accordance with the exact facts. When it became evident that she was to be reduced to such a plight, Germany would immediately begin to increase production in such domestic fields as are now being worked, and to resume mining operations in those that have been abandoned since the acquisition of the more profitable fields of Lorraine. But it does not seem possible that her production could even approach the present requirements. The ratio in 1913 between the steel produced and the total ore smelted was about 3 to 7. So that,



MINES THAT ARE THE TEST OF VICTORY

The loss of the iron mines of Lorraine would mean, to Germany, the loss of more than half of her total supply of iron ore, upon which, in turn, depends the all-essential supply of guns, shells, and rails for the German Army. With these mines in Allied hands, therefore, Germany could not long continue to prosecute the war

if the production of ore east of the Rhine were doubled—and it is doubtful that more could be done — the German steel output would be only 9 million tons, or less than half of that which would be actually needed. Put Germany behind the Rhine, then, and eventually the war would fall of its own weight through failure of material with which to wage it.

I do not mean that Germany would necessarily sue for peace immediately. Political conditions under such circumstances might, it is true, force such action. Germany would have us believe that she is on the verge of a political revolution, that conditions are already unbearable, and that the end is in sight, since in such a belief our preparations may be retarded. But a German revolution is a chimera that deceives only the fatuous. Aside from Germany's internal politics, however, the German army will not lay down its arms because, in facing its enemies across the Rhine, it finds itself short of steel. A struggle will still be left—but it will be sharp and short. The end will be swift and sure.

GERMAN ORE SUPPLY FROM BEHIND THE RHINE, IN TONS

	SUPPLY IN 1913	LOST THROUGH INVASION	BALANCE
Lorraine	21,000,000	21,000,000	.....
Other German Fields	7,000,000	2,000,000	5,000,000
Sweden	4,600,000	.....	4,600,000
Russia	500,000	.....	500,000
Miscellaneous	1,400,000	1,400,000	.....
France	3,800,000	3,800,000	.....
Spain	3,600,000	3,600,000	.....
Totals	41,900,000	31,800,000	10,100,000

HOW AMERICAN SHIPPING WOULD BE AFFECTED

There is still another phase of this situation, and that is the effect it will have on the material resources of the Allies. With the single exception of the French ore fields about Nancy, all the Allies' ore supplies of continental Europe are in German hands. The consequence is that the great bulk of steel used by the Allies must be imported overseas—that is, from the United States. This places a demand on ocean tonnage which can be met only by a constant straining of resources. Some idea of the extent of this demand can be gained from the fact that during the month of September last, the daily importation of British war material alone into France averaged 600 tons. Of this, naturally, the greatest part was made up of steel products of one kind or another, and of this part the great bulk of the raw material came to England overseas. Despite the fact, then, that numbered among the Allies is the greatest steel producing country of the world—the United States—the present German supply is much more efficient since it is obtained with much less effort, at smaller cost and with much less waste of time. With Germany thrust out of the French fields of Brie and Longwy, and deprived of the fields of Lorraine and Rhineland, the situation will be entirely changed. We may be assured, of course, that in the retreat, every blast furnace in the vacated district will be destroyed, and that every effort will be made also to make the mines unworkable. Such destruction will naturally prevent the French from reaping any benefit from the reoccupation of the ore fields for some time. But we have learned, or should have learned, that we cannot measure results in the war by days. In the course of a few months, with the available labor in the form of German prisoners, the productivity of the fields would be in large measure restored, and the ocean tonnage relieved of the great burden of carrying iron and steel. Such tonnage will then be available for food supplies. The practical result will then be the addition of thousands of tons of shipping to the present supply now available for the Allies' needs. Unless, then, the Germans are prepared to continue the war to the point of complete extinction both of their country and of their race, the war will come to an end when the German army finds itself behind Germany's natural boundary, the Rhine.

AMERICAN LEADERS IN THE WORLD WAR

PORTRAITS IN COLOR OF

Brigadier General George O. Squier, U. S. A.
Major General Hugh L. Scott, U. S. A.
Rear Admiral David W. Taylor, U. S. N.
Admiral Henry T. Mayo, U. S. N.

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BRIGADIER GENERAL GEORGE O. SQUIER, U. S. A.

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MAJOR GENERAL HUGH L. SCOTT, U. S. A., RETIRED

Brigadier General George O. Squier, U. S. A.

Chief Signal Officer of the United States Army, Who, as Head of the Signal Corps, is Responsible for the Development of Aviation in the Army

Major General Hugh L. Scott, U. S. A., Retired

Former Chief-of-Staff of the United States Army, Who Has Been Studying Military Operations on the Western Front in France, a Study That Will Be Invaluable in Supervising the Intensive Training of Our National Army in Methods of Trench Warfare

Rear Admiral David W. Taylor, U. S. N.

Who Has Been Chief Constructor of the United States Navy since December, 1914, and Whose Work in the Construction of Warships, extending Over a Period of More Than Twenty-nine Years, Has Made Him Conspicuous in Naval Circles, not only in this Country but Abroad as Well

Admiral Henry T. Mayo, U. S. N.

Ranking Officer of the United States Navy, and Commander-in-Chief of the Atlantic Battleship Fleet, Who Recently Participated in the Naval Conference of the Entente Allies at London, Inspected the American Bases in France and Great Britain, and Visited the British and French Fleets

ADMIRAL HENRY T. MAYO, U. S. N.

© Harris & Ewing

REAR ADMIRAL DAVID W. TAYLOR, U. S. N.

TROOP D OF THE NEW YORK STATE TROOPERS

Part of the force of 232 troopers organized under the supervision of Major George Fletcher Chandler for the protection of the rural districts of New York State

THE NEW YORK STATE TROOPERS

An Organization, Built Along the Lines of the Pennsylvania State Constabulary and the Canadian Northwest Mounted Police, for the Protection of the Rural Districts of New York

BY

FRANK PARKER STOCKBRIDGE

"I WANT the State Troopers." If you live anywhere within the area of 47,000 square miles that constitutes rural New York, and need police help or protection for any reason, at any time, take down your telephone receiver and say to Central: "I want the State Troopers."

You will be connected at once with the nearest headquarters of a detachment of the new State Troopers. You will find a sympathetic listener on the other end of the telephone, no matter how trivial the trouble or unfounded the alarm. And if it is a case where the actual presence of the Arm of the Law is required, in a surprisingly short time one or a dozen or twenty of the "men on horseback" will be at the place where they are needed.

If you have had no previous contact with the State Troopers, your first emotion, after that of relief, will be surprise at their youth. Next you will be impressed with their poise, and if you have occasion to have more than a casual contact with them, you will soon find yourself rather marveling at their wisdom. And whatever the trouble, you can be assured that the limits of human endeavor will be stretched in the effort to set things to rights. For the New York State Troopers, under the command of Major George Fletcher Chandler, Superintendent of the Department of State Police, have set for themselves a standard of conduct and efficiency to attain which there is no other method but to try to do somewhat better than absolute best. That standard, the ideal that is held up by Major Chandler as the goal for which his men are to strive, is to be just a little bit keener, a little bit more efficient, of a wee bit more service than the Royal Canadian Northwestern Mounted Police and the Pennsylvania State Constabulary rolled into one.

The corps of New York State Troopers is only a trifle more than six months old as this is written. It will be hardly more than three months, by the time this is read, since the corps was fully organized, equipped, and first engaged in active duty. It is far too early in their career to say how closely they are approaching the lofty standard of conduct, of character, of loyalty and intelligent devotion to duty thus set for them. They are not yet "blooded." They have still to undergo the baptism of fire that is the supreme test to which any organization such as this must be put before it can be said of it that it measures up to what it has hoped to be. But if high purposes, painstaking picking of its personnel without fear or favor or political pressure, rigid discipline, enthusiastic and inspiring leadership, and the knowledge that if it is to succeed at all it must under no circumstances ever be anything more or less than exactly right—if these things can bring an organization up to this standard, then the New York State Troopers have come to stay, for those are the conditions and that the atmosphere under which this sane yet radical experiment for the solution of the problem of the control of rural crime has been undertaken by the state of New York.

Already the State Troopers are making their presence felt, and winning the sympathetic support of groups and classes that were indifferent, or opposed to their establishment. Their activities, even thus early in their brief career as an organization, have been many and varied. They have ranged all the way from rounding up violators of the automobile laws on the state highways to quarantining an Indian Reservation for smallpox, and have included such items as restoring lost children to their parents, directing strayed aviators back to Canada, raiding gambling houses and "speak-easies," recovering stolen property of various kinds, including automobiles and Shetland ponies, and controlling traffic at state and county fairs and the approaches to military camps. For a force of 232 men, all

new to this kind of service, to cover a territory stretching a good 500 miles from Montauk Point to Niagara Falls, and more than 300 miles from the Atlantic Ocean to the St. Lawrence, a territory about equally divided between rugged mountains and wild forests on the one hand and thickly settled farming country on the other, is a big job. Nobody appreciates how big a job it is, better than Major Chandler and his staff—and nobody is less inclined to make a fuss over it or to regard it as anything more than a man-sized job, to be tackled with confidence and without boasting. You can't get anything but civility, courtesy, and the most modest and sketchy statement of what has been done, out of the State Troopers or any of the officers. You can't get one of them to talk about what they expect to do. But you can't talk with any of them for more than a minute or two without gaining the profound conviction that whatever is expected of them is what ultimately they are going to do—that and a little bit more.

THE NEED OF THEM

"But why does rural New York need policing?" you ask. "Isn't it accepted and traditional that the cities are the breeding places and centres of crime, and the country districts the abode of all that is pure and peaceful?" Traditional, yes; but actually, as a matter of cold-blooded record, the proportion of crimes unpunished and of criminals of justice unwhipped in the rural regions of New York is far greater than in the cities. And it was one of the many hundreds of such unpunished crimes that inspired two women with righteous indignation and the determination to do something to prevent a repetition of such crimes—an inspiration that led directly up to the establishment of the New York State Troopers. The two women were Miss M. Moyca Newell and Miss Katherine Mayo. They are women of means and they are also women of imagination and courage. Miss Newell's country home at Bedford Hills is one of the most attractive of Westchester County's magnificent country seats. It was in the building of this house that the tragedy occurred—the assassination of the superintendent of construction—that led these two women to undertake what others perhaps had thought of, but which no one else had successfully undertaken. Let me tell of the murder of Sam Howell, the young man to memory the New York State Troopers may be said to be a monument, in Miss Mayo's own words, because the story as she tells it so perfectly illuminates the conditions that, in large measure, made the need of a State Troopers an imperative one:

THE CASE OF SAM HOWELL

"Samuel Howell was an Iowan farmer's son. By industry, intelligence, and honest dealing he had worked himself up through the carpentry trade to the place of builders' foreman. On the day of his death he had charge of an important piece of construction in a rural part of the state of New York.

"Early one Saturday morning, on his way to his work, Howell was ambushed by four men who demanded the week's pay-roll. The four brandished revolvers. Howell was alone and unarmed. But, no matter what the odds, it was impossible to that boy to surrender a charge. So he drove his motorcycle straight through the gang, who emptied their revolvers into his body from a distance of two paces.

"Bleeding from seven mortal wounds, Howell guided his machine over a thousand yards of rough road, to the construction site. There he kept grip on his consciousness until he had turned over the heavy pay-roll to a responsible man; until he had made careful record, for his successor's use, of certain structural weaknesses in the work that he alone knew and that otherwise might be neglected; and until, by name and by number, he had positively identified two of his murderers as laborers who had been employed for a month on the job. Then he collapsed. Three days later he died.

"A clearer case of identification, an easier case to handle, will never occur in the history of crime. Both of the identified men were Italians. One, a character well known in the region as well as to every man on the construction, had red hair, a conspicuous scar on his cheek, and a pock-marked skin. All four spent some hours, and in all likelihood the entire day, lying in a small islet of woods surrounded by open fields, practically on the scene of their crime. But no attempt was made to arrest them throughout that day. No bar was put in the way of their escape. And up to the present moment no punishment has been visited upon any one of them.

"This statement I make without qualification, for the reason that I spent the entire day of the murder on the spot, and was

personally cognizant of all that was done and left undone.

"I saw the complete breakdown of the sheriff-constable system. Both county sheriff and village constables, present on the scene, proved utterly unrelated to the emergency, and for reasons perfectly clear. I saw the group of twenty or more union workmen, encircled by twice their number of unskilled helpers, standing with hands down. And I heard those Union men refuse even to surround the islet of woods, a thousand yards distant, in which the murderers of their comrade were hiding.

"'We earn our living on country jobs, among men like these,' said the carpenter boss, nodding toward the listening foreigners. 'Knives and guns are their playthings, and when they want me they'll get me, just as they got poor Howell. We have to think of our families. We can't afford to earn gunmen's ill-will. There is no protection in the country districts. Sheriffs and constables don't help us at all. Howell was only a working man. You'll have forgotten him in a month.'

"But it was impossible to forget. The truth is too hideous—the truth that in the great rural state of New York protection of life and property is a private luxury, to be obtained only by those rich enough to pay for it—the truth that the man carrying a dinner-pail, the farmer driving home from the store at dusk, the woman alone in an isolated homestead, are as safe and easy prey to criminal attack as if they moved in the wilds of Mexico.

"And, just as it was impossible to forget, so was it impossible to remain inactive—to remain an idle conniver in the toleration of such a disgrace."

Miss Mayo and Miss Newell did not remain inactive for a moment. They found the intelligent residents of rural New York eager to coöperate and fully alive to the need of securing in some way the safety of its citizens. The committee they formed to promote and push the project for a state police force was representative of every section of the commonwealth and of every class in society with the sole exception of organized labor, which has been consistently and persistently antagonistic from the beginning. Dr. Lewis Rutherford Morris was and is chairman of the committee. Dr. William T. Hornaday, the famous naturalist, who saw in State Troopers a possible means of preventing the slaughter of song-birds by lawless foreigners, is vice-chairman. To go any farther down the list without naming them all would be to make invidious distinctions. The brunt of the work, moreover, fell to Miss Newell and Miss Mayo, and there is not a man or woman on the whole committee who does not gladly and freely give them the full credit which they all too modestly disclaim.

Seeking precedent to justify the demand for the establishment of a state police, and experience to demonstrate the effectiveness of such an institution as the practical answer to the obvious need, Miss Mayo went to Pennsylvania and spent months in intensive study of the Pennsylvania State Police, commonly termed the "State Constabulary." Nowhere else in the United States did there exist an organization approaching in purpose or method that which had been visualized for New York. The Texas Rangers is a different type of organization, maintained for purposes which touch only at intervals conditions existing in the North. The Royal Canadian Northwestern Mounted Police comes nearer to it. But in Pennsylvania, for ten years before the murder of Sam Howell, there had existed a corps of State Police whose record for honor, courage, devotion, and unfailing efficiency as the sworn Arm of the Law had made them literally a terror to evildoers and the pride of every well-intentioned, law-abiding citizen of the commonwealth.

ACTIVITIES OF THE PENNSYLVANIA POLICE

It would be much easier to write the story of the Pennsylvania State Police, so filled is the record and chronicle of their achievements with tales that quicken the blood and stir the emotions. But it would be a difficult task, indeed, to tell that story more forcefully, more convincingly or most interestingly than Miss Mayo herself has told it in her book, "Justice to All." This was the final fruit of her study of the Pennsylvania Police, a study that yielded a huge store of ammunition for the campaign in New York. Thousands of citizens of the Empire State, who knew only vaguely of the Pennsylvania Constabulary as the successor to the old Coal and Iron Police, and who had thought of it, if they thought of it at all, as a sort of Cossackry in the hands of the mine and mill owners for the suppression of labor disturbances, learned for the first time how far ahead of their own state in the matter of affording the equal protection of the law to every citizen

rural as well as urban, was the sister commonwealth to the south. In the ten years of their existence the Pennsylvania State Police have developed into what is probably the most efficient instrumentality for the prevention and detection of crime and the enforcement of the law in rural regions that has yet been established anywhere. In the saving to farmers through curtailing the depredations of the robbers of orchards and vegetable gardens the organization has earned its cost many times over. Sheep-killing and rabid dogs have nowhere else been under any sort of efficient control in rural America. Their ravages have been almost entirely checked in Pennsylvania. Epidemics of glanders have been stamped out, horse-stealing reduced to a minimum, game and fish laws enforced until they are for the first time generally respected, forest fires controlled and prevented, and the highways and byways freed from dangerous tramps. The activities of the Pennsylvania State Police are not, however, confined to the purely rural problems that confront them. While they have no jurisdiction in the cities unless called in by a sheriff or mayor to aid the local authorities in preserving order, or when engaged in pursuing a criminal for a crime committed in the rural districts, they have not only been of the greatest service in suppressing disorder and violence in Philadelphia, Wilkesbarre, and other cities when summoned for strike duty, but their everyday activities bring them in contact with the large class of crimes that are common to city and country. The pursuit of criminals on trails that have led to far distant states and countries has developed detective qualities and led to adventures that rival in the telling the most interesting chapters from the records of the Northwestern Mounted Police of Canada. Murder, arson, burglary, larceny, and rape are not by any means distinctly urban offenses but until the Pennsylvania State Police was established they commonly went unpunished when committed in the country.

A FOUR YEARS' FIGHT

It was on this record of efficiency in Pennsylvania that the campaign for a similar establishment in New York State was based. It took nearly four years to get the law finally enacted establishing the New York State Police. The farmers wanted it, the more intelligent country sheriffs and district attorneys wanted it, every one interested in the enforcement of game laws, highway laws, and other regulations applying peculiarly to the rural districts wanted it—everybody was for it, in fact, except the radical Socialists who are opposed to any sort of police control, and a group of labor leaders who voiced the fear that the purpose behind the proposal was to put a new weapon into the hands of the employing class for the oppression of the workers.

If there is one demonstrable fact that stands out above all others in the record of the Pennsylvania Constabulary it is that it has never been used or permitted itself to be used by either side in the numerous struggles between capital and labor in which it has been called in to preserve order. The intelligent labor leaders of Pennsylvania know this, and the workers now quite generally accept the Constabulary as their friend. Despite this unimpeachable record for the impartial enforcement of the law, labor leaders and radical agitators flocked to Albany whenever the New York project was under consideration and, by the threat to unseat any member who voted for the imposition on the workers of New York of an organization of "Cossacks" like those of Pennsylvania, succeeded in delaying the adoption of the law authorizing the creation of the force of New York State Troopers until the spring of 1917. Last April, however, the New York Legislature finally passed, and Governor Whitman signed, the bill creating the New York State Troopers. The murder of Sam Howell had at last borne fruit.

If there were any question of the need of policing the rural districts of New York, the testimony of witnesses at the hearings in Albany was convincing. William Muldoon, who came as the representative of Westchester County rural residents paying taxes on $9,000,000 worth of assessed property, put the whole theory of a force of State Troopers in a nutshell when he said:

"A policeman's usefulness depends upon the authority back of him. If every law-abiding, decent citizen in the state is back of that policeman, and he represents the state, his authority will be respected. If he is merely a policeman in a village or in a community and given a little authority, nobody pays any attention to him. If it were possible to have five policemen with the United States Government back of them, these five men would do more good in Westchester County

than 100 policemen backed only by the authority of the county. Respect is paid to Federal authority. You know that the Federal authority goes after you. You all take off your hats to that authority. You cannot get at it. You cannot injure it. What the rural police must have is the power of the State back of him. Give us police protection. Give us a policeman, if he only goes by once a day. The moral effect upon the undesirables would be as great as the effect of their actual presence."

HOW THE FORCE IS ORGANIZED

And so the law was enacted, and now the State Troopers are on the job. The law is as broad in the powers it confers as it is brief and clear in its verbiage. It provides for a superintendent, who is the real and sole head of the department, appointed by the Governor. All other powers are vested in the superintendent—he names his own deputies, captains, lieutenants, sergeants; selects and appoints the members of the force, disburses all funds and runs the department. Four troops are provided for, each composed of a captain and lieutenant, five sergeants, four corporals, a saddler, a blacksmith and forty-five privates. The salaries range from $75 a month for privates to $1,800 for captains. Men are appointed for a two-year term and voluntary withdrawal during the two years is constituted a misdemeanor. Taking a leaf out of Pennsylvania's book, the law provides further that no man, once dismissed from the force, shall be eligible for reappointment.

Just as Governor Pennypacker, in seeking a superintendent for the Pennsylvania constabulary, picked the best military disciplinarian he could find in the State, in the person of Captain John C. Groome, commanding the Philadelphia City Troop, so Governor Whitman picked a military man of distinction and experience, with a high record of personal achievement and as a disciplinarian. Major George Fletcher Chandler, the "live wire" at the head of the New York State Police, is a native of the State, and had been for eleven years surgeon of the Tenth New York National Guard regiment, having headquarters at Kingston, his home city. He was one of the two National Guard officers in the United States selected in 1915 to go to the Army Service School at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, where he was graduated from the field officers' class of regular army officers. He saw service on the Mexican border in 1916, as Adjutant of the First New York Brigade, with the rank of Major. These brief biographical details, however, do not give any kind of an adequate impression of the personality of Major Chandler. One has to see him in action to get a real line on the man. The best testimonial to his character and quality is the way any one of his troopers lights up when he begins to talk about "our Major."

The entire 232 men of the force of New York State Troopers have been hand-picked by Major Chandler personally. Nearly all of them have seen military service; some of them have done police duty. All are young—the law limits the age to between 21 and 40. Major Chandler himself is 43. Some of them served with Major Chandler on the Mexican border. A number have served several terms of enlistment in the Regular Army as non-commissioned officers. Several have been officers of the National Guard; and not one of them was appointed as a result of political influence. Major Chandler, immediately upon his appointment, and with the hearty approval of Governor Whitman, announced that the same policy which has controlled appointments to the Pennsylvania State Constabulary would govern in making appointments to the New York State Troopers—that any attempt to exercise political influence in favor of any candidate for appointment or promotion would disbar the candidate from appointment or result in his dismissal if already on the force.

The tests imposed by Major Chandler as prerequisites to appointment include, first, the most rigid and searching investigation of the past record of every applicant. A single suspicious circumstance was sufficient to disqualify. No man can become a New York State Trooper unless his whole life has been absolutely clean, square, and on the level. Mental attainments above the ordinary are required, for the State Trooper must not only be quick, alert, self-possessed, cool-headed in emergencies and courageous, but he must know the laws so much better than the average country constable or rural Justice of the Peace that he shall never make a mistaken arrest or overlook a violation of the statutes. Beyond that, the man must be athletic and know how to ride and shoot. Major Chandler spent several weeks, following his appointment on April 30th, in studying at first hand the opera-

tions and methods of the Pennsylvania Constabulary. The summer of 1917 was spent in selecting the members of the force, drilling, equipping, and mounting them and giving them an intensive course of discipline and preliminary education at what is known as Troop D Farm, near Syracuse. This property, containing a State rifle range and 250 acres of pasturage, was rented as a training camp.

The demand for cavalry horses for European service made the problem of obtaining mounts a difficult one. Major Chandler solved it by arranging with officers of the British Remount Station to take off their hands at cost the necessary 243 horses of the selected cavalry type. These horses cost the State less than $165 each. Major Chandler's plans for the future include the breeding of horses, at Troop D Farm, for police remounts.

By September the Troopers were ready for their first public appearance. When they turned out for duty, at the New York State Fair Grounds, near Syracuse, where they handled traffic, policed the grounds, and on September 6th were reviewed by Governor Whitman, a good many tens of thousands of people from the rural districts and smaller communities of the entire State carried back home with them the first impressions of the new State Troopers, and these impressions were favorable ones. A New York State Trooper is rather good to look at. While the organization and its methods are patterned after the Pennsylvania Constabulary, the uniform, except for some details of equipment, is quite different. The color is an ash gray, the belted tunic, with its deep, bellows pockets, suggesting that of a British officer or the new uniforms of the United States marines. A touch of color is lent by the purple tie under the collar of the gray flannel shirt. Riding breeches to match the tunic, with tan leather boots, leggings, gloves, belts, pistol holster, saddle and bridle, complete the attire of horse and man. On mounted duty—and they are almost always on mounted duty—each trooper carries a slender weighted billy, 28 inches long, in addition to his .45-calibre Regular Army Colt pistol. A .45-calibre bullet, even through the fleshy part of the arm, will stop a man in his tracks where a .38, even hitting a much more vital spot, will often fail to stop him. For special service, each man is also equipped with a regular Springfield carbine, but these are not carried on ordinary patrol service. A very complete and compact first-aid kit is, however, an essential part of the equipment that every State Trooper carries in his saddle bags.

Four troop headquarters have been established, one at Batavia, in Genesee County, from which the entire western and southwestern part of the state is patrolled; one, Troop D Farm, near Syracuse, for the protection of the northern and north-central part of the State; one at Albany, from which patrols go out through the northeastern and upper Hudson counties; and one at White Plains, in Westchester County, the centre for an enormous territory that includes such detached sections as Long Island and the Catskills. In order to cover the state thoroughly, detached posts in centres remote from any troop headquarters have been established, with a sergeant and a squad of men operating from these sub-centres, one at Mineola, Long Island, in Nassau County; one at Elizabethtown, in Essex County, on the edge of the Adirondacks; one near Jamestown, Chautauqua County, serving as centre for patrolling the southern tier; and one near Ogdensburg, on the St. Lawrence.

By early October the New York State Troopers were patrolling the highways and byways of all rural New York. As has already been pointed out, it is too early in their career for the chronicling of spectacular deeds of prowess, such as enrich the history of the older Pennsylvania Constabulary, but there can be no question of the quality of the police service which these men are already rendering, or of the enthusiastic good-will with which they have been welcomed in the farming communities and rural villages where crime has long gone almost unchecked. Every trooper on patrol duty starts out from his troop headquarters, or the detached post to which he is attached, to cover a given route carefully checked off for him on a map before he starts. He may be gone a week. His subsistence—at village inns and farm houses—is paid for by the state. In barracks, troopers pay for their own food but the state provides cooks and fuel. From previously arranged points along the trooper's beat, he reports to his commanding officer by telephone or telegraph. Should the course of duty prevent him from covering the prescribed route in the appointed time, an additional patrol is sent out or the trooper's beat changed. Thus, whenever the telephone rings at headquarters, and the voice at the

other end of the wire says, "I want the State Troopers," the trooper nearest to the point from which the call comes can be quickly communicated with and sent to the scene of trouble.

A force of 232 men, a considerable proportion of whom must at all times be held in reserve in barracks, does not seem like a large number with which to patrol 47,000 square miles. In Pennsylvania, however, a force no larger has been found sufficient for a territory almost as large, and its efficiency increases year by year as its reputation for infallibility in the capture of criminals and the detection of crime grows with the passage of time. The knowledge that sooner or later the State Troopers will get you if you do wrong in the country districts will naturally spread, slowly at first but with increasing momentum, among the evil-inclined, and eventually its moral effect as a deterrent of crime will prove as powerful a force as the actual presence of these visible arms of the law. That has been Pennsylvania's experience, and it cannot fail to be New York's experience, if the State Troopers live up even approximately to the high standards of duty, intelligence, and courage that have been set for them.

A very important part of the work thus far performed by the State Troopers relates to the enforcement of the automobile and highway laws. It is a matter of common observation that accidents due to reckless speeding on the state roads were materially reduced in number during the first month of active police work. Innumerable arrests for the operation of cars without licenses, with old licenses, and without tail lights have been made. Great joy has been exhibited in many small towns in which prominent citizens, of the type that regard themselves as above the law, have been arrested for violations of the highway laws. The recovery of stolen automobiles, especially in the district adjacent to New York City, has occupied a considerable part of the attention of the force.

Running through at random a partial record of the activities of the troopers in their first six weeks of service reveals such a variety of experiences as these:

Two troopers rode through a mud hole in Suffolk County, to see how deep it was, before allowing a man to drive his automobile through it. They found it was so deep he would have been stalled.

An officer of the State Troopers overheard a conversation in a barber shop in Syracuse, which led to the arrest of several persons on the charge of offering unfit food for sale, they having disposed of the carcass of a cow that died from natural causes.

Lieutenant Andrew H. Gleason and sixteen men raided and closed up seven saloons suspected of selling liquor in the dry town of Corinth on the Hudson, above Albany.

Two chicken thieves arrested on the highway between Scipio and Auburn, and the stolen chickens recovered from their wagon.

A man who attacked two girls on the road near Cranesville, Herkimer County, arrested by State Troopers.

A 15-year-old boy, who had run away from his home in Genesee County, found and returned.

Gambling house near the Fulton County fair grounds, at Fonda, raided and the proprietor arrested.

Thieves who took $800 worth of tires and a cash register from a garage at Croton, Westchester County, arrested and the stolen goods recovered.

An epidemic of smallpox broke out on the Cattaraugus and Allegany Indian reservations, in the western part of the state, early in October. For the counties to have maintained an efficient quarantine would have cost many thousand dollars, and all past experience indicates the probability that no local quarantine would have been efficient. Six State Troopers handled the entire quarantine situation so efficiently that the spread of the disease beyond the limits of the reservations was apparently entirely prevented.

The news is spreading all over the state that the State Troopers are efficient and up to the minute. Major Chandler addressed a meeting of farmers near Schenectady, telling them about the Troopers and what they could do for them. There was not a sign of response on the faces of any of the audience, and he went back to Albany feeling that he had failed to get his message across. The next morning, however, a farmer's wife, who had been at the meeting, decided she would find out for herself whether there was such an institution as the State Troopers. Some time before a pony belonging to the daughter of a neighbor had been stolen. The farmer's wife called up the State Troopers' headquarters and told them about the theft. Within twenty-four hours the stolen pony had been recovered. The farmer's wife lost no time in spreading the news, by telephone and otherwise among her neighbors, that the State Troopers were really efficient and polite. The interesting sequel was that a day or two later a neighboring

farmer and his wife were driving along the Schenectady road, when their buggy was struck by a passing automobile, overtaking them at high speed. The farmer was badly hurt, his wife less seriously injured. The car drove on in a hurry, without any attempt on the part of its occupants to ascertain what damage had been done. The first instinct of the farmer's wife, as she crawled out of the wreckage of the buggy, was to go to a telephone and call for the State Troopers. The response was so prompt that the car that had done the damage was overhauled and its occupants arrested in the very act of unscrewing its license-number plates. And they were greatly surprised when the trooper who arrested them laid a charge not merely of reckless driving, but arraigned them under the new law that they had never heard of, which makes it a felony for the driver of an automobile that has caused personal injury in a collision to attempt to escape. In this particular case the judge knew the law as well as did the trooper.

There have been scores of cases, however, in which the trooper making the arrest has had to instruct the local Justice of the Peace as to the law. Many hunters apprehended for shooting on Sunday have committed the offence in all innocence, because neither the game laws nor their hunting licenses contained any restrictions in this respect. The statute forbidding the discharge of firearms on Sunday is in an entirely different part of the penal code, and more than one bucolic Dogberry has had to be convinced that the neighbor brought before him by a State Trooper for Sunday shooting was really guilty of an offence against the statute. It is the uniform experience of the State Troopers thus far, however, that they have the fullest and heartiest coöperation from local officials, who are a unit in welcoming this new arm of the law.

FACTS ABOUT THE COAL PROBLEM

What the Fuel Administration Is Doing to Provide for Us and Our Allies the Indispensable Supply, and How the American Public Can Help

BY

THOMAS R. SHIPP

The Fuel Administration at Washington has asked the WORLD'S WORK *to present to its readers the facts about the coal situation in this country, and the problem of its conservation, in order that, in this way, every American citizen may be induced, each to the best of his ability, to help facilitate the supply of coal which is essential to our war activities and those of our Allies. The* WORLD'S WORK *therefore asks particular attention for the following article by Mr. Shipp.*—THE EDITORS.

IN THREE or four places on the walls of the commandeered once fashionable private residence at Sixteenth and L Streets, Washington, D. C., now the headquarters of Dr. Harry Garfield and the Fuel Administration, you will see placarded in large frames, as if it were an admonitory text, President Wilson's statement:

> *"To the miner let me say that he stands where the farmer does; the work of the world waits on him. If he slacks or fails armies and statesmen are helpless. He also is enlisted in the great service army."*

"In view of the present coal shortage," I asked Dr. Garfield, "is it your opinion that the coal miners have taken President Wilson's words to heart?"

"So much so," was the reply, "that it is due largely to the patriotism of the mine workers and operators, loyally coöperating with the Fuel Administration, that we hope to show an increased production of 53 million tons.

"Practically all the operators have placed their facilities at the disposal of the Government, and in the matter of price regulation they have been of the greatest help. When certain public utilities were sadly hampered for fuel, one large operator shipped all the coal necessary at the President's price of $2 per ton Much of this had cost him $3 a ton and his patriotic loss was more than $30,000."

Even, Mr. Consumer, if you and your family are not quite so comfortable in your houses as you have been in former winters, you must not think the miners unpatriotic. There was less loss by strikes in 1917 than in many years. The 175,000 miners in the eastern Pennsylvania anthracite region bought more than 4 million dollars' worth of Liberty Bonds. There have been hundreds of well authenticated cases where miners have worked much longer than their usual hours in order to increase the output. In the Panther Creek Valley, Pennsylvania, where many miners were drafted for the Army, their fellows, left behind, after working their full time, went back for another shift at timbering and other company work.

If the coal bin of the domestic consumer is not filled, it might be well for him to know that 100 million tons of coal more than is normally produced in the United States is needed for war purposes. By speeding up production the patriotic efforts of operators and miners may bring the output 50 million tons above the normal. The remaining 50 million tons must be made available by economy and conservation!

It is to the task of conservation of coal and the proper solution of coal transportation problems that the efforts of the Fuel Administrator have been and are now being directed.

Says Dr. Garfield: "Coal mining is to a very large extent a transportation problem. The task is not in mining coal. Modern machinery loosens up the coal in large volumes. Mine cars carry the coal to the tipple, where it is dumped into the railroad cars waiting to carry it to its destination."

NOT ENOUGH RAILROAD CARS

But, unfortunately, the coal cars are not there "waiting to carry it to its destination."

Many of the larger mines with workers enough to run full time have been forced to average a little more than half their full capacity because of lack of cars. Some of these miners have gone three days and, in some cases a week, without mining a pound of coal—the mine and the men in enforced idleness.

Even if there were coal cars enough, there are not locomotives to haul them. Not enough of either to permit the mining of the coal. The total production of coal in the year amounts to more than 30 million carloads—just about half of all the freight moved in the United States. The deficiency in transportation is again aggravated by the enormous amount of additional transportation which the war has brought on the railroads. Of the new locomotives now being manufactured a majority must be sent to France for the transportation of guns, munitions, and supplies to the front.

Various difficulties, most of them transportation difficulties, affect each section of the country. Normally two thirds of the coal supply of New England reaches there by water. Coal from the Pocahontas and New River mines in West Virginia is shipped by rail to Newport News, Norfolk, and Sewalls Point. Then it goes by barge to New England. But the amount of coal which can be sent that way has been greatly cut down by the action of the Army and Navy departments in requisitioning ocean-going tugs for mine-sweeping and submarine-spotting. Without these tugs the coal barges are useless.

Out of the 30 million tons which is usually shipped to New England by water, only 24 million tons can now be supplied. This leaves a shortage of 6 million tons.

In the South, coal is not such an important element as in the North. There is less manufacturing, and less of fuel required for heating purposes. Also, wood is used more extensively than in the Northern states. The principal source of supply is the Alabama field, and there serious labor disputes have curtailed production.

But the most interesting administrative problem for Dr. Garfield to solve was his race against time to get coal enough to Minnesota, the Peninsula of Michigan, northern Wisconsin, and the Dakotas. To these states thousands of cars of coal were rushed by way of the Great Lakes, so that this district might be provisioned before the ice shut down on the lake traffic, thus ending all coal shipments to the northwestern territory.

When these coal shipments ceased because of the ice, the Fuel Administration at once directed the stream of coal toward Ohio and Michigan. The cars released there were at once available for the short haul necessary to carry coal to Ohio and Michigan points from the Northern mines.

But before this time came the Fuel Administration had some exciting experiences. The chilly citizens of Ohio and Indiana, short of coal themselves, could not stand the strain of seeing long trains of coal shooting through to

their Northern neighbors. In some places the railroad tracks were torn up; through freights were stopped; coal cars were taken from sidings. In not a few cases the thefts of coal were directed by the mayors and other city officials —this in towns which had only been allowed enough coal for immediate needs. The winter was already upon these people and they feared for the future of themselves and their families.

It was made plainly evident to the Fuel Administration that when it came to keeping the houses and the wives and babies warm, motives of unselfish patriotism rather went by the board. There came a wail from Mr. Homer L. Johnson, Fuel Administrator for Ohio, who told of a case where four cars of coal were, officially, ordered to one town where there was a painful shortage of fuel. The expectant and eager citizens turned up at the railroad yards provided with all sorts of vehicles—trucks, wagons, automobiles and even wheelbarrows—ready to unload the promised coal. Also, it did not come for all their waiting and the Fuel Administrator was not looked upon with kindly eyes until it was discovered that a town, just one hour away down the line, had stopped the train and confiscated all four cars of coal for its own use.

What made the matter worse was that the forcible stopping of this train disarranged all shipping plans, and the nervous citizens who had commandeered the four cars found that their own supply was already on the road.

Already the imposing of some sort of arbitrary limitation is threatened. "In such an event," says Dr. Garfield, "the business world may feel sure that all the bearings of such limitations will be given thorough consideration, and that the necessary coal will be obtained with the least possible interference with industry."

CONSERVATION OF COAL

Some time before the present winter set in, some industrial concerns had begun a voluntary curtailment of their use of coal. It was not necessary to get one's ear very close to the ground to hear of the Fuel Administration's determination that: "Sufficient coal for the war, for public utilities and for domestic consumers shall be provided."

Until very recently most of the warnings, the exhortations, the pleas for patriotic support were directed by the Fuel Administration to the miner, the mine operator, the railroads, and the industrial consumers. These have proved insufficient. Whatever may happen, coal must be found and supplied to the railroads, so that war material may be hauled. Coal must be found for the necessary public utilities. There must be coal for those factories engaged in manufacturing articles necessary to the honorable conduct of the war.

The old copybook maxim, "Waste not, want not," takes on an added and a grimmer significance in times like these, considering what we face!

At the request of the Fuel Administration, the Bureau of Mines has issued, for the use of factories, a set of six rules, designed for the conservation of fuel. These are:

1. Fire small quantities of coal at a time at short intervals.
2. Keep the fuel bed even by placing the coal on the thin spots of the fuel bed, and avoid raking and slicing the fuel bed.
3. Keep the fuel bed about six inches thick.
4. Control the steam pressure by regulating the draft, and regulate the draft by the draft damper in the uptake. Have the damper nearly closed when the fire is banked.
5. Clean fires when the demand for steam is small, and while cleaning have the draft damper partly closed.
6. Look out for leaks in brick work.

Each one of these rules is elaborated scientifically and technically, and placed in the hands of all manufacturers whose power plants are run by soft coal. This was done only after the Bureau of Mines had carried on extensive experiments to determine the fundamental principles of combustion processes and of furnace design. In addition it spent a long time making practical application of its theories at various governmental power plants.

But it is not alone the industries and factories that have had to be warned as to the need of coal economy. As Mr. Van H. Manning, director of the Bureau of Mines, says:

"We must reach the man with the shovel." And he continues:

"If the consumers can be aroused to an intelligent consideration of the burning of coal they can begin to save 10 per cent. of the production at once. With more effort, through instruction and a moderate remodeling of coal-burning equipment, which could all be

accomplished during the war, a further considerable saving can be made. The possible coal saving, when present practice is compared with the best ideal practice, is very large. If it were possible to supply the need of this country for light, heat, and power through the highest type of mechanical devices, and if we could make a skilled coal user out of the average user, we could probably get along with half as much coal as we are now consuming. This is far beyond present realization."

To aid in the necessary economies of coal the Conservation Division of the Fuel Administration has been organized. Carefully compiled statistics have analyzed the increased consumption of coal, and the amounts consumed in each war activity. That the present war work of the Nation can be performed with less coal consumption has been demonstrated, and the conclusion arrived at is that there are two tasks pending: one is to bring about economy in the use of fuel; the other is "limitation," which means the cutting off of coal consumption where its use is deemed wasteful or of small importance to the Nation.

TO SAVE COAL BY USING DAYLIGHT

The work of conservation is going steadily on. First proposed is the consolidation of plants, such as ice-making, whereby the present production may be maintained with the use of less fuel. The reduction of electricity used for needless display has already been accomplished. Congress is to be urged to pass a law for daylight-saving which it is estimated will save 1,000,000 tons of coal a year. In France, the daylight-saving plan has already saved 510,000 tons of coal.

Then plans are considered for the fullest use of all water power now available; and another plan to increase the use of wood for fuel, to aid in which the Department of Agriculture has offered the service of a large number of their foresters.

Last, but by no means least, of the duties of the new Bureau is the encouragement of conservation in the homes of the country.

So, Mr. Consumer, who may be worrying about the supply of coal in war time, the Fuel Administration points out to you—and the "you" includes every American citizen who heats a house—first that there is a shortage of coal and, second, that the miners are not to blame, nor the operators, as they are doing their part; third, that the railroads have to haul the coal and other supplies needed for the war before their services can be used to attend to the needs of private citizens.

Up to now, Americans have been as wasteful of coal as of other resources, largely because coal has been abundant. It will be abundant no longer until this war is over. It is clearly up to the domestic consumer to give time and thought to the conservation of coal. Statistics are usually hard reading, but some of the statistical proof offered by the Fuel Administration makes one think that perhaps, after all, Mrs. Partington might have swept back the sea if she had only persevered.

Here are some of the statistical epigrams:

If every housekeeper in the country would save one small shovelful of coal each day, at the end of a year the saving would amount to 15,000,000 tons.

If every housekeeper during the six winter months would save one furnace shovelful of coal a day, it would amount to 25,000,000 tons of coal.

These savings combined would amount to 40 million tons, which would almost wipe out the national shortage of 50 million tons.

The Fuel Administration offers practical instructions for the economical use of coal in stoves and furnaces.

Oil stoves and fireless cookers are recommended as coal savers.

There you have the practical side of coal conservation during the war. But with that sort of economy the Fuel Administration has linked up the conservation of health. It has long been a source of reproach, on the part of visitors to us from other shores, that we have always overheated our homes.

The advice of prominent physicians and surgeons has been asked, and the consensus of this opinion is that we should all be healthier, hardier, and more comfortable if our houses were kept at a temperature of 68 degrees Fahrenheit.

Of course, if the coal is not forthcoming, even this drop from the American citizen's usual 75 degrees may be a bit difficult to maintain.

But if one can't get the fuel, at least Dr. Garfield is showing how to get what comfort one may out of the thermometer!

WAR BRITAIN AND WAR AMERICA

Although the Two Great English-Speaking Nations Have Reached Their Conclusions by Different Courses, the Results Are Remarkably Similar

BY

FRANK DILNOT

A COMPARISON of the methods by which America and Britain have carried on their war preparations will be of interest for the future historian as illustrating not so much the fundamental differences between the two peoples as their fundamental similarity. There are differences, it is true, but they are differences which arise from manner, from geography, and from variation in social conditions. An examination shows that these are but externals, and now that a really tremendous national effort is called for, the course of action of the two nations, arrived at by separate consideration, is wonderfully in accord.

So far as the present situation is concerned there has to be taken into account the fact that Britain had to plow her way through a thousand difficulties and mistakes, and that America had the advantage of a clear view not only of what had been achieved, but also of what had been left undone, and the blunders which beset early misdirected effort. It was thus that America was able to start a national programme of effectiveness almost from the day she entered the war. The result is that America has achieved, in eight months, progress which was not reached by Britain in double that time.

When Britain entered the war and when America entered the war each country had a voluntary military system and a small army. They were both democratic, peaceful nations; to the English-speaking peoples on both sides of the Atlantic militarism was abhorrent. Huge armies with the constant vision of war were no part of either nation. But necessity knows neither law nor custom. The present emergency caused both countries to resort to the draft, but the conditions under which compulsion was adopted differed widely in the two cases. This was bound to be the state of affairs in view of the fact that America came into the war two and a half years after the other nations had been fighting.

When the war started in 1914 I remember seeing throngs of men waiting outside the recruiting offices in London for the chance to get in and enlist. There were tens of thousands of these enthusiasts. The military authorities were unable to keep pace with the inrush of men, and this state of affairs went on for months. For a year the recruits were so numerous that they were far ahead of the arrangements for equipping them. But presently conditions altered somewhat. Whereas at the start, and for many months afterward, everybody thought in hundreds of thousands, there was subsequently driven home the realization that men would have to be counted in millions to be effective against the forty-years' war preparation of Germany. By the middle of 1915 it was seen that the number enlisted (probably amounting to something like three millions) would not be enough, and from that time onward there became manifest a growing feeling in favor of compulsion. This arose not only from the need for more men, but also from the necessity for classification. While many young men who might have enlisted held back, there were tens of thousands of miners, skilled shipbuilders, and others who had joined the army and who would have been of more service to their country in their ordinary occupations. The system of registering all the people in Britain between the ages of fifteen and sixty-five was followed by a patriotic campaign which secured a very large number of additional voluntary recruits. By the beginning of 1916, however, the determination of the country, reflected in Parliament, resulted in the passing of legislative measures providing for the drafting of men between the ages of eighteen and forty. There was a good deal of opposition to the compulsion measures, but the practically unanimous determination of the British people with regard to the war made short work of all beliefs with regard to voluntarism. The argument that compulsion

was not necessarily opposed to democratic principles was largely, indeed principally, supported by the examples of Washington and Lincoln. How large is the total force that has been raised by compulsory measures will be for the future to disclose, but it cannot be doubted that before compulsion was enforced between four and five million volunteers were forthcoming from the forty-five millions of population in the British Isles.

In America the situation was entirely different. Surveying the war from a distance it was possible for Americans to get a clear view, not only of the aims of the conflict, but also of its general course and of the condition in which it was being fought. The elements for victory and defeat were set out plainly. President Wilson, on setting the stage for entry into war, did what will in future years seem one of the most dramatic things in a dramatic period. He went down to Congress, made a speech which practically declared war on Germany, and in the same speech as a corollary advocated compulsory service for the young men of America.

The draft system was only a part of it—but it was an integral part; it set the seal of sacrifice on the whole Nation at the moment it declared for entry into the war. In a flash the country saw what it had to face. In its result, compulsion in America will probably differ only in degree from compulsion in Britain. There are here more than one hundred millions of population to select from. The draft age is for young men from twenty-one to thirty inclusive. About ten million have been registered. It looks as if there may be drawn from that ten million almost as many as Britain has raised from her men up to forty-one. This American army of millions will have the tremendous advantage of youthfulness. The resources in America as compared with those of Britain are sufficiently demonstrated by the fact that the draft in America will produce enough young men for fighting without calling on its middle-aged. Apart from the fact that American commanders will be handling young men naturally better fitted than older men for fighting, there remains the tremendous fact that the older men here from thirty upward are left to continue the processes of production which in themselves are as important as work on the battle front.

Should the war continue and the necessity arise for the calling of men up to the age of forty, America would be in the unprecedented position of having at her command an army approximating ten million men. By her clear-sighted and strenuous preliminary work the production of that force would be simply the development and extension of the plan already in its early stages of operation. In these facts resides one of the great contrasts between Britain and America.

In the climax of the war one of the noteworthy facts of the great struggle has been that the two great democracies of America and Britain have each virtually given over their executive governing functions to a dictator. Although different in many respects, the two nations are at least alike in this, that the constitution of each is based on government of the people by the people. Of all national traits none is more strongly developed or more jealously guarded than the sovereign right of the people to make and administer laws, and for these purposes to choose their instruments freely and at frequent intervals.

THE TWO DICTATORS

There are variations, of course. In the United States the four-years' tenure of office of the President, his powers in the selection and dismissal of his cabinet, and his constitutional authority in a hundred matters make him a directing influence with a stability unknown in connection with any executive position in Britain. At the same time he is subject to the pressure of public opinion directly expressed through Congress or less directly through the press. Firmly based as are his functions, he is yet subject to influences by any great wave of opinion or emotion which sweeps through the Nation of which he is the temporary head. In Britain, on the other hand, the Prime Minister (who most nearly resembles the President in his functions) is but an individual member of the Cabinet, and like the rest of his colleagues responsible to Parliament for his actions and policy. Withal he is the mouthpiece of the Government in any great national pronouncement in the country and in Parliament. The vital difference between him and the President of the United States is that Parliament has the power to accept or reject his policies immediately in a clear-cut way, and the result of this is that, should Parliament turn down by vote any big proposition of the Government made by the Prime Minister or by one

of the Cabinet Ministers on his behalf, the Government is overthrown and the King has to select a new one. That new Government in its turn has to secure the approbation of Parliament for its policy, or in its turn be thrown out. If a set of Ministers cannot be assembled at once to secure the approval of Parliament a dissolution follows, and then a general election. Thus it is that the will of the people in Britain is always the guide of national action. With regard to the Prime Minister it should be said that he is nominally chosen by the King, but of course the King always takes the leader who is acceptable to the party to which he belongs. All this makes it the more remarkable that Mr. Lloyd-George should have secured a position in Britain probably unequaled in its power since the days of Oliver Cromwell. It is true that Parliament still discusses various proposals, but vast powers have been delegated to the ministry. Of this Mr. Lloyd-George is the head and moving spirit.

Here in America the position has resolved itself into something very similar, in effect, although the processes are different in form. The wide powers conferred on the President by Congress have made him the master of the daily life of practically every one in the United States, and be it remembered that whereas Britain is a small compact country with forty-five millions of inhabitants the United States is a huge continent with a scattered population of a hundred million. The President's difficulties and responsibilities are potentially greater than, though at the present time not so intense as, those of the Prime Minister of Britain. But the technical prominence of his position necessarily gives him the power which, while in form rather more dictatorial than that of Britain's Prime Minister, is nevertheless of some advantage in times when firm decisions by a capable man have to be taken without too much regard to minor consequences. When all is said and explained about these two dictators of the two great democracies there remains the fundamental fact that neither could remain for long in his extraordinary position but for the inherent qualities possessed by them, qualities of brain, but more than that, qualities of character, for it is trust of the individual man which has rallied to each the whole-hearted support of the free peoples over whom they have been selected to govern. The great powers which have been given to them reflect the wide vision and the high soul of the communities which have selected them. That these two men are worthy of the historic positions which they have been called upon to hold has been already demonstrated, and will be demonstrated still further in the future.

THE LABOR RALLY IN BRITAIN AND AMERICA

There is a similarity in the way labor has come to the aid of the situation in both countries. What difference there is is one of degree only—the degree of necessity for sacrifices. The trade unions of America, under Mr. Samuel Gompers's leadership, have shown a patriotism and determination for their country's cause which will certainly be accentuated as time goes on. There is no reasonable doubt that the three million labor unionists here will, if called on, make the same sacrifices that their brothers in Britain have made cheerfully and without stint.

It is not possible to compare closely the two labor movements for the reason that America has been only eight months in the war whereas Britain has been in more than three years. As the contest progresses and the strain becomes greater that the test will be applied to the country as a whole and to labor in particular. There is in England, as in this country, a comparatively small minority of extreme Socialists who, while denying they are pro-German, are certainly pacifists, and whose negative attitude may be regarded as injurious to their country. In Britain these men, holding various shades of pacifist opinion, number probably about twenty thousand, and that is all there are among the three million organized trade unionists of Britain. The remainder of this three million are staunch, ardent patriots who yielded up their hundreds of thousands of voluntary enlistments before the draft was set up and who throughout the war have relinquished trade union principles, have worked to the limit of physical endurance in order to secure ultimate victory, of which not a man is in doubt. The enormous importance of this fact will be realized when it is said that owing to the extraordinarily effective organizations of industries it would have been possible for the labor movement to have stopped the war so far as England was concerned. There are more than 300,000 members in the railway men's union of Britain and more than 600,000 in the miners' union. These

two systems of national work might have been paralyzed if leaders and men had not been filled with a patriotic spirit. In the shipbuilding yards, in the great engineering works, there has been manifested similar feeling. In these latter industries particularly the workers have been called upon for sacrifices. By a half century of continuous work against unparalleled difficulties they had built up the fabric of trade unionism to protect their labor from exploitation, to safeguard their hours, and to secure healthful conditions for themselves and their families. Bitter experience had taught them how tightly it was necessary to hold to rights secured under such severe handicaps. But these same rights and privileges which enabled them to say that so many hours' work should be done, that unskilled men should not be employed at skilled operations, and that piece-rate payment should be severely restricted—all these conditions and many others were sacrificed by them on the appeal of the Government in order that there should be a great outpouring of material for the purposes of the war. The Government, and Mr. Lloyd-George in particular, at a very early stage realized the importance of labor in Britain for the purposes of the war, and it was in the administration of Mr. Asquith that the chairman of the labor party, Mr. Arthur Henderson, was made a minister, and two other labor leaders were made subordinate ministers. When Mr. Lloyd-George formed his cabinet he appointed eight labor ministers altogether, three of them being in the Cabinet. The longer the war has gone on, the more it has become evident that labor must be heart and soul in the national cause in order to secure victory. There is every indication that in both Britain and America labor will have a part which will be noteworthy in history for its patriotism.

CONSCRIPTION OF BRAINS

One of the most remarkable similarities between America and Britain has been the enlistment in the service of the state of the best executive brains in private life. When America entered upon the war President Wilson promptly took action, and invited the services of many private leaders in running the new and tremendous war business of the United States. Mr. Daniel Willard, the well known railroad president, is now the head of the War Industries Board. Mr. Vanderlip, a great bank manager, was called in by Mr. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury, to help in the flotation of the Liberty Loan. Mr. Julius Rosenwald, the head of the mail-order business of Sears, Roebuck & Co., in Chicago, has charge of the buying of ready-made supplies for national purposes. Mr. Baruch, one of the most successful stock exchange men in Wall Street, is in Washington helping, with his great talents, to secure the immense quantities of raw material at a proper price, and under proper conditions. Mr. Edison, one of America's greatest men for all time, has been busy day and night for months devising, with his fertile brain, schemes for the protection of the overseas traffic. In Britain there has been a similar call upon the acuter brains of the nation. Lord Devonport, a recently created peer who made a huge fortune from a chain of grocer shops throughout the country, was appointed Food Controller, and, though he has since retired, he laid the foundation of the organization. Sir Joseph Maclay of Glasgow, unknown in public life hitherto, has been appointed Shipping Controller, and when the importance of the organization of the mercantile marine to Britain in particular and to the Allies in general is realized, it is obvious that the appointment is one of supreme importance. Sir S. H. Lever, an expert financier also unknown in public life, was appointed financial secretary of the Treasury. Sir Robert Stanley, a successful railway man, was appointed president of the Board of Trade, which is concerned with the commerce of the country. Sir Eric Geddes, a young American railroad official who distinguished himself by organization work, is at the present time the chief of the Admiralty. But these appointments, important as they have been, are only an indication of the way in which the talent of the country has been conscripted. When Mr. Lloyd-George was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and had to remodel the financial conditions soon after the outbreak of the war, he called into consultation the chief bankers and financiers of the country, asked their advice and assistance, and remodeled on their counsel a scheme which met with almost universal approbation. Later, when he was setting up the munition factories all over the country, he not only called to his assistance engineer experts in London, but he also persuaded manufacturers in each locality to gather together, and to devise schemes to

produce munitions in their own particular districts. Subsequently at Whitehall, there have been committees of the most eminent men in the country in their particular departments, devising schemes and making plans for output to the limit of the activities with which they are most familiar. Wherever specialists could be found they were invited to assist in the great work the country has on hand. In Britain and in America men making great fortunes in their private businesses have given them up, and have come forward without remuneration to labor arduously for their country's good.

WOMEN IN THE WAR

Up to the present the women of America have not been called upon to do as much as the women of Britain, but no one who has lived in the United States can doubt that when the call comes American women will respond to it at least as enthusiastically as the women of Britain. There are a hundred things the women can do without too great a strain on them. They may be found now acting as conductors of the trolley cars and omnibuses, not only in London but in all the great towns of the country. They are operating the elevators, and many of the taxicabs as well as private automobiles are driven by them. They have very largely taken the place of the ticket examiners at the railroad stations, and they are to be found in most ticket offices taking the fares from railroad passengers. Many are employed in the parks and public gardens. Indeed, there is hardly any of the lighter occupations previously in the hands of men which have not been largely taken up by the women of Britain. The necessity for this kind of social revolution has not yet come upon America. But an indication of the spirit of American women and their potentiality for future service is evidenced by their enthusiasm in Red Cross work, in service for the army canteens, and in the working guilds for the provision of additional clothing. They are displaying a skill and determination which matches that of their British sisters.

England, like America, is separated into two main political parties with basic differences of principle with regard to the conduct of national affairs. While the Republicans and Democrats on the one hand, and those of the Conservatives and Liberals on the other, do not exactly correspond, there is, nevertheless, a good deal of similarity in the organization of opinion behind each section. There are, moreover, the personal rivalries and animosities which are bound to spring from strong aims on either side. Before the war broke out President Wilson and his political programme provided a constant target of criticism for his leading opponents. Sometimes it was hard to imagine that he could do anything right—if one were to be entirely guided by what one heard from his critics. All this has been changed by the war. The Republicans and Democrats have been bound together in the whole-hearted spirit of the head of the State. Indeed, it has been remarkable in many discussions in Congress to find that some of the strongest help for President Wilson has come from the Republican side. It just goes to show that when America is at war domestic differences do not count at all, and that all right-minded men are strenuous in their help by word and action for the leader of the Nation. That help, of course, is much stimulated and heightened when, as in the case of President Wilson, the leader proves by his conduct of affairs that he is strong, clear-sighted, and a man with vision as well as purpose. The position here is more or less paralleled by that of England. Before the war Mr. Lloyd-George, while a very popular figure with one section of the community, was regarded as a sinister politician by the other section of the population. He was bitterly assailed in some of the most influential circles, and at one period the hatred which encircled him was really phenomenal. Incidentally it may be stated that this arose not merely from his policies, nor from the pungent character of his oratory, but almost entirely from the fact that he was a man who put things through, and who carried into legislation and into administrative effect the various policies which he had initiated. By the force of events this man has been placed in the position of the leader of the nation, and, what is still more remarkable, the very qualities which at one time made him thoroughly hated have now made him the presiding chief of all the people, and have caused those who were loudest and fiercest in their denunciations to pay tribute openly to him as the one man fitted to lead the country in this great emergency.

A RED CROSS WAREHOUSE IN PARIS

This old stable, which used to hold a thousand cab-horses before the day of the taxicab in Paris, was cleaned, remodeled, and converted into a warehouse in record time. It now provides the Red Cross with a million cubic feet of storage space. There are sixteen American Red Cross warehouses in France

THE RED CROSS—INTERNATIONAL ENGINEER

BY

GEDDES SMITH

BUSINESS is business. Philanthropy is sometimes business, also. But the Red Cross is bigger than business and overtops philanthropy. It is international engineering.

Forgetting, for the moment, the sudden distress of Italy, the horror at Halifax, and the destitution of Belgium—that corner of Belgium which is still in Belgian hands—and the practical extinction of Serbia, and the incoherent helplessness of Russia, and the suffering of Rumania, where wounds have been dressed with sawdust because there was nothing better, and the unspeakable misery of the Armenians and Syrians—the single fact that our ally, France, faces the ruin of a civilization which the world loves makes the task of the Red Cross as compelling as it is tremendous.

France lost almost 2 per cent. of her whole population last year. Her birth rate is falling abruptly while her death rate rises. A third of her young men have died since the Germans plunged through Belgium. And while men wounded twice, three times, four, five, six times are sent back again and again into the trenches, while the feeble-minded are being used in military work behind the lines, the whole fabric of daily life and industry throughout France is threatened.

To define the work of the Red Cross in France to-day you must first conceive of a nation—not an army alone—in need, and then try to imagine another nation working to meet that need through a highly specialized organization with a great producing staff here, a highly organized transportation system, and a distributing staff on the other side. And then you must add to your picture the vast bulk of misery in Russia, and Rumania, and what is left of Serbia, and Italy, and Belgium, and

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MR. ELIOT WADSWORTH

Formerly of the engineering firm of Stone & Webster, of Boston, vice-chairman of the Central Committee of the American Red Cross and ex-officio member of the War Council

trace the march of relief into each of these nations as well. There are more than five million Americans (and it will be fifteen million by Christmas) projecting themselves and their hardheaded sympathy and their business acumen and their engineering skill across two oceans to help six nations rebuild themselves.

Not that Americans have any reason to feel that they are conferring a favor on France, or on any other of their Allies. France is self-reliant. Circumstances have made France endure a very large share of a task that belongs to all of us. We are, then, helping a nation which is at the same time helping us. Our help to them and theirs to us is conducted by mutual coöperation. Run your finger down the list of enterprises which the American Red Cross has launched in France, and you will find very many which represent either a definite piece of coöperation with the French Government or a definite reinforcement of an existing agency which recognized the need long ago and has been forging bravely ahead despite tremendous handicaps. It is not well for us to overestimate the service of America in France, nor to misunderstand it. But it is a service of which every American can justly be proud.

It is no longer possible, obviously, to define the work of the Red Cross in terms of hospitals and nursing alone. You must think of factories, motor trucks, lunch-rooms, hospitals, asylums, traveling dispensaries, shower-baths on wheels, ocean shipping, warehouses, chapter work-rooms; of home workers, laboratories, doctors, orderlies, business men, carpenters, lawyers, financiers, cooks, chaplains, chauffeurs, nurses, railroad experts, waitresses, and hundreds of men and women of other sorts and conditions.

The War Council has defined the principles on which the Red Cross is working in the following words:

1. To be ready to care for our soldiers and sailors on duty wherever and whenever that care may be needed.

2. To shorten the war—by strengthening the morale of the Allied peoples and their armies, by alleviating their sufferings in the period which must

elapse until the American Army can become fully effective abroad.

3. To lay the foundations for an enduring peace—by extending a message of practical relief and sympathy to the civilian population among our Allies, carrying to them an expression of the finest side of the American character.

The Red Cross platform means more than any brief summary here can convey. One can only pick here and there an illuminating detail. And, not by any means because it is the most important, but because it shows up in homely relief the spirit in which the whole work is done, let us begin with the story of Boone, Iowa, a town with a population of about 12,000.

When the troops were to be moved to camp and cantonment this fall, more than a thousand chapters organized "refreshment units" which prepared themselves to furnish light refreshments and extend a welcome to the soldiers who passed through their respective towns. Here, in part, is what happened in the little town of Boone:

MR. HARVEY D. GIBSON

President of the Liberty National Bank in New York, who as general manager of the Red Cross has effected a complete organization which provides for the utilization of millions of volunteer workers in making relief supplies for use abroad

"Our first troop train arrived less than a week after we were organized. The men lined up in front of the cars and the ladies of the Canteen Committee, assisted by Boy Scouts in uniform, distributed peaches. As some of these young Westerners had not tasted fruit since leaving their native state, they assured the Committee that no other refreshments would have been more enjoyable.

"Friday two trains were due. Peaches, apples, and cookies were distributed at one o'clock. A postal sub-station was placed at the depot, post cards and pencils were distributed, and a local 'movie' house invited the men to be guests for the afternoon. Automobiles carried the soldiers to places of interest.

"In talking with the first trainload of soldiers we learned that home-made apple pie would be appreciated, so for this day the Committee solicited home-made apple pies, and 38 of these were donated, which furnished dessert for the company at their evening meal.

"In sixteen days," the report continues, "the Boone Canteen Committee of the Red Cross served light refreshments to 3,530 men, 2,205 in three days and 1,175 in two days, home-made apple pie to 1,142 men in twenty-

MR. HENRY P. DAVISON
Of J. P. Morgan & Company. Chairman of the Red Cross War Council
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CORNELIUS N. BLISS, JR.
Of Bliss, Fabyan & Company, New York. A member of the Red Cross War Council
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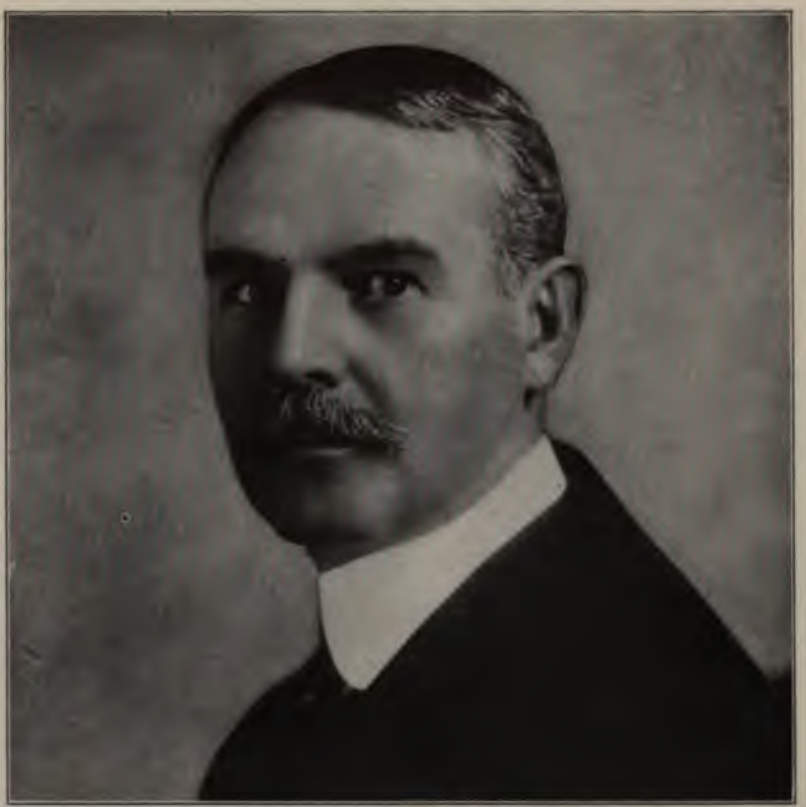

MR. JOHN D. RYAN

Of Butte, Mont. President of the Anaconda Copper Mining Company, and a member of the Red Cross War Council

MR. CHARLES D. NORTON

Vice-president of the First National Bank, New York, and a member of the Red Cross War Council

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MR. ROBERT P. PERKINS

President of the Bigelow-Hartford Carpet Company, of New York, who headed the Red Cross Commission to Italy which will carry on the relief work begun so promptly during the Italian retreat

four hours, each man receiving a quarter of a pie.

"We have and are still receiving splendid letters of appreciation from everywhere the boys came from. The people of Boone are more than willing to do their little 'bit' for the splendid fellows who are giving so much."

Small wonder that soldiers' letters all over the country have been carrying messages like this:

At Philadelphia the Red Cross Chapter was prepared for us. We each got a lunch box, cigarettes and sarsaparilla. It was delicious and we could hug the kind-faced ladies of Philadelphia. We feel that the world has some use for us. We are no longer insignificant brown rabbits in khaki.

It is simpler to give a piece of apple pie to a soldier in your own town than to put a gauze compress into a surgeon's hand in France, but the spirit behind the Red Cross service to the troops is the same no matter how complicated the machinery.

An American transport was sunk a few weeks ago. When its survivors, who had escaped with nothing but the scanty clothing they wore, reached a French port after hours of exposure, the Red Cross had a representative waiting for them. Coöperating with the military authorities, he assisted in getting hospital and hotel accommodations for the men, according to their need, advanced wages to the crew, provided funds and clothing for some officers and cashed checks for others, and communicated with the families of those who were saved. That is the sort of emergency service the Red Cross renders.

But the fundamental service of the Red Cross to the Army is not an emergency affair, but a matter of thoroughgoing preparedness. Many months before we entered the war, the Red Cross, in coöperation with the Army Medical Corps, had begun to get together hospital personnel and equipment for Army use. It is obvious that doctors and nurses who are accustomed to work together can get under way more quickly, in an emergency, than a company newly assembled. So the Red Cross has recruited and equipped, at forty-nine of the most important hospitals and medical schools in the country, "base hospital units"

MAJOR GRAYSON M.-P. MURPHY

American Red Cross commissioner for Europe, in general charge of all European relief. Major Murphy is senior vice-president of the Guaranty Trust Company, of New York, and is a West Point graduate. During the Italian retreat he went from Paris to Rome and within three weeks after his arrival had organized nation-wide relief in Italy

THE PRESBYTERIAN HOSPITAL MEDICAL UNIT—
It is now located at the United States Reserve Base Hospital No. 2. It was one of the first medical units to leave this country
hospital units, each capable of taking

—each capable of taking complete charge of a hospital of at least 500 beds. They are being mustered into the Army Medical Corps as they are needed.

Six of these were summoned for service immediately after the United States entered the war, and promptly went to work behind the British lines, the very first detachment of the American Army to see service in Europe. More than a dozen are in France now. The fact that such men as Dr. Harvey Cushing of Boston, Dr. George E. Brewer of New York, Dr. George W. Crile of Cleveland, and Dr. F. A. Vesley of Chicago head these units is suggestive of their professional rank. Their devotion and efficiency has been demonstrated in service.

One of these hospitals was bombed by a German aviator. Four of its staff were killed, twenty-two British patients and ten of the staff were wounded. The attack came at 11 o'clock at night. Less than one minute after the last bomb fell the orderlies, nurses, and doctors were at work, in pitch darkness, collecting and attending to the victims. A nurse was struck in the face by a steel splinter; she refused to be relieved and worked on. An orderly, painfully wounded, tied up his own head and stuck to his job. The surgeons operated all night long. And the next day the hospital went about its business as usual.

From some of these hospitals surgical teams are sent out to the casualty clearing stations just behind the front. Dr. Brewer, of Columbia University and the Presbyterian Hospital, New York, writes of an experience on one of these teams:

> During the battles the work was very strenuous, and in one day our station received 900 wounded. That, however, was our biggest day, but we rarely received less than 200 during a given twenty-four hours. We had eight surgical teams and operating rooms going day and night during the entire seven weeks. Under ordinary conditions each team worked twelve hours a day, but occasionally when some "particular push" was on, the teams worked sixteen hours out of the twenty-four.
>
> I never did as much surgery in as short a time in all my life. It was intensely interesting, but the character of the wounds was something beyond description. I have never seen such mutilations or such a distressing multiplicity of injuries. On the other hand, I have never seen such superb courage and such magnificent self-control as that shown by the patients who came under our care.

—ON THE DAY IT SAILED FOR FRANCE

for France after our entrance into the war. The American Red Cross has recruited and equipped forty-nine base charge of a hospital of at least 500 beds

We were bombed three times in five days, and as you probably know, Miss McDonald, my office nurse, was wounded. Miss McDonald lost her right eye, but is again back at the Hospital waiting to go on duty as soon as the surgeon will allow it.

Besides paving the way for these Army hospitals, the Red Cross has now several hospitals of its own in France and England, among them the institution which Dr. Joseph A. Blake's brilliant surgery has made famous. Along the line of communication it is opening rest rooms for the American Army, each with ample provision for the care of men who are taken sick on their way from shipboard to camp, or vice versa, and with canteens capable in some cases of feeding a thousand men an hour. Forty dispensaries in the American Army zone, to which the Army details doctors and the Red Cross furnishes nurses and equipment, are caring for the health of the civilian population, who suffer from the mobilization of French physicians. In one district which normally had a hundred doctors, for instance, there are now only eighteen, none less than sixty-five years old. This work of improving general health conditions before the coming of the American troops, and afterward, contributes both to the morale of the French and the welfare of our own men.

It is hard to draw the line between work for our own Army and that for the French Army. The very first day it opened, for instance, one of the Red Cross canteens for the French Army served not only a group of *chasseurs* who had been instructing American troops, but a detachment of American engineers too. And the whole machinery of the Hospital Supply Service, which, with its chain of warehouses and its motor-truck delivery service, supplies between three and four thousand hospitals in France with general equipment and materials, is at the command of American hospitals to the very limit of its resources.

Morale is a word one often hears in this war. The dictionary defines it as "state of mind, as of soldiers, with reference to confidence, courage, etc." In the Great War, with whole nations pitted against whole nations, and even the butter-plate and sugar-bowl recognized as engines of war, we have learned that the morale of the people at home is quite as important as that of the soldiers, and that the two are very intimately interrelated.

So the Red Cross says, in effect, to our

FOUR IMPORTANT STAGES—

Handling a stretcher around a corner in a communicating trench. The wounded are usually removed from the trenches at night, though in some parts of the line this can be done in the daytime

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—IN THE PROGRESS OF WOUNDED SOLDIERS—

The American Ambulance in France, which until recently was organized as a separate unit, has since our entrance into the war been made a part of the United States Army

—FROM THE FRONT-LINE TRENCHES—

Removing the wounded from ambulance to hospital. Each patient wears a tag upon which a record is kept of his progress from field dressing station to casualty clearing station or evacuation hospital and finally to the base hospital

—UNTIL THEIR FINAL RECOVERY

A hospital for convalescents, to which the wounded men are removed after their discharge from the base hospital. For a detailed diagram of the various stages of removal of the wounded see page 293

Allies: "We know, and you know, that the American Army is coming to play its part in this war. We know, and you know, that it will take time for that Army to make its weight felt. In the meantime, we put all America's sympathy and service at your command so that your own fighting men may be heartened and your own civilians may be kept, so far as possible, from suffering and destitution which will not only lessen their own power to serve now, but will lay a heavy burden on their future."

It is friendly and humane, and for the sake of morale it is highly strategic, to serve the French soldier as the Red Cross serves him through its canteens. Men just out of the trenches are not comfortable in body or mind. Unless something is done to prevent, dirt, vermin, disease, and fatigue go with them to their homes when they go back on leave. Until the Red Cross, at the suggestion of French officers, took the situation in hand, these men were waiting idly and unhappily, or sleeping on station platforms, at the junction points where the fortunes of war and the vagaries of war-time transportation compelled them to wait for their trains.

To-day, at four stations, the 18,000 men who pass through them daily find comfort, soap, good food, and good cheer at Red Cross canteens. Soon there will be many more such outposts of civilization. There the soldier can bathe, disinfect his clothing, and buy a simple hot meal. The food costs a few cents; everything else is free. In the lunch-rooms he finds no spoons, cups, knives, or forks—but why should he? A bowl of coffee, to a man just back from a hole in the mud, is a blessing that needs no frivolous attachments.

He does find American women who serve and who furnish the genuine welcome that is fully as important as food or drink. Beaux-Arts men in the Army have embellished the building itself with bright colors and fanciful decorations. Everything fights trench lethargy and trench discouragement.

For men who want to sleep there are plenty of bunks and, best of all, a boy scout to waken each one in time for his train. One grizzled old poilu found a canteen so much to his liking that, since he had neither home nor kin, he spent his whole *permission* there.

"Civilian relief" in France—a prosaic, institutional term—would make a long story and an absorbing one if it could be told in full. Off to the south, at Evian, on Lake Geneva, for instance, the repatriated are pouring into France at the rate of a thousand a day. Old men and women, little children, broken prisoners of war, no longer of any possible service to the Germans who had held them captive, are sent back to France through Switzerland.

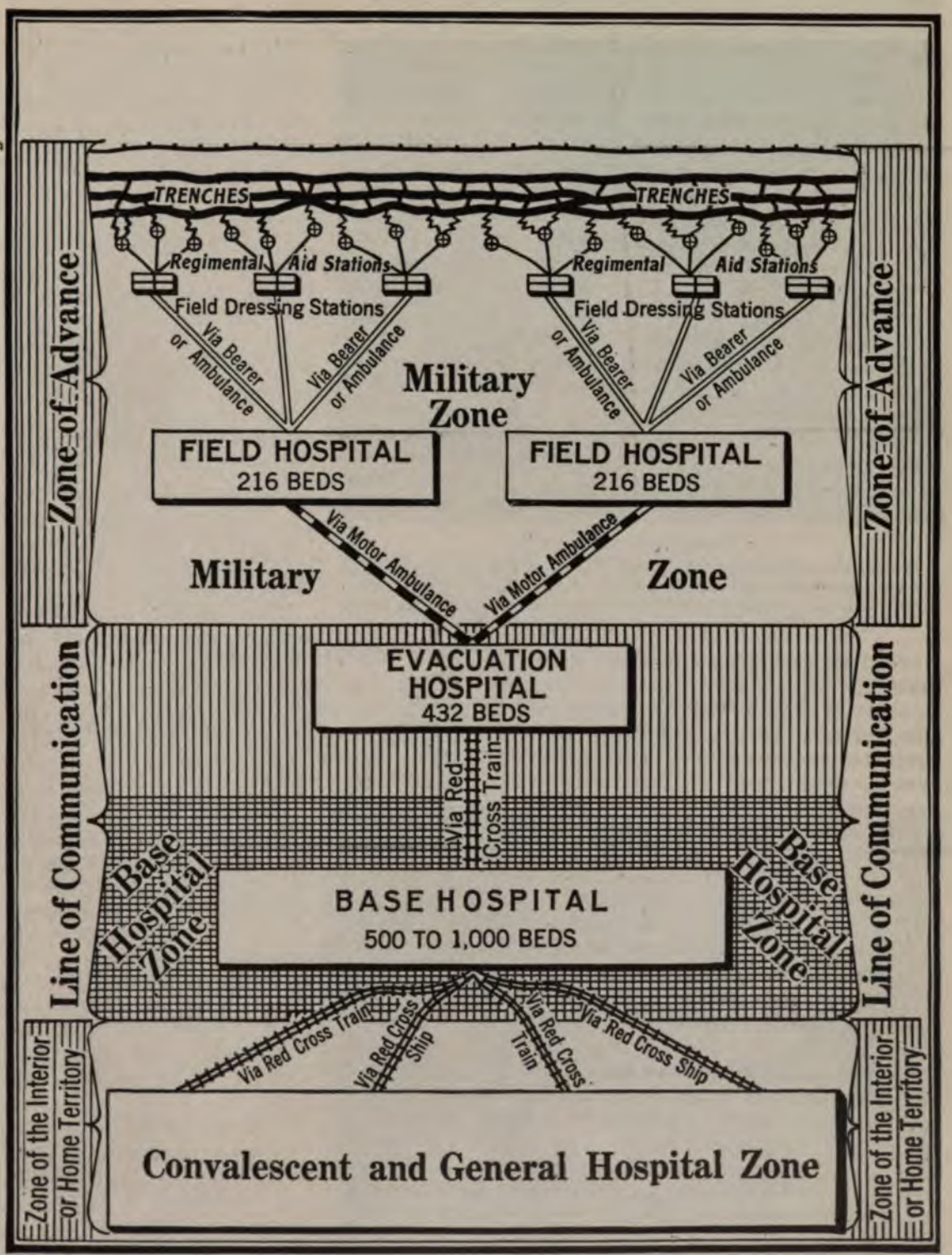
They come home enfeebled, under-nourished, in many instances seriously diseased. The Red Cross carries the more helpless in its motor ambulances through the city to their point of departure. It cares for the sick children in several hospitals, for they must be washed and fed and cured of the infectious diseases which they often bring into France, before they go farther.

In Paris, in the splendid building on the Place de la Concorde which has been given the Red Cross for its headquarters, rent free for a year, is an office where a visitor with two legs is a rarity. The Red Cross has opened a workshop where good American artificial limbs—admittedly the best—are made for the French Government to issue to its mutilated soldiers. To this bureau the cripples come, and efficient care makes it possible for them to get limbs so perfectly adapted to their special needs that they can become self-supporting and comfortable.

Close behind the line of battle, on a hillside overlooking a French town, is a barracks housing six hundred children. They came from nearby villages, where gas bombs made life uncertain enough for adults and much too precarious for boys and girls too small to use gas-masks. The prefect and their mothers—when they had any mothers—appealed to the Americans for help, and the youngsters are safely sheltered now under competent medical supervision. Children who had lost, in the cruel neglect which war causes, even the most elementary knowledge of the care of their own bodies, are being reclaimed for France.

From another village where bombardment has played havoc with the lives of the children, a curiously equipped motor car is making daily trips to neighboring towns. It carries a doctor, a nurse, a little dispensary, and a shower bath. It gives many children the first bath they have had for months, and brings them medical care which they desperately need.

In Paris, badly housed, unassimilated,



THE RED CROSS ON THE BATTLEFIELD

The diagram shows the stages of removal of the wounded from the firing line, and the means of communication between the various zones. The theatre of operations is divided into three main zones: the zone of advance, the line of communication, and the zone of the interior or home territory. In the first zone are situated the field dressing stations and the field hospitals; in the second, the evacuation hospital and the base hospital, and in the third, the general and home hospital

A "ROLLING CANTEEN"

Through the coöperation of the French Red Cross and the American Red Cross a "rolling canteen" is to be provided for every corps of the French Army. It is used to keep hot or cold the refreshing drinks which are served to the soldiers on their way to and from the first-line trenches

crowded six and seven in a single room, are thousands of refugees. Throughout France there are probably a million and a half persons uprooted from their own homes. The Red Cross is coöperating with official and unofficial agencies to find and fill better lodgings in Paris, to complete unfinished apartments, and to assure these unhappy families at least a tight roof and a minimum of furniture and equipment.

Behind the lines, in the devastated zone, which has been carefully districted for relief, are four warehouses. Each is stocked with food, clothing, bedding, beds, household utensils, and agricultural implements, which are distributed widely to French families who, as the Commission reports, "have to begin again where North American Indians would begin." Under the guidance of the Woman's Bureau, in America, Red Cross women are making specially prepared garments for these refugees—babies, children, parents and all.

There are four little villages—where 235 inhabitants remain out of 3,387 before the war, and where many houses have become heaps of rubble—in good wheat country, where the Red Cross is centering its experimental work of reconstruction so that the returning refugees can do something toward getting a spring crop.

AT A RAILROAD STATION IN PARIS

From which troops leave for the front. A worker from a canteen in which a *Frenchwoman and the* American Red Cross coöperate is distributing comfort *kits to soldiers bound for the trenches*

The blow against Italy fell just after a Red Cross preliminary commission of inquiry had left the country. Immediately an emergency fund of $250,000 was put at the disposal of the American Ambassador, Mr. Page; Major Murphy, Commissioner for Europe, hurried from Paris to Rome; the relief fund was tripled; and Red Cross supplies began pouring into Italy.

Forty-six carloads of assorted material were speedily shipped from France. A warehouse was established in Rome with supplies of mattresses, sheets, pillow cases, hospital clothes, blankets, ether, sweaters, women's and children's clothing. Condensed milk was distributed to children and the sick from Genoa and Milan.

Carload lots of relief materials were also despatched to Florence, Bologna, Naples, Catania, Leghorn, Genoa, and Milan.

Twenty-three ambulances with experienced personnel set out overland from Paris. Contracts were let for fifty more. Distribution of hospital supplies and systematic visits to the Italian military hospitals were immediately begun.

Soup kitchens were organized in Rome, Ancona, Ravenna, Genoa, and Milan. The Red Cross financed a crèche for 100 refugee children in Rome under the direction of Garibaldi's grand-daughter. A million lire ($200,000) was appropriated to aid the needy families of soldiers at the front.

THE "BLAKE EXTENSION"

Used at American Red Cross Military Hospital No. 2 in Paris. This device of Dr. Joseph A. Blake's is used with great success in the treatment of particularly distressing fractures. The Red Cross is making this and other apparatus in workshops in France which reinforce the work of the hospitals

This was the work of something less than three weeks. Such a response to an emergency would have been impossible without thorough organization. It requires machinery that does not break down, and competent engineers, to maintain relief work on an international scale.

Major Grayson M.-P. Murphy, who headed the original Red Cross mission to France, is in general charge of all the work in Europe. He is a West Point man, and so fitted to work harmoniously with the Army. He has, indeed, been made a member of General Pershing's staff. He is also senior vice-president of the Guaranty Trust Company of New York, and is equipped to handle the tremendous problems of finance and general administration that are involved in his task.

His colleagues on the French Commission, and on the others which went to Russia, Italy, Rumania, and Serbia, include not only industrial, financial, and professional leaders similarly qualified to analyze large needs and administer large remedies, but also many experts in special fields of relief. The spirit of the organization which Major Murphy has built up, largely on a volunteer basis, may be judged from the results it has accomplished, and from such a message as this from Major Murphy in regard to a man who wanted to serve: "If

FOR FRENCH CIVILIAN RELIEF

A load of mattresses leaving a Red Cross warehouse in Paris for refugees outside the city. Two hundred tons of relief supplies arrive in Paris every day for distribution throughout France

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HALIFAX, AFTER THE HORROR

The American Red Cross was quick to respond to the suffering in Halifax after the recent explosion of the French munitions ship, *Mont Blanc*, when it collided with the *Imo*. On the day of the disaster the Red Cross started relief trains to Halifax from New York and Boston

he is willing to do any work assigned to him and go wherever may be necessary, he can be of great value."

The whole great enterprise is directed from Washington by the War Council, men of large vision and sure-footed judgment, led by Mr. Henry P. Davison. In every country to which they extend the work of the Red Cross, they put full reliance on the service of experts. Abroad and at home, the strategic places in the organization are filled by volunteers.

It is always a definite need that governs the work of the Red Cross. A foreign commission sees what must be done. It reports to the War Council, which decides what the Red Cross can do. The General Manager instructs fourteen Division Managers accordingly, if the call is for supplies which the chapters can furnish. They pass the instructions on to more than 3,000 chapters, and the work is done by millions of women. The chapters ship the finished articles to division warehouses at thirteen central points; the division officers forward them to a shipping point as the National Clearing House directs. Every ship chartered by the Government, and many others, carry Red Cross material to Europe. In France the supplies are picked up by Red Cross motor trucks, carried to one of sixteen Red Cross warehouses, and then distributed to the hospitals or refugee colonies or military camps where they are needed. At Rome, Moscow, Saloniki, Jassy, London, and Havre there are similar centres from which relief apparatus can be efficiently operated.

If, in carrying out its programme, the Red Cross had done no more than pour through existing channels of relief the great flood of physical and financial and personal reinforcements which American aid has made possible, that service alone would justify its existence. Instead of that, the Red Cross is playing the dual rôle of pioneer and reservist, *entrepreneur* and underwriter. It establishes its own canteens, hospitals, infirmaries, refuges, warehouses. Also, it works side by side with other societies. And in other cases it simply backs up existing organizations with its money, its supplies, and its executive coöperation. It seeks only to secure the most effective application of American aid to the bitter need which dwarfs all aid.

MUST PANAMA COME TO SEA LEVEL?

War-time Reasons for Transforming the "Panama Lock Canal" into the "Straits of Panama"

BY

PHILIPPE BUNAU-VARILLA

[*Mr. Bunau-Varilla is a distinguished French engineer who has made a life study of the Panama Canal. His plan for digging it was one of the three or four most widely discussed before the present plan was adopted. The following article is a restatement of this plan in the light of war-time conditions and of the rapid increase in the size of ships.*—THE EDITORS.]

THE huge conflict which has scattered terror broadcast over the whole earth, must, indeed, have already revealed, in its perspective, to many thoughtful Americans the character of the problem now confronting the United States at Panama.

More than one American must have shuddered at the thought that this essential artery of military navigation is dependent on the proper working of delicate lock-gates, on the stability and maintenance of a mass of masonry walls! More than one American will have trembled at the thought of the American Pacific fleet being for months separated from the Atlantic fleet simply because a bomb had been dropped at just the right place from an airplane or from a dirigible balloon!

More than one American will have been meditating over the fact of the incapacity of the present Lock Canal to give passage to warships of more than 110 feet beam, the dimensions which may be to-morrow a necessity for the "capital ships" of 200,000 horsepower now contemplated!

So long as this link established by the genius of man between the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans depends upon the perfect preservation of a cubic yard of concrete or of a ton of steel, no assurance can be had that it will certainly survive in time of war.

The enormous advantage for the enemy to compass its destruction, given the relative facility of such destruction, renders this verity something more than a plausible hypothesis.

How render the Panama Waterway invulnerable?

The Panama Waterway will not cease to be vulnerable until it assumes the form of an open and free channel between the two Continents, until it becomes "The Straits of Panama."

The Canal will then have been converted into a big river flowing between the two continental masses with a velocity determined by the state of the tide at Panama.

Who would ever dream of destroying, by explosives, or otherwise, the bed of a big river?

Who would imagine a Zeppelin trying to make navigation permanently impossible between London and the sea by dropping any number of bombs at a given place in the bed of the Thames?

I insist, therefore, that in order to render the Panama Canal invulnerable it must be transformed into a "Straits."

When the French Company undertook, in 1881, under the leadership of De Lesseps, to cut the Canal without governmental aid, the Culebra Summit was 300 feet above the average level of the two oceans.

When, in 1904, the successors of the French Company transferred their property to the American nation, this summit had been lowered from the 300-foot level to the 160-foot level, except for a few hundred yards that had been preserved for the convenience of the passage of trains used for the removal of refuse to the dumps. The depth of the French excavation had been 140 feet. When the American Government opened the Canal to traffic, the Culebra Summit had been further lowered from 160 feet above the sea level to 40 feet above the sea level. The American excavation had been 120 feet.

In order to transform the "Panama Lock Canal" into the "Straits of Panama," a still further deepening of the excavation by 100 feet is necessary.

No one will be likely to contest the fact

that it is practicable to dig another 100 feet when you have dug already 260 feet.

But while these figures show that there is nothing chimerical about the proposed transformation; while they are a true measure of its practicability, nevertheless they do not tell the entire story. The deeper you go, and the greater, per inch of excavation, the quantity of material to be removed, the graver the consequences of any possible slide. But on the other hand, when you have reached in this process the stage actually reached, namely, the lock canal stage, the mass of excavation ceases to be a difficulty, because you can use the Canal itself for supporting the instruments of excavation and for transporting the refuse to the dumps.

The reason is clear. It is because you can execute these excavations in one portion of the channel while ships are navigating in another portion, and this operation can be carried on without in any way troubling the regular passage of such ships.

You enjoy, therefore, the precious, the inestimable, privilege of working while the Canal is in operation.

Thus, freed from any concern and anxiety as to a fixed date for the completion of the work, you can take all the necessary measures for ensuring the absolute stability of the slopes. These measures are simple. They consist merely in the removal of a sufficient quantity of ground laterally to temper the declivity of the slopes as much as Nature requires. The great slides which have worked such havoc at Culebra have been caused merely by the toleration of lateral slopes which were too steep, which were not sufficiently inclined toward the horizontal. These slides would never have taken place, never have existed as the occasion of great difficulties; nobody would ever have witnessed the closing of the Canal owing to the earth and the rock being precipitated into it by the slides, if the slope had been gentle enough. In other words, if the excavation made after the closing of the Canal by the slides had been made beforehand in the virgin soil, in order to give to the slopes a gentle enough angle, there would never have been any slides.

The reason why I advocated the opening of the Lock Canal at a higher level must now be plain.

It was not in order to oblige vessels to pass *through a couple* of additional locks. It was in order to secure better conditions for preventing the formation of slides. As the first cut was made less deep it was easy, with the same amount of excavation, to obtain slopes more inclined on the horizontal. Once the passage was opened to ships, after reasonable precaution had been taken against the danger of slides, the proper method would have been to continue the work of excavation by dredging simultaneously with the operation of the Canal. The aim of these further excavations would have been the widening of the summit of the channel from 300 feet to 1,500 or even to 2,000 feet. Digging of the bottom and correlative lowering of the water level would thereupon have gradually followed.

The method for the construction of the veritable sea-level Canal, the "Straits of Panama," which I devised in 1886 and which I have never ceased to advocate, consists in making first a Lock Canal, and, secondly, once the connection has been established by that inferior method, in transforming gradually the waterway into a sea-level Canal, by the excavation of its sides, by the dredging of its bottom, and by the corresponding lowering of its level at the summit. I consider that a Lock Canal at a higher level than the one constructed would have been more quickly completed, that it would have been built at a smaller cost, and have been attended with fewer difficulties both before and after its opening to navigation. But this is unimportant. The great fact is that a Lock Canal actually exists, and that the first phase of the construction of the "Straits of Panama" is now over.

Let us not lose a single instant, and let us begin the second phase. There is nothing now to be done but to continue the works by which the Canal has been reopened to traffic after being closed by the slides. Nature has thus forced upon us the system of works which is indispensable for finally constructing the "Straits of Panama."

Ten years more will be required to accomplish this transformation. International navigation will not be injured nor in any way hampered during the process. On the contrary, inasmuch as the first object is to enlarge sixfold the width of the Canal at the actual summit, before deepening its bottom, and subsequently lowering its level, every barge loaded with refuse will mean greater protection against the danger of slides and a wider channel to navigate.

HOW NORTH FRANCE HAS BEEN FED

Agreements with the German Army—Americans and Their German Escort Officers—Military Rigor in North France—Deportations from Lille—The Great Headquarters—Disposition of the Native Crops—The Ration—The Health of the People—The Relief That is Needed

BY

VERNON KELLOGG

(Of the Belgian Relief Commission)

FRANCE and its friends peer anxiously across the trench lines of the western front and wonder how it is going with Lille and Valenciennes and St. Quentin and Sedan, and all that hidden land lost for the moment to the sight of the world. Held in the merciless grasp of the invader—ruled with the uncompromising rigor of an enemy army embittered by checks and mounting losses—with no friendly diplomats to inform themselves and the world outside of injustice, cruelty, and tragedy, the people of occupied France exist in silence and darkness. Do they even exist? And if so, how? This is an attempt to give some answer to the question.

The Commission for Relief in Belgium should have been named the Commission for Relief in Belgium and North France. For one fourth of its activities have been devoted to the importation, protection, and distribution of food and clothing in occupied France, a region about 21,000 square kilometers [approximately 8,300 square miles] in area, and including a population (since the occupation) of about two and a quarter million French civilians. These imprisoned French people are mostly women and children and old men. Almost every man of military age from this territory is in the French army. They had time and opportunity to answer the call to the colors before the steel ring was set about the land in September, 1914.

Of the present total population of the German-occupied territory of France, hereafter usually referred to as North France, more than one half is included in the contiguous *arrondissements* of Lille, Valenciennes, and Douai, in the Département du Nord, small in area, but thickly populated by an industrial population depending always very largely on food supplies imported into that region. There are also other industrial centres in the occupied territory, notably the Longwy-Briey coal- and iron-bearing region in the Département de Meurthe et Moselle. Altogether, it is undoubtedly fair to consider the whole population of the occupied territory as about two thirds industrial and one third agricultural.

Having this fact in mind, and recognizing the inevitable demands made on the resources of the region by an invading and occupying army of great size, and the serious situation of a population, largely industrial, cut off suddenly from all normal external sources of supply, it is easily understood that steps would have to be taken by local authorities and philanthropic persons very soon after the occupation to arrange for food distribution to the poor and to the workless people in the industrial districts. Such steps were, indeed, taken at once; local authorities and citizen committees set themselves actively to the task of obtaining possession of local food supplies, and dealing them out economically and fairly. Fortunately, the harvest was just about completed at the time of the occupation, and there was also a considerable stock of cattle and sheep in the farming regions. The town councils and local committees arranged to secure resources by the issuance of *bons*, notes, etc., and by borrowing from the wealthier citizens. Then grain and local food stocks of groceries, clothing, etc., were purchased, mills commandeered, and an equalized distribution begun.

Despite the good results of all this beneficent activity, however, the time soon came when it was obvious that the local food supply, what with German requisitions and the needs of the people, was rapidly nearing exhaustion. Indeed, it is only surprising that the region was able to maintain itself for as long as it did without external aid. As a matter of fact, this need for outside help and appeals for it began to

sufficiently imperative in certain parts of the occupied territory by December, 1914, to attract the attention of the Commission (already actively engaged on a large scale in the *ravitaillement* of Belgium), and in January, February, and March, 1915, some supplies of flour, rice, dried beans and peas, bacon and condensed milk were sent to Givet, Fumay, Sedan, Charleville-Mezieres, and Longwy from the Belgian stocks of the Commission. Maubeuge and the immediately surrounding region had already been attached to the Belgian province of Hainaut for the *ravitaillement* purposes.

It soon became apparent, however, that, instead of casual sendings from Belgium, an independent and systematically distributed continuous supply of food staples would have to be arranged if the population of North France was to be spared serious and even dangerous suffering from lack of food. The Commission, therefore, began to take measures to arrange for this. With the aid of the American Ambassadors in London and Berlin, and the State Department, negotiations were undertaken, and, in time, arranged, with the Allied and the German governments and the Great Headquarters at Charleville for the regular *ravitaillement* of all of occupied France by the Commission. Before these more general negotiations were completed certain assurances were given by the German General Government of Belgium to Minister Whitlock at Brussels, which made possible the beginning of a regular sending of food to a limited region about Fumay and Givet which had been attached to Belgium by the German authorities for administrative purposes. So that by March 1915, the Commission was sending food to about 400,000 persons in the occupied French territory (regions of Maubeuge, Fumay, Givet, etc.)

By the end of that month arrangements were practically completed for caring for all the occupied territory, although the formal working agreement between the Commission and the German military authorities at Great Headquarters was not signed until the middle of April. These arrangements provided for a provision of sufficient funds from outside French sources, and the appointment of French committees in all the villages—there are nearly 2,000 communes in the occupied territory—and major French committees for the various regions and districts into which the territory was divided for military administrative purposes. These committees were to handle the details of the distribution under the inspection and general control of a small number of American representatives of the Commission, and I have no words capable of justly appraising the devoted and self-sacrificing labors of the many thousand members of these French volunteer groups. The Americans were to reside in various centres in the occupied territory, and have with them for their protection and escort certain specially assigned German officers able to speak French and English. These officers were to be present at all conferences between the Commission representative and the French committees; in fact, they were to be constantly with the young Americans at all times. The Americans were to live in houses provided by the army (by requisition) for the escort officers, have their meals with them, and travel about with them over the territory by train and motor on tours of inspection. It was an enforced close companionship for the sake of the safety of the Americans, and the assurance of the military authorities that we should do no spying or inciting of the French to uncomfortable behavior.

In a conference held at the Great Headquarters on March 21st, between Major General Zoellner, representing the Supreme Command of the German Army in France, and Mr. A. N. Connett, at that time director of the Commission in Brussels, a telegram from Mr. Hoover, from London, of March 18th, served as a basis for an agreement in principle on the general provisions necessary for the arrangements, and on April 13th a formal signed agreement was entered into at Brussels between the German Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in France, represented by Major von Kessler, an officer of high capacity and integrity, and the Commission, represented by Messrs. Connett, the director just retiring, and Crosby (now Assistant Secretary of the Treasury), the incoming director, who alone signed. This basic agreement is as follows:

Between the German Commander-in-Chief, represented by Major von Kessler, General Staff Officer, at the General Intendant des Feldheeres: and

The Commission for Relief in Belgium, represented by Mr. O. T. Crosby, acting for the C. R. B. at Brussels (who alone will sign), and Mr. A. N. Connett.

1. The G. C. I. Ch. gives his consent for the

C. R. B. to undertake the supply of the population of the occupied French Territory with foodstuffs.

2. The G. C. I. Ch. gives the assurance that the goods imported for the said purposes will never be called upon for the use of the German army, but shall be used solely for the French population of the occupied territory. The G. C. I. Ch. will issue strict orders to all the respective subordinate authorities to the effect that these goods must never be seized. Any goods which may not have been distributed at any time will remain at the exclusive disposal of the C. R. B.

3. The C. R. B. is authorized to appoint in the occupied territory of Northern France, American citizens as its delegates, who may, subject to the supplementary agreement No. 1 attached hereto, satisfy themselves of the carrying out of the assurance given under par. 2.

4. The requests to the C. R. B. for the distribution of the goods will be effected according to the determination of the C. R. B. in conjunction with the German Military Authorities, by French trustees, who are to be nominated by the French communities subject to the approval of the German Military Authorities and of the C. R. B. These trustees will represent the French communities in the transactions with the delegates of the C. R. B. more particularly in connection with accounts and payments.

5. The G. C. I. Ch. will afford every facility for the carriage of the goods to the place of destination. The goods will be admitted free of duty, and freight will be charged according to similar principles as may, from time to time, be in force for the supply of Belgium. The transport is regulated by the supplementary agreement No. 2 attached hereto.

6. In order to eliminate doubts as to the origin and destination of goods supplied, all means of transport and storing rooms will be labeled officially by the German Military Authorities in such a manner as to make the goods recognizable as those covered by the stipulations of par. 2.

7. If military exigencies should so require, this agreement may be cancelled by the G. C. I. Ch. at any time, without giving any reasons, by a notice to that effect to the C. R. B. However, all goods imported by the C. R. B. then being already within the occupied French territory shall be disposed of in accordance with the stipulation of this agreement, the American delegates remaining long enough to discharge their duties with respect to such goods in so far as this is considered practicable for military reasons.

8. The right of the German Military Authorities to requisition for military purposes against *bons* the foodstuffs for men or animals still existing in the country is in no way affected by this agreement.

Likewise the German Military Authorities reserve to themselves all rights in respect to the new crop.

Brussels, April 13, 1915.

(s) Von Kessler, *Major.*
O. T. Crosby

At the time of the signing of the basic agreement, the two supplementary agreements referred to were also formulated and signed. One of these determined the conditions of the transportation of the food supplies through the occupied territory of Belgium as well as France —for all the foodstuffs had to be brought to North France from Rotterdam through Belgium. The other, and more interesting agreement, concerned the position of the Commission's representatives in the occupied French territory.

The more important points in the transportation agreement provided for the free use of such canals as could be used, and a half freight tariff on the railroads. The loaded canal boats and the railroad cars were to be sealed at Rotterdam, or at Belgian points, such as Brussels, from which cities shipments were made into France and delivered sealed at destination. They were also to be placarded to show that the property in them belonged to the Commission, and the waybills were to contain an attestation that the goods were destined only for the French civilian population.

The second supplementary agreement provided that the Commission representatives should be able to assure themselves that the food supplies were being used exclusively in accordance with the guarantees given, i. e., were not being taken at all by the Germans. This meant that each representative must have a certain freedom of movement (in company with his officer) within his district; which movement should be restricted only by special military conditions and necessities. Our invariable rule was that the American must follow the food.

The agreement also provided that the French occupied territory was to be divided into six distribution districts, at a centre in each of which, two Americans and a German escort officer were to be stationed, with an additional chief representative and chief escort officer at Great Headquarters. As a matter of fact we kept, most of the time, but one American in each district centre. The Commission representative for the Lille district was not allowed to live in Lille, but was sta-

tioned at Valenciennes, where he and his officer lived with the representative for Valenciennes district and his officer.

By the agreement the Commission representatives were entitled to receive, free of charge, quarters, officer's rations, suitable attendance, and military motor car for the use of themselves and escort officers. These motor cars were maintained even after the cars of higher officers had to be discontinued because of lack of tires, oil, and gasolene in Germany. Each American had a special passport which entitled him to move about in his district, and to go and come between Brussels and his centre. He had a railroad pass for his rail journeys, and his necessary official correspondence, censored by his officer, and telephoning and telegraphing over the military wires, through the medium of his officer, were not charged for. Even though the passports were limited to the particular districts, any representative could go into other districts if his officer was willing to take him, and a certain amount of visiting from district to district was done, and occasional gatherings for conference of all the representatives and escort officers at Great Headquarters were held. Each American entering upon his position as Commission representative in North France "takes upon himself the obligation to carry out his duties in such a manner as may be expected from an honorable citizen of a neutral state."

It is gratifying to be able to say that in the whole history of the stay of the Commission's men in North France, during which at least thirty different men were used, no single complaint of dishonorable or unneutral conduct on their part was made by the German military authorities. Some of the escort officers had occasional complaints to make of the immaturity of some of the Americans, or of their manner, not sufficiently stiff or precise to impress properly other German officers dining with the escort officer and his American. One complained rather bitterly to my amazement, I remember, that his American persisted in wearing a ragged overcoat! But despite the strain of sympathy and anger, imposed on them by being compelled to see the sufferings of the helpless French, under the rigors of military control, and, too often, military brutality, our men held their strong feelings in check. They were not only bound in honor, but they knew that their mission could only be accomplished by the maintenance of a correct behavior; they could help the imprisoned people much more by limiting themselves to the all-important work of the *ravitaillement* than by giving way to unneutral acts or speech, however strong the temptation.

The personal work and experiences of the Commission's representatives in North France were very different from those of the workers in Belgium. Belgium, except West Flanders and part of East Flanders, is administered by the Germans by a quasi-civil government with, to be sure, a strong military flavor. But North France has always been under the direct and sole control of the German Army, or, perhaps it would be better to say, armies, as each of the half dozen armies occupying the territory exercises a considerable autonomy in the region occupied by it. All these armies, and hence the whole territory, were, however, under the final control of the Great Headquarters. It was the distinctness of these armies and the occupation by each of a specific part of the occupied territory that determined the limits of the half dozen *ravitaillement* districts. The rigors of the military rule varied somewhat with the different armies, the Bavarians occupying Lille and vicinity, under Prince Rupprecht, being, in curious contradiction to the popular notions about Bavarians, the most rigorous and brutal in their treatment of the civil population.

RESTRICTIONS ON COMMISSION WORKERS

This military rigor, and the fact that each of the districts extended westward to the very trench lines, greatly restricted the freedom of the Commission representatives in North France both in movement and personal relations with the civil population. It was understood that no American could hold conversation with any French civilian except in the presence of his escort officer. However, this was not always enforced in cases where the American had lived long enough with his officer to establish a feeling of confidence and trust in his honor. On the other hand one or two of the officers were very rigorous about this, and always promptly interrupted any conversation that seemed to be straying in the least from subjects strictly related to the food relief. And these poor shut-in people did so much want to talk a little about other things! Also with each recrudescence of military operations here or there along the front, the American

was carefully kept away from the villages near that particular part of the front, or was occasionally confined so closely to his centre that he could not even go to Brussels for the weekly meetings of all the Commission workers. Our representative at St. Quentin was once kept away from Brussels for seven weeks.

On the other hand, the necessary close acquaintanceship of each American and his escort officer, the mutual participation in seeing and hearing the woes of the population, and the fact that no man, not even the most militaristic German—and our officers were not the most militaristic Germans—could have anything to do with the relief work without getting deeply interested in it and being gripped by it, gave our men in North France a certain advantage in having a friend at court in their necessary dealings with the army heads of their respective districts.

I remember hearing in Brussels one of the escort officers—these officers often accompanied their American charges to Brussels—complaining partly quizzically, but more in bitter earnest, that his brother officers and the army commanders in his district had begun to suspect him of being pro-French, because he had always to be backing up his American in his struggle for the amelioration of the sad lot of the civil population.

There were rather startling adventures and incidents, too, in the experience of all the men in North France. French and English flyers were always bombing railroad stations behind the lines. One of these casual bombs dropped on one of our regional depots and blew several tons of good food into nothingness. The St. Quentin representative especially saw and heard war at close quarters.

THE DEPORTATIONS FROM LILLE

But for the most part it was not danger, but irritation and indignation that wore on these men of ours in North France. Especially when the deportations from Lille in April, 1916, of men and women and boys and girls, torn without warning or farewells from their homes, or picked up on the streets by squads of brutal Bavarian soldiery, were under way, was it hard for Commission men to keep silent. As a matter of fact, it was impossible, and headed by the director himself, Mr. Poland, the Commission protested. It was just at the moment of Ambassador Gerard's visit to the Great Headquarters, and a general meeting of Commission representatives and escort officers had been arranged to meet him there. The meeting was also attended by some of the principal officers of the Headquarters, and the matter was dropped like a bombshell into the midst of the conference. The Germans never forgave the Commission for that incident, but the happy result was an interruption in the brutal performance.

HOME OF THE GREAT HEADQUARTERS

The Great Headquarters was a place of extraordinary interest. It was in the plain little gray town of Charleville on the Meuse, just where the river gives up its swift and winding course through the beautiful Ardennes to run out more sedately into the broad lower valley. The principal buildings and residences of the town had been requisitioned for the offices and residences for the thousand and more staff officers of the various army departments. The Kaiser, when he came, lived in a house in a large garden near the railroad station, but later, because of the danger from the bombs aimed at the station by French flyers, used a villa on the outskirts of the town.

It was a place of quietness, much quieter than any ordinary lesser headquarters of any of the separate armies. But it always seemed to me an oppressive and significant quietness, as of some restrained but ever-growing terrible pressure ready to break at any moment into a huge roar and storm. And that was true of it, only the cataclysm, when it came, would occur farther to the west somewhere along those fatal lines of malevolent activity. For several months I lived as the Commission's chief representative for North France among these gray-uniformed officers, who busied themselves assiduously all day in their plain offices with maps and dispatches, with telephones and telegraphs tying them to every part of the various fronts, east as well as west, and playing on little tables the great game of war and destruction and death. At night they would dine and drink their requisitioned French wines, and then they would talk and debate anything from music and poetry to German militarism and American munitions-sending. They rather liked explaining to the listening American the secret of German greatness, which is, simply, autocratic government from the top, based on military organization. And they would point out vigorously the hopeless future of a country, even of great material

A STATESMAN OF THE NEGRO PROBLEM

An Appreciation of the Late Dr. Hollis B. Frissell, of Hampton Institute

BY

RAY STANNARD BAKER

The importance of the work of the late Dr. Hollis B. Frissell lies in the permanency of the principles which he instilled into the minds of two generations of Negro leaders of the Negro race. Mr. Ray Stannard Baker has drawn a graphic picture of the statesmanlike quality of this work, in the article which follows.

But an immediate value of it, a practical war-time usefulness of it, is now visible in its effect upon the conscription of Negro soldiers in this war. The racial antagonism of black toward white was a fertile field for the exercise of the arts of the German-American trouble-makers. Some trouble of this kind they did make. They even hoped for a general uprising of Negroes against whites. Of course no such a thing was possible. But they did stir up a host of fears and angers when the Conscription Act was put in force. They lied about the treatment of drafted Negroes in the cantonments, they invented discriminations between the services allotted the soldiers of the different races. Enough of these tales were believed to cause protests from Negro leaders.

Then Secretary of War Baker met the situation with the appointment of Capt. Emmet J. Scott to be his aide in clearing up these misunderstandings and in correcting such abuses as might creep in. Captain Scott was for years secretary to Booker T. Washington, the most prominent graduate of Hampton, and both he and Dr. Washington at Tuskegee maintained permanent and close relations with the parent school at Hampton Institute. And Hampton Institute was Dr. Frissell's life-work. Hence his share in the smooth working of conscription is a large one, and its effect upon a practical emergency of war is only another illustration of the far-reaching and enduring value of his life in treating one of the major problems of this country.—THE EDITORS.

THERE died the other day, at the age of sixty-six, one of the truly great men of the nation. He had no wide popular fame, he worked mostly within movements, he put other men forward, but he added incalculably to the value of millions of American lives, and the work which he laid down the other day, was only just begun.

Now, I do not intend here to write the personal history of Dr. Frissell. He was the last man in the world who would have wanted a laudatory biography. But if he had thought that an appreciation or estimation of his work, and a statement of his conclusions would help in bringing about a better understanding of that most difficult of all American problems, to which he devoted his whole life—the Negro problem—he would have been glad to have it written.

Not long after the death of Booker T. Washington, who was one of Dr. Frissell's students, a memorial service was held at Hampton Institute, with which Dr. Frissell had been associated for thirty-seven years, the last twenty-four of which as its principal. In the course of his remarks at this service Dr. Frissell said:

"There is a word, *abandon*, which I like. It expresses the idea of giving up all one has and throwing oneself into a difficult task. That was General Armstrong. *Abandon!* He threw himself and all he had into this work of Hampton. Booker Washington loved General Armstrong and followed him, and he too had *abandon*. He gave his life for his people."

Those who knew Dr. Frissell know that he also had abandon. He never got in his own way, nor let his own shadow darken his understanding. No man who has not something of this abandon, and the humility which goes with it, ever becomes truly wise. He was one of the wisest men in America—perhaps *the* wisest man—in everything that concerned the Negro. No man did more than he, working quietly from within, in shaping most of the great constructive movements in racial adjustment of the last quarter century. He was indomitable in his efforts to get men together:

the best and strongest men, to wrestle with the toughest and knottiest problems. He was an organizer of the Conference for Education in the South, and the Southern Education Board, both of which did remarkable pioneer work in stimulating interest throughout the nation in southern educational problems; he organized and helped develop the work of the Jeanes Fund for the improvement of Negro rural schools: he was a member of the General Education Board, and the inspiring spirit not only of Hampton but of a number of the strongest Negro schools in the south. He was the wise councillor of all that brood of schools, from Tuskegee down, which have grown out of the Hampton idea, and have been nourished upon the Hampton spirit.

In all of these boards and committees his fellow members, many of them among the ablest men in the country, learned to trust greatly to his wisdom. Dr. P. P. Claxton, United States Commissioner of Education, said of him the other day:

"In the committees of these Boards (The Southern Education Board, and the General Education Board) we all learned to depend largely on Dr. Frissell. Reserved and of few words, and never pushing himself forward, he had a unique influence on the action of the committees. His suggestions were usually followed, and his judgments were frequently final. This was due largely to the fact that all were conscious of his keenness of interest, his accuracy of judgment, and his absolute sincerity and unselfishness. All loved him for his modesty and his simplicity."

He was, in short, a wise man, whose wisdom was founded upon thorough knowledge and long experience. It would be a great misfortune, even at a time like this, when the world's attention is distracted by other vast problems, if that wisdom could not be made available to the Nation. Partly because of the Great War, and partly for other reasons, we are coming to a really critical stage in our own peculiar race problem. There are many signs and symbols of it: the race-riots at East St. Louis, the clashes in Texas between Negro soldiers and white citizens, the reports of German intrigues among the Negro people, and the difficulties which the War Department has had to face in providing for the military training of Negro soldiers, and especially of Negro officers.

A new unrest is sweeping through our Negro population. We have seen within the last year tens of thousands of them migrating from their old homes in the South to the industrial centres of the North, causing serious economic readjustments in the South, and introducing new racial complications in the North.

The fact is, the Negro is emerging from his fifty years in the wilderness. The old generation that knew slavery is gone. The results of a half century of freedom and education for the Negro, poor as that education has been, are now appearing plainly in a new self-consciousness, both racial and individual. The Negro is acting for himself for almost the first time in his history. He is articulate through a group of able leaders, and in the pages of more than 400 newspapers and magazines, which he himself owns and edits. What wonder that his early expression of this self-consciousness should be full of bitterness, full of revolt against mob violence, economic discrimination, and other forms of injustice! It is a kind of racial adolescence through which he is passing—a critical time: a critical time especially while the Nation is at war.

Most fortunate it has been that for so many years a man of the wisdom of Dr. Frissell should have been in a place of such profound influence as Hampton Institute, as a molder of leadership among the Negroes, and as a maker of understanding between the white and colored races. Without Dr. Washington and Dr. Moton and hundreds of men like them, who have been imbued with the Hampton spirit—the spirit of Armstrong and Frissell—the Negro problem would to-day be immeasurably more difficult than it is.

RESPONSE TO GERMAN INTRIGUE AMONG NEGROES

Less than four months before his death, when the country was full of rumors to the effect that German plotters were attempting to stir up revolt among the Negroes of the South, Dr. Frissell addressed an open letter to the Negro people. It was dated April 11th, last, and expressively headed: "My dear Children." In this he urged upon them a deepened sense of that "loyalty to our country which has always been one of the noblest characteristics of the Negro people." He then sets down his faith regarding the Negro:

As Dr. Washington and Dr. Moton have proved by their lives of quiet, unpretentious service, the

colored man is going to secure recognition not by demanding his rights, but by deserving them.

Bitterness, fear, hatred, narrow jealousies, and selfish interests can have no place in our lives at such a time as this, when our Government is calling for the best help that each man, woman, child can give.

We must each put aside all thought of self, and give this help generously wherever there is opportunity, whether it is for a white neighbor or a black neighbor, whether it is through some great sacrifice for the good of our country or by a cup of cold water to some one in want.

Let us show our colors, and hang up the flag in the place of honor over the doors of our dwellings. Let us teach the children to love and respect that flag. . . . If you hear threats of danger, or see signs of disaffection, see that the matter is brought to the attention of the proper authorities, and is stamped out at once. Do not allow yourself to be disturbed by a few mischief-makers.

The great mass of your countrymen, North and South, believe in you, and trust your loyalty absolutely:

We are all Americans together, and must stand shoulder to shoulder in this crisis.

The fact is, no class of our population has responded with any greater loyalty to the call for soldiers than the Negroes. At Fort Des Moines last summer I saw hundreds of the ablest young men of the race being prepared for officers in the United States Army and was told by the white officers in command that they responded to the training as well as any group of our citizens. Since that time more than 600 of them have received commissions in the great army that will go to France.

Dr. Frissell is expressing in the letter I have quoted his own deep faith in the Negro people which lies at the basis of his whole programme regarding them. He was a thorough going optimist concerning their future: he had actually seen the results of education and training in hundreds of individual cases. It is a curious thing that almost all the men who are really working with the Negro problem, really know what is being done, are hopeful and have faith: only those who stand critically aloof and do not help are pessimistic.

The central plank of his platform was, of course, education: the sure, slow way of dealing with the difficulties. He believed in no miracles of human transformation: what men got they must prepare for and fight for. He believed, moreover, in the hardest, slowest, most painstaking kind of industrial education. In this he was not an originator, nor a pioneer. He was not even, in the ordinary sense, a brilliant man. He came to Hampton while that devoted and fiery genius, General Armstrong, was at his prime, and he faithfully adopted Armstrong's great idea. He was the organizer, the broadener, the statesman of the movement.

Armstrong's idea of education for the masses of Negroes was "learning by doing." He believed in labor and discipline. "Labor, next to the grace of God in the heart, is the greatest promoter of morality, the greatest power for civilization."

He struck off his ideals in vivid epigrams:

"Man-making is first, money-making is second. But the skill and the drill that make money may be good for men."

"Character is the best outcome of the labor system. That makes it cost many times over. It is not cheap, but it pays."

"The temporal salvation of the colored race for sometime to come is to be won out of the ground."

"The Negro race will succeed or fail as it shall devote itself with energy to agriculture and mechanic arts or avoid these pursuits, and its teachers must be inspired with the spirit of hard work and acquainted with the ways that lead to material success."

THE HAMPTON PROGRAMME SPREADING

It was these fecundating ideas of Armstrong, broadened and organized by Dr. Frissell, which produced Hampton and Tuskegee and a score of other institutions, not only in America but in Africa, in the Balkans, and elsewhere, and has had a profound effect upon the educational development of white schools and colleges throughout the Nation.

Scarcely a month passed that there were not foreign visitors studying Hampton's methods for introduction in some foreign land where the problems of a backward race had to be met. One such school has been opened in Greece, not far from Saloniki, and others in South Africa. Penn School, which is doing a remarkable work on the sea-islands of South Carolina, bears strongly the stamp of the Hampton spirit, as do Calhoun and the People's Village School at Mount Meigs in Alabama. Nearly all the colored schools and colleges of the south have been more or less influenced by the Hampton spirit and the Hampton ideas.

Wherever it was possible Dr. Frissell set the idea to work, for he knew what it would do. One of the last important things he did before his death was to get together a group of men in New York to raise money for starting a movement based upon the Hampton idea in the Mandingo country of Africa—among natives who had scarcely been reached before even by missionaries.

He had constantly in mind the greater race questions which, as the peoples of the world are forced more closely together by increasing population and improved methods of transportation and communication, are looming ahead of us. He saw the adjustments that must come in the future not only between white and black, but also between white and yellow, and yellow and black: and he believed that our own South should be utilized as a great experimental laboratory in race relationships. We could do pioneer work in discovering how people of different races could live together peaceably in the world. He made Hampton the heart and centre of that experimentation and welcomed the constant flow of visitors from foreign lands.

OPPONENTS OF THE HAMPTON IDEA

The chief opponents of the work at Hampton have not been the white people, but certain leaders among the Negroes themselves who feared—and feared honestly—that this kind of training would narrow down the opportunity of the Negro to develop all the capacities he had in him. Hampton was even called a "literary penitentiary." On the other hand it was approved by certain white leaders in the South for exactly the same reason—because they thought it was for the mere purpose of training servants, and for producing skilled but unambitious workers.

But neither the fears of these Negroes nor the expectations of these whites were realized, for neither understood the *spirit* of Hampton, which was not merely to make better workers, but above all, better men. "Character," as Armstrong said, "is the best outcome of the labor system." Hampton has therefore produced, not mere servants, but some of the ablest leaders of the race, men ambitious to own land and develop themselves in the service of their own people. While it is true that Negroes should be given every opportunity, through education, to develop every capacity in them, literary, professional, or otherwise, and they now have that opportunity in scores of classical and academic colleges, still the fact remains that the great mass of the Negro people, now and for a long time to come, will make their success out of labor on the soil or in the industries, and the great task of Hampton in furnishing training and leadership for these masses, is still supremely important.

THE KEYNOTE OF THE NEW EDUCATION

Another great ideal of Hampton is the teaching, as yet rare in America in anything but a diluted form, of an intense sense of social obligation, which here is linked up with a strong sense of racial obligation. I have made several visits to both Hampton and Tuskegee and it is this teaching more than almost anything else, that impressed me.

There is no school in the country, outside of West Point, after which it is patterned in its military organization, where the discipline is stricter than at Hampton, there is none where the students work harder or for longer hours, there is none giving a stronger sense of good order—Dr. Frissell had this sense highly developed—but all these excellences are looked upon merely as instrumentalities in training the students for future service. Every student is made to feel that he owes much to his race and his country, in return for the advantages the school gives him. Once I heard Miss Hyde, who was at the head of the girls' department, telling her students:

"You've *got* to do well. We *can't* let you go. There are 300 Negro schools in Virginia vacant and needing strong teachers."

Dr. Frissell was forever holding up to his students the needs of their race—and emphasizing the fact that they were at Hampton above all to help supply that need of honest and faithful leadership.

TEACHING NEGROES HOW TO GET AHEAD TOGETHER

Unfortunately, one of the dominant ideas of our educational system has been to show our young people not how to get ahead together, but how to get ahead separately. This has been contrary to the Hampton spirit. Dr. Frissell wanted the Negroes to pull together, he wanted Negroes to work together with the whites, he wanted the South and the North to work together, he wanted the South and the North to understand each other. A strong coöperative movement

among the Negroes of Virginia called the "Negro Organization Society" had its origin with Dr. Frissell.

In the same way Dr. Frissell sought and to a remarkable degree attained coöperation between all the elements interested in Negro welfare. When the education of Negroes was begun, soon after the Civil War, it was supported entirely by Northern philanthropy.

PROMINENT SOUTHERNERS INTERESTED

The South was hostile. It was due to Dr. Frissell more, perhaps, than to any other man that the white leaders of the North and South were brought together, first in the Conference for Education in the South.

This drew together, and brought Dr. Frissell into contact with, a very able group of the younger leaders of the New South, men who wanted to get away from the shadow of the Civil War and set their faces forward to a new time. Among these men were President Alderman of the University of Virginia; President Bruce R. Payne; President S. C. Mitchell; Dr. P. P. Claxton, now United States Commissioner of Education; President J. D. Eggleston; Dr. Wickliffe Rose; Mr. J. Y. Joyner; Mr. David F. Houston, now Secretary of Agriculture; Mr. Jackson Davis, and many others. Afterward this movement crystallized into the Southern Education Board and did a very great work in stimulating an interest in Southern educational affairs. A good deal of modern legislation in the South, and indeed in the nation, traces back to the inspiration of these conferences.

The success in securing coöperation between the white leaders of the South and the North led naturally to a still wider coöperation. In 1907, Miss Jeanes, a wealthy Quakeress of Philadelphia, through her will, placed $1,000,000 in the hands of Dr. Frissell and Dr. Washington to be used for the improvement of Negro rural schools of the South. When a board of directors was chosen for this fund it was made up not only of Northern and Southern white men but also of a group ofleading Negroes—and that board also, under the leadership of Dr. Dillard, himself a Southerner, has done fine work.

Dr. Frissell laid down a great fundamental principle when he said:

> What are we to do with these black people among whom we live? We cannot annihilate them: we cannot segregate them: we must learn to coöperate with them.

It has been a remarkable achievement, the way in which Dr. Frissell succeeded in getting the support of the white South. It has added immeasurably to the understanding of the Negro problem, and to the softening of harsh judgments of the white South toward the Negro, and of the North toward the South.

A neighboring editor, Mr. Copeland, of the Newport News *Daily Press*, wrote of Dr. Frissell since his death:

> Dr. Frissell's position in this community was one of extreme delicacy. He came into Virginia to labor in a school for the education of colored boys and girls. For many years he was principal of the school, and responsible for its work and the conduct of its officers, teachers, and pupils. It is a Northern school on Virginia soil.
>
> Dr. Frissell became principal of the school in 1893, when sectional prejudice was much stronger than it is to-day, and when there was naturally, more or less prejudice in the South against institutions for Negro education, sustained by Northern money.
>
> Dr. Frissell's was the delicate task of being true to the institution, true to the men and women who supported it, true to the pupils of the Negro race who came to be educated, and yet mindful of the Southern customs and traditions and considerate of Southern sentiment.
>
> A man of less Christian tactfulness might have offended the people of Virginia, especially those residing near the school, and might have aggravated the native prejudice.

Dr. Moton, now head of Tuskegee Institute, sums up the three great things that Hampton Institute did for him, as a Negro student, and for the Negro race:

(1) It has helped the Negro to an appreciation of the dignity of the labor of the hands.

(2) It has helped whites and blacks to work together in harmony and mutual usefulness by offering a platform where they can come together for discussion of their difficulties.

(3) It has helped to create in the Negro respect for his own race.

At the same time that Dr. Frissell worked for coöperation and harmony between the races, he was forever putting the case for greater justice to Negroes in the most persuasive way. When an effort was made a year or so ago by a certain Southern pub-

lication to begin a movement to prevent Negroes from acquiring land in certain rural districts — thereby increasing the discrimination against the race in the South, Dr. Frissell wrote:

> Men like Mr. Carnegie and Mr. Taft are impressed with the great advantage which the South has over other parts of the country in having a homogeneous body of laborers, all of them speaking the English language and most of them professing the Christian religion. They are also of a peaceable nature, which makes the strikes and labor uprisings of the North well nigh unknown in this part of the country. In order to render these laborers efficient it is only necessary that they become intelligent, and in order that they be law-abiding it is important that they have land and property of their own. As a Hampton graduate said to a white neighbor on his return to his native county, "You say that the Negroes steal your pigs and chickens. Suppose you sell them some of your land so that they can raise their own pigs and chickens and then they won't steal yours." The white man saw the force of the argument and sold land to Negroes. His neighbors followed his example and the result is that petty thieving in that county has been almost entirely eliminated. Wherever this plan has been tried it has had the same result.
>
> In some parts of the South the Negroes of their own accord have settled in certain sections by themselves. In Mound Bayou in Mississippi and in other places they have their towns governed by Negroes. It is well that they should have the opportunity which these Negro settlements afford of developing and demonstrating their powers of self-government; but any enforced segregation will result only in harm to both whites and blacks. It would end in the Negro moving in large numbers to the cities, which do not afford him as good opportunities as the country for the development of integrity, thrift, and character. It would thus deprive the Southern white man of the labor he needs. An endeavor in South Africa to segregate the blacks and prevent their getting more land in order that their labor might be made available for the mines has resulted, as any similar movement will result in this country, in race bitterness and in uprisings of the blacks.

But no one can fully understand Hampton or the Hampton spirit without understanding the Armstrong spirit which was also Dr. Frissell's spirit. It was in its essence a passionate religious spirit, with that power of inspiration and steady enthusiasm which is ever the characteristic of religion at its best. It radiates throughout the school. It is an unforgetable experience to hear a thousand black students singing their religious songs or to hear them with bowed head at meal-time chanting in sonorous unity their daily grace:

> Thou art great and Thou art good,
> And we thank Thee for this food,
> By Thy hand must we be fed,
> Give us, Lord, our daily bread. Amen.

I once attended Dr. Frissell's Bible class in which he came into intimate contact weekly with a group of the leading students. He had in these classes the men about to graduate: the men to whom, as he said, he wished to give a strong "push-off." I could see how he literally infected them with his own spirit. I recall how he talked to them of the "advantages of disadvantages" and he could talk of such disadvantages feelingly, for he himself, in his early life, the son of a poor Presbyterian minister, had had a bitter struggle to get an education, and had laid his hand to every kind of hard work. This not only gave him an understanding of struggling youth, but was an inspiration, in turn, to them. I remember he urged them not to think of what they were to get out of life, but of how they were to serve: and he quoted for them to remember, the lines:

> Unless above himself he can erect himself
> How poor a thing is man.

He made his students feel, as he made many of his friends feel whenever he came in contact with them, surer of the reality of the finest things in life and the worthwhileness of the struggle for them. He had a way of infecting his associates with an enthusiasm not for the rewards of the struggle, but for the struggle itself. "We can't pay you much," he wrote to one of the men who was to take a place at Hampton, "but come and struggle with us." One of his mottoes, often repeated, was this: "What we should do, we can do." He taught always the art of living triumphantly in a world full of hard problems, and like the "poor parson of a town," "first he followed it himself."

THE COMMANDERS OF OUR NATIONAL ARMY

Photographs of the Sixteen Cantonments in which the Drafted Men are Mobilized and of the Generals in Command:

Major General H. F. Hodges, Camp Devens, Ayer, Mass.
Major General C. W. Kennedy, Camp Dix, Wrightstown, N. J.
Major General J. F. Bell, Camp Upton, Yaphank, N. Y.
Major General Joseph E. Kuhn, Camp Meade, Annapolis Junction, Md.
Major General F. H. French, Camp Jackson, Columbia, S. C.
Major General Adelbert Cronkhite, Camp Lee, Petersburg, Va.
Major General Eben Swift, Camp Gordon, Atlanta, Ga.
Major General E. F. Glenn, Camp Sherman, Chillicothe, O.
Major General S. D. Sturgis, Camp Pike, Little Rock, Ark.
Major General J. T. Dickman, Camp Custer, Battle Creek, Mich.
Major General Harry C. Hale, Camp Taylor, Louisville, Ky.
Major General Thomas H. Barry, Camp Grant, Rockford, Ill.
Major General E. H. Plummer, Camp Dodge, Des Moines, Iowa
Major General Leonard Wood, Camp Funston, Fort Riley, Kans.
Major General Henry A. Greene, Camp Lewis, American Lake, Wash.
Major General Henry T. Allen, Camp Travis, Fort Sam Houston, Tex.

THE SIXTEEN CANTONMENTS IN WHICH THE NATIONAL ARMY IS MOBILIZED

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MAJ. GEN.
H. F. HODGES
(Upper photograph)

Commanding the 76th Division, U. S. N. A., at Camp Devens, Ayer, Mass., which is comprised of troops from the New England States and New York (Above: A kit inspection at Camp Devens)

MAJ. GEN.
C. W. KENNEDY
(Lower photograph)

Commanding the 78th Division, U. S. N. A., at Camp Dix, Wrightstown, N. J., made up of men from New Jersey, Delaware, and New York. (Below: Digging trenches at Camp Dix)

— © Int'l Film Service

↑ © Am. Press Assn.

MAJ. GEN.
J. F. BELL
(Upper photograph)

Commanding the 77th Division, U. S. N. A., at Camp Upton, Yaphank, Long Island, N. Y., composed of men from New York. (Above: A view of barracks at Camp Upton)

MAJ. GEN.
JOSEPH E. KUHN
(Lower photograph)

Commanding the 79th Division at Camp Meade, Annapolis Junction, Md., in which are mobilized the men from the District of Columbia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. (Below: Morning drill at Camp Meade)

← © Harris & Ewing

MAJ. GEN.
F. H. FRENCH
(Upper photograph)

Commanding the 81st Division, U. S. N. A., at Camp Jackson, Columbia, S. C., which is made up of drafted men from the Carolinas, Florida, and Porto Rico. (Above: Drafted men arriving at Camp Jackson)

MAJ. GEN.
A. CRONKHITE
(Lower photograph)

Commanding the 80th Division, U. S. N. A., at Camp Lee, Petersburg, Va., composed of drafted men from Virginia, West Virginia, and Pennsylvania. (Below: Calisthenic drill at Camp Lee)

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MAJ. GEN.
EBEN SWIFT
(Upper photograph)

Commanding the 82d Division, U. S. N. A., at Camp Gordon, Atlanta, Ga., which is comprised of drafted troops from Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee. (Above: Rookies of Camp Gordon on a hike)

MAJ. GEN.
E. F. GLENN
(Lower photograph)

Commanding the 83d Division, U. S. N. A. at Camp Sherman, Chillicothe, O., in which are mobilized drafted men from Ohio and Pennsylvania. (Below: A lecture on gun emplacements for drafted men of Camp Sherman)

MAJ. GEN.
S. D. STURGIS
(Upper photograph)

Commanding the 87th Division, U. S. N. A., at Camp Pike, Little Rock, Ark., which is comprised of drafted troops from Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama. (Above A general view of Camp Pike)

MAJ. GEN.
J. T. DICKMAN
(Lower photograph)

Commanding the 85th Division, U. S. N. A., at Camp Custer, Battle Creek, Mich., which is made up of drafted men from Michigan and Wisconsin. (Below: On the parade grounds at Camp Custer)

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MAJ. GEN.
HARRY C. HALE
(Upper photograph)

Commanding the 84th Division, U. S. N. A., at Camp Taylor, Louisville, Ky., composed of drafted men from Louisiana, Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois. (Above : Arrival of drafted men at Camp Taylor)

© Harris & Ewing

MAJ. GEN.
THOMAS H. BARRY
(Lower photograph)

Commanding the 86th Division, U. S. N. A., at Camp Grant, Rockford, Ill., which is comprised of drafted men from Illinois. (Below: Selected men being instructed to become officers

↓ © Int'l Film Service

↑ © Int'l Film Service →

MAJ. GEN. E. H. PLUMMER

(Upper photograph)

Commanding the 88th Division, U. S. N. A., at Camp Dodge, Des Moines, Iowa, in which are mobilized the drafted troops from North Dakota, Minnesota, Iowa, and Illinois. (Above: A general view of Camp Dodge)

MAJ. GEN. LEONARD WOOD

(Lower photograph)

Commanding the 89th Division, U. S. N. A., at Camp Funston, Fort Riley, Kans., which is made up of drafted troops from Kansas, Missouri, South Dakota, Nebraska, Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona. (Below: Instructing new arrivals at Camp Funston)

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(RIGHT) MAJ. GEN. HENRY A. GREENE

Commanding the 91st Division, U. S. N. A., at Camp Lewis, American Lake, Wash., in which are mobilized the drafted troops from Washington state, Oregon, California, Idaho, Nevada, Montana, Wyoming, Utah, and Alaska. (Above: A view of American Lake)

(LEFT) MAJ. GEN. HENRY T. ALLEN

Commanding the 90th Division, U. S. N. A., at Camp Travis, Fort Sam Houston, Tex., which is composed of drafted troops from Texas and California. (Below: A company kitchen at Camp Travis)

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THE GREAT FAT DRIVE

To End the War By Shutting Off Germany's Supply of Fat and Maintaining That of Our Allies

BY

BURTON J. HENDRICK

WHAT is the most effective way of fighting Germany? The visitor to Washington in these days can obtain several answers to this question. The newspapers have exploited several instrumentalities—advertising each one in succession as the agency which is destined to bring an early peace. The Shipping Board informs the public that "Ships—ships—and more ships" is the one indispensable formula for the destruction of the Kaiserthum. The Aircraft Production Board pins its faith as exclusively upon airplanes. The Navy Department has stopped construction work on battle cruisers and battleships, and is concentrating upon the destroyer; this agile little vessel, we are told, is the one answer to the submarine, and, therefore, the one avenue to a victorious peace. The Army man repudiates the suggestion that anything except close man-to-man fighting will bring the Central Empires to their knees.

At the headquarters of the Food Administration they have recently brought forth another enemy of the Kaiser, more formidable than Tanks or Airplanes or Destroyers or Army Cantonments. More formidable, indeed, but less heroic. The great American hog is the factor that will most probably bring to nothing the Pan-Germanic dream of a resurrected Roman Empire. The most pressing problem before the American farmer to-day, says Mr. Hoover, is the production of hogs. "If we discontinue the export of this animal," he adds, "we shall move the German line from France to the Atlantic seaboard."

An ingenious philosophic historian, seeking cause and effect in the present cataclysm, has traced its origin entirely to pigs. The line of reasoning seems fairly direct. Serbia is chiefly a pig-raising country; it has for years depended for its economic prosperity almost entirely upon the export of this product. Unfortunately this little people could send its pigs to the outside world only by way of Austria, which had the unpleasant habit of closing the ports whenever she desired to discipline her cantankerous neighbor. Serbia's desire for expansion, particularly her ambition for a port on the Adriatic, has been mainly for the purpose of obtaining a trade route by which her pigs could get access to the markets of the world. Hence all the troublous times in the Balkans, and hence ultimately this calamity. Whether pigs started the war, however, it seems not improbable that they will play an important part in ending it. At least that is a fact which Mr. Hoover and his associates are attempting to impress upon the American consumer and the American farmer. The emphatic message is going out to the farmer—"Raise hogs!" An equally emphatic injunction is being laid upon the American housewife—economize on fat. The posters which are now liberally distributed all over the United States inform us that we should save "Wheat, meat, fat, and sugar." All these are important but the greatest of them is fat.

In order to understand the part which fat is playing in the present military situation, it is necessary to understand somewhat the chemistry of the human body. In the last few years matters of diet have largely interested the scientists as well as the reader of the popular magazines. These studies have familiarized us with the fact that the body is composed of three great chemical constituents—proteins, fats, and carbohydrates. The proteins are the molecules that manufacture the organism itself; our muscular tissue, our veins and arteries, our hearts, intestines, practically everything that composes the physical man, are made of this fundamental substance. The proteins are thus the bricks and mortar that constitute the human tenement. Man, however, cannot live on protein alone; this material gives us an inert body, but, had we nothing more, this body would not be especially valuable, for it would have little power to move itself from place to place and practically no ability to do any useful work. It would be a

steam engine without steam, a furnace without coal. The carbohydrates—sugar and starch—and the fats are the materials that furnish the motive power which gives this useless body life and action. These substances are burned in the organism and the heat thus liberated supplies the energy that not only runs the body itself but enables it to work. Thus any nation, in war or peace, must have a sufficient supply of these three fundamental foods. Beef, perhaps the commonest form of protein—wheat, corn, and the other grains, as well as potatoes and other vegetables are the everyday providers of carbohydrates; while butter, the vegetable oils, milk, cream, beans, lard, pork, and the like are mainly used for obtaining fat. In exactly what proportion we should eat these several foods is a point upon which the scientists have been quarreling for years. Certain nations, like the Chinese, eat enormous quantities of carbohydrates—mainly in the form of rice—and comparatively little protein; others, like the Esquimaux, live chiefly upon a diet rich in fats—in this case blubber; others, such as Europeans and Americans, have accustomed themselves to a dietary in which fat forms a conspicuous part. The German cooks nearly everything with lard, and for the masses of the people pork for many years has served as the staple of life.

AMERICAN PEANUTS AND GERMAN PIGS

The rich classes in Germany eat beef as their basic food; but there are comparatively few rich people, and thus the great mass of the population have had to depend upon the succulent pig. Any student of statistics has long been familiar with the fact that Germany has for years produced a large number of swine. In a sense, however, these statistics, in picturing Germany as a huge pig-growing nation, have been fallacious. If we get down to fundamentals, Germany produced only a comparatively small number of pigs and cattle. She raised the physical animals, it is true, but the substances of which they were composed came, to a larger extent, from other countries, chiefly the United States. The pig is merely a machine for converting certain vegetable oils into fat; as an agency for this chemical transformation this unlovely animal has no parallel. But the flabby jowls, the amplitudinous hams and shoulders which the expert admired so greatly in the German *schwein* really had their origin in the United States. They started life as peanuts and cottonseed and corn on our Southern and Western farms. In recent years the most popular fodder, both for pigs and cattle, have been the several compressed substances known as "concentrates." After the oil is expressed from cottonseed, the pulpy mass that remains—still containing a valuable quantity of oleaginous material—is formed into cakes, making a highly palatable and fatty food for swine and cattle. A meal made of crushed peanuts is likewise enormously popular with the same animals; a particularly joyful sight in the South is a herd of pigs turned loose into a peanut field. The great development of the peanut industry on Southern farms—that eminent statesman and tax-specialist, the Hon. Claude Kitchin, is one of the greatest peanut kings of this region—is owing largely to the usefulness of this vegetable as pig and cattle fodder. While we have been developing our peanut and cottonseed industry, we have also been driving a spike in German military efficiency. German agriculture in the last thirty years has been largely a matter of military preparedness. The General Staff has worked hand in hand with the Junkers to keep foreign agricultural products out of the Fatherland. The basic idea was to make Germany self-supporting in case of war. In particular, German statesmanship was directed against the American hog and pork products. While Germany was excluding the American porker in his proper person, however, the Empire was admitting him in another form. Our peanut meal, cottonseed and linseed cake, and potato meal were imported on an enormous scale. These materials, transformed into pigs and cows, ultimately produced the ample physical proportions of the German Michel. The perceptive German scientist had long ago pointed out this fact as the weak spot in German agriculture, and consequently in German militarism, but all his efforts to remedy the situation had had no result. This indifference was really a serious reflection upon German efficiency, for Germany had plenty of land which was adapted for growing these concentrates.

The war had not gone far when the Germans were brought face to face with this fact. Germany discovered that she had great herds of cows and pigs, but a decidedly insufficient supply of their accustomed food. The English Navy had cut the German ships from the seas and left the German herds in desperate condi-

tion. A scientific commission, after setting solemnly on the situation, decreed that one third of the pigs and one tenth of the milch cows must be killed; there was no food to carry these animals through the winter of 1914-15. A great slaughter took place all over the Fatherland, the hogs suddenly dropping from 21,000,000 head to about 13,000,000 head. In this sanguinary operation German efficiency again went astray, for the slaughtered animals were so badly conserved that they decomposed and proved almost a total loss. That Germany stole all the pigs and other livestock of Belgium and northern France and drove them across the border is well known; however, the Fatherland could not use these animals as the basis for permanent herds, because there was no food for them, and they, too, were promptly killed.

THE "GOULASH MILLIONAIRES"

Thus, even in 1915, the German began to feel the pangs of that fat hunger which has pursued him with increasing virulence all through the war. In 1915 and 1916, however, he found certain compensations. In these two years a new type of captain of industry came to life in Holland and Denmark. Certain bourgeois gentlemen, not previously celebrated for great wealth, suddenly began to bulge with all the impedimenta of prosperity. Americans in Copenhagen wrote home about a class of citizens who spent their afternoons in open-air cafés drinking champagne out of beer mugs and who displayed the passion of a Pittsburg millionaire for decorating their wives with diamonds and high-priced furs. Holland had its own name for this new order of society; it called them "goulash millionaires." These men had had the business acumen to detect a new commercial opportunity in Germany. The Fatherland's wail for fat had reached these border countries. As a counter-picture to the champagne drinkers of Copenhagen and the "goulash millionaire" of Amsterdam, nothing serves so well as certain phenomena, not quite so picturesque, but which are equally impressive. I mean the annual trade reports published by our Bureau of Commerce.

Take Denmark, for illustration. The sudden appetite developed by this thrifty people for American pork products is something without a parallel in history. With no material increase in population, with no advertised change in national dietary habits, the men, women, and children of Denmark began devouring the output of our packing houses and livestock farms with the utmost voracity. A few figures tell the story. In 1914 Denmark had purchased only 33,000 pounds of American bacon. In 1915 it purchased 29,000,000 pounds! In 1914 it had had an appetite for only 1,500,000 pounds of American lard. In 1915 its requirements suddenly jumped to 72,000,000 pounds! At the same time its farmers began to reach out for a kind of animal food that they had formerly imported in only moderate amounts—those American "concentrates" which the Germans had learned largely to depend upon for their hogs. In 1914 Denmark had purchased only 34,700,000 pounds of cottonseed-oil cake; in 1915 its demands skyrocketed up to 1,052,000,000 pounds. In 1914 the Danes had purchased not a single pound of linseed-oil cake from Uncle Sam, but in 1915 they imported 24,000,000 pounds.

The Dutch, the Danes, and the Swedes have recently sent commissions to Washington, armed with trunkloads of documents and statistics, to convince us that figures like these are misleading. It is a misapprehension, we are told, that this enormous increase in importations indicates that the food was sent into Germany. With such comparative figures facing them, it is not strange that these emissaries have failed to convince our State Department.

It is quite apparent that, in 1915 and 1916, Germany acquired large quantities of her indispensable fat from the United States, with Holland, Denmark, and the Scandinavian countries as way stations. She obtained this not only indirectly—in the shape of hog feed—but directly. We sent them butter, cheese, pork, condensed milk, and other fatty products by the ton. Despite these great accessions from complacent America the cry still went up from millions of German throats—and stomachs: "More fat! More fat!" The situation, bad in 1915, became infinitely worse in 1916. A glance at our trade statistics reveals a startling change, for which we find the explanation in international events. In February of that year, Germany announced her first submarine war—the one that culminated with the *Lusitania* and the *Arabic*. Great Britain retorted by declaring the absolute blockade of Germany. Under this new regulation not a single neutral ship was to be

permitted entrance into a German port, and supplies which were ultimately destined for Germany, though ostensibly consigned to neutral ports, were also made liable to seizure. American food merchants who had been sending great supplies to Holland and Scandinavia for reshipment to Germany and the "goulash millionaires" in Europe experienced a sudden fall in prosperity. The situation led to much diplomatic correspondence between the United States and England; correspondence which certainly looks ancient now, but which produced much irritation then. Our State Department insisted that England had no right to seize American shipments to neutral ports; England insisted that she had such a right when these shipments were really destined for the enemy; incidentally Sir Edward Grey quoted many American precedents in the Civil War to prove his case. Undoubtedly England had the legal points on her side in this contention; her statesmen, however, thought it an unwise policy to push the matter too stringently, the consequence being that, although these surreptitious exports were greatly cut down, they did not entirely cease. Germany continued to receive considerable quantities of American fats in 1916. But the British blockade cut them down to such an extent that the fat hunger greatly increased. The precise situation is shown in the table below, which gives American exports of fat products to Denmark for these three years.

These figures show that the British blockade enormously cut down the fat supplies in 1916 but did not entirely end them. Denmark was still getting great quantities of those "concentrates" so popular as pig and cattle fodder. Similar export figures to the other little neutrals, especially Holland, would disclose a similar situation. About July first of this year, three months after we had announced that a state of war existed with Germany, Washington suddenly woke to an astounding state of affairs. That was that the United States was graciously supplying the entire fat ration of the German Army. Enough fat materials, either in the form of butter, pork, lard, or bacon, or in the form of concentrated fodder, were exported via Holland and Scandinavia to supply daily 7,700,000 soldiers, which just about represents Germany's strength on all the fronts. Enough foodstuffs was going through the same channels to supply the total rations, from the standpoint of calories, of 2,500,000 soldiers, which is about the size of the German army on the western front. If we figure on another basis, we shall find that we were obligingly shipping the Kaiser enough fat to supply one-fourth of the daily fat ration for the entire German population. This Christian complaisance on our part may have been magnificent, but it was not war. The answer came in the embargo act promptly passed by Congress. This notified these enterprising neutrals that their new industry must end. They might still ship their fats and other foods to Germany, but we should decline to furnish them. At the moment when the United States took this action, from eighty to one hundred Dutch vessels were being industriously loaded in New York Harbor. The materials which were going into their cargo space were largely foodstuffs and fodder. Their destination was the military power with which we were at war, and they were intended to supply, among other things, that fat for which the whole German nation was clamoring. These ships, naturally, have been stopped, despite the clamors of the enterprising Dutchmen that the people of Holland would starve if they were not permitted to sail. The embargo is now rigidly enforced. The disposition is to give these little neutrals just about the amount of foodstuffs which they imported from the United

	IN 1914 LBS.	IN 1915 LBS.	IN 1916 LBS.
Bacon	33,000	29,000,000	7,000,000
Oleo Oil	5,445,000	13,459,000	6,614,000
Lard	1,463,000	72,157,000	3,000,000
Cottonseed Oil Cake	34,700,000	1,052,000,000	816,000,000
Cotton Seed Oil	1,970,000	13,178,000	9,950,000
Linseed Oil Cake	None	24,000,000	157,000,000

EXPORTS OF AMERICAN FAT PRODUCTS TO DENMARK SINCE 1914

States before that fatal August day in 1914. This allowance, it is assumed, will furnish their peoples food enough for themselves, but leave no surplus for export into Germany. The result is that Germany will depend upon her own supplies and upon such quantities as her rapacious practices may extract from invaded countries.

Thus, among the disabilities from which Germany is suffering this winter, its yearning for fat is probably the most serious. She has supplies of grain and sugar—perhaps not enough to insure complete comfort, but enough to sustain existence; she also has supplies of meat —not all she would like, but still quite a little; but the terrible lack is fat. Last year the per capita daily fat ration of Germany was 20 grams. This is far below the normal consumption of Germany, as well as that of her enemies. Germany's greatest expert on nutrition is Carl Voit; the "Voit Standard" of food intake has long been the one to which German science has subscribed. Voit maintained that the average German demanded 100 grams of fat a day to sustain bodily health and vigor. The working classes in Sweden consume 110 grams a day; the Russian peasant takes in 79 grams, and the French daily laborer requires 90 grams. The daily fat ration in the United States is about 125 grams. The authority for the statement that the German, in 1916, had only 20 grams of fat a day is Dr. Alonzo Taylor, who spent six months in Germany studying food conditions there and who made this report to the United States Government. It now appears that the Germans got one-fourth of these 20 grams from the United States. The result of the embargo, therefore, should be to cut the German fat ration to about 15 grams a day. There are plenty of signs that a terrible fat hunger is spreading all over the Fatherland. Travelers in Germany report that the typical German, he of the capacious paunch and the flabby cheeks, has disappeared. These protuberances are merely stored up fat—fat which has been ingested in excess of the bodily needs and which nature tucks away in various parts of the system. The Germans have long since used up these storehouses, with the result that the typical German figure is no longer of aldermanic proportions. Rich Germans are constantly attempting to escape, if only for a few days, into neighboring neutral countries; when they get there, the first thing they do is to gorge themselves upon fatty foods.

The German newspapers are filled with stories about the scarcity of fat. "The fat shortage is the greatest difficulty in the period before us," said the *Hannoverischer Kurier* of September 29th, referring to the coming winter. The *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* of September 21st, declares that the lack of fodder would necessitate the slaughtering of a large number of oxen and pigs. "The fat shortage is the most keenly felt," says the *Leipziger Zeitung*, of September 28th. "The butter ration has long been very scanty. Is there so little butter and meat that the populace can receive no more? The flourishing illicit trade, which grows from month to month, despite all attempts to check it, gives answer to this question. So, too, very high prices are paid for pork. The legal maximum has been reduced, but the people get no benefit from that, as no pork is to be had. No doubt many pigs have recently gone the way the vanished 50,000,000 pigs we heard of earlier in the year. Butter cannot be obtained in the country."

At the present moment the greatest experiment the world has ever known in dietetics is taking place in Germany. The point to be tested is this: Can 65 million people, accustomed all their lives to a fat ration of 100 grams a day, exist on one ranging from 15 to 20? The fact that they may maintain physical existence is not the main point; evidently they can do this, at least for a time, since they have actually done it for a year. But can they sustain health and can they develop sufficient energy to meet the trials that lay ahead? Most dietetic authorities do not believe it. This war has demonstrated that there is such a thing as an actual craving for fat. Both fats and carbohydrates perform the same service in the body; both, that is, are burned and produce energy. Starch, if not used, is transmuted into fat and stored up, just like pork and butter. It had always been believed that the two were interchangeable; that we could dispense with fat if we only ate a compensating ration of sugar or starch. The emaciating German has demonstrated that this is a fallacy. He cannot satisfy his eagerness for pork by eating unusual quantities of sugar and potatoes. His body still shouts for its accustomed nutriment; it wants pig. It may be that this is psychological, not physiological. There is nothing which is so disturbing as to deprive the body of the food to which it has been accustomed. What would be the effect if the

English people were suddenly deprived of their tea? Such a stroke would probably have a greater influence than forty army corps in bringing Britannia to her knees. We all know the torments smokers suffer when deprived, even for a few days, of the weed. What would be the effect on China of taking away all her rice and making the Chinese live on Indian corn?

Depriving Germany of her fat causes a similar state of affairs, mental and physical. She may be able to stand the strain indefinitely, but it is not likely. Fat starvation is working perhaps slowly, but surely, on the side of the Allies.

Keep all fat away from Germany—that is the dictate of ordinary military prudence. But we must do more than this. We must send it in large quantities to our Allies. But for the United States, the fat situation in England and France would be quite as bad as it is in Germany.

The Food Administration has issued a large amount of printed matter showing the great inroads that have been made on the world's herds in the last three years. There are 115,000,000 fewer meat-producing animals than in 1914. The supply of hogs has disappeared to the extent of 33,000,000 head. The United States is the only country that shows an actual increase in its livestock. Mr. Hoover declares that the most patriotic duty each of us can perform at the present time is to keep a pig. At first this apparently involves obvious difficulties, especially for those who live in the city, but, says Mr. Hoover, a "pig is no more unsanitary, properly cared for, than a dog." He earnestly recommends a nation-wide "keep-a-pig" movement. It is not unlikely that, as the fat problem increases, the municipalities and towns will begin repeating, "for the duration of the war," those regulations that years ago banished the family pig from the backyard. At the present moment this once domestic pet is about the most far-sighted investment the American family can make. If peace should come to-morrow, the great cry for pigs would not die down for several years. It will take Europe a long time to re-establish its fat ration.

WHEN THE VENIZELISTS STRUCK FOR THE ALLIES

Greek Efforts to Atone for the Actions of King Constantine

BY

LEWIS R. FREEMAN

The failure of the Allies to come to Serbia's support in time gave Germany the control of the Balkans; the lack of coöperation between the Rumanian forces and the Anglo-French forces at Saloniki enabled the Germans to defeat Rumania while Sarrail's forces were powerless to help. This picture of the difficulties on the Saloniki front throws a light on the present condition of affairs in Greece and in the Balkans.—THE EDITORS.

THE Venizelists had been having a bad time of it from the first, but the blackest hours of all were those toward the end of last April, when Constantine was still strong in Athens, and before the Saloniki Allies had found it practicable or expedient to welcome them to a full brotherhood of arms. It was during this "dark before the dawn" period that I had my first meeting with M. Venizelos, a conventional half hour's interview in the suburban villa, midway along the curve of Saloniki Bay where the Provisional Government had established its headquarters.

I had just come up from Athens, where I had found the Allied diplomats still smarting under the memories of their ignominious experiences following Constantine's spectacular coup of the previous December, and it was by no means the least of these who had told me point-blank that he could not conceive how it would be possible that Saloniki should be re-

turned to Greece after the war. Of course it was the Royalist Government that my distinguished friend had had in mind when he spoke, but there was not much to indicate at this time that the Greece of Constantine and his minions was not also going to be the Greece of after the war.

It was with this state of things in mind, and recalling his well known ambitions to found a Greater Greece—by extending Epirus north along the Adriatic, and bringing the millions of Greeks of Asia Minor at least under the protection of the Government at Athens—that I mustered up my courage and asked M. Venizelos offhand if he felt confident of being able even to maintain the integrity of his country as it existed before the war.

"Not unless those of us Greeks who have remained faithful to the cause of humanity and our honor are ultimately able to lend the Allies material help in a measure sufficient to counterbalance the harm the action of the Royalists has caused them," was the prompt reply; "and by material help I mean military aid. We must fight, and fight, and keep on fighting, for it is only with blood—with Greek blood—that the stain upon Greek honor can be washed away. It is only our army that can save us, and that is why we have been so impatient of the delay there has been in equipping it and getting it to the front. The one division we have in the trenches now, and the two others that are ready to go, are not enough, but they are about all we have been able to raise so far. Thessaly is for us (as you may have seen in traveling across it), and would give us two more divisions at least; but our Allies have not yet seen fit to allow us to go there after them."

M. Venizelos spoke of a number of other things before I left him (notably of the extent to which the Russian revolution and the entry of America had helped him in his fight to save Greece), but it was plain that the problem uppermost in his mind was that of wiping out the score of the Allies against his country by giving them a substantial measure of assistance in the field.

"Do not fail to visit our force on the ——— sector before you leave the Balkans," was his parting injunction. "There may be a chance of seeing it in action before very long, and if you do, you will need no further assurance of the way in which we shall make our honor white before our Allies and all the world."

The Serbian and two or three other Armies have been worse off in a physical way, but no national force since the outbreak of the war has been in so thoroughly an unenviable position on every other score as was that of the Venizelists at this time. The Serbs and the Belgians had at least the knowledge that the confidence and the sympathy of the Allies were theirs. Also, they had chances to fight to their hearts' content. The Venizelists had scant measure of sympathy, and still less of confidence; and when their first chance to fight was at last given them, they were allowed to face the foe only after elaborate precautions had been taken against everything from incompetence and cowardice on their part to open treachery. That this was the fault neither of themselves nor of their Allies, and had only come about through the perfidy of a King to whom they no longer swore fealty, did not make the shame of it much easier to bear for an army of spirited volunteers who had risked their all for a chance to wipe out the dishonor of their country.

THE SPY PROBLEM

The thing that for a while made it so difficult for the Allies to know what to do with the Venizelist army was the almost ridiculous ease with which, under the peculiar circumstances of its recruitment, it lent itself to spying purposes. All the Royalists, or their German paymasters, had to do to establish a spy in the Saloniki area was to send over one of their Intelligence Officers in the guise of a deserter from the Greek army to that of Venizelos, and there he was! To send back information, or even to return in person, across the but partially patrolled "Neutral Zone" was scarcely more difficult, and it was the wholesale way in which this sort of thing went on that made it so hard for the Allies to decide just who the bona fide Venizelists were, and just how far it would be safe to trust a force to which the enemy still had such ready means of access.

There was nothing else for the Allies to do but "go slow" and "play safe" in dealing with the Venizelist army, and, under the circumstances, there is no doubt that a difficult situation was handled with a good deal of tact and common sense. Just how trying the situation of the Venizelists was, however, I had a chance to see one day when I happened to be at their Headquarters arranging for my visit to the Greek sector of the Front. Their

troops had acquitted themselves with great credit in some gallantly carried out raiding operations, which must have made it doubly hard for them to put up with a new restrictive order just promulgated by the Supreme Command as a further precaution against the leakage of information to the enemy.

Just as I was about to take my departure a copy of the new order was delivered to the Staff Officer with whom I had been conferring about my visit to the Front. He read it through slowly, his swarthy face flushing red with anger as he proceeded.

"Have you heard of this?" he said, handing me the paper, and controlling his voice with an effort. "No man or officer of our army is to cross the ——— bridge without a special permit from General Headquarters. It is only the latest in the long series of humiliations we have had to put up with. Just look at the way we stand. In Athens our names are posted as traitors who can be shot on sight. Here it isn't quite like that, but—well (he raised his hand above his head and let it fall limply in a gesture of despair), all I can say is that the only officers of the Venizelist army to be envied are those whose names are recorded here (indicating a file at his elbow). It's the death-list from day-before-yesterday's fighting."

Owing to the delay in issuing my pass in Saloniki, I did not arrive at Greek Headquarters until the evening of the day on which the big attack had taken place, and it was daybreak of the morning following before I was able to make my way up to the advanced lines. The Venizelist troops had taken all their objectives, and held them with great courage against such counter-attacks as the surprised Bulgars—who, not expecting an attack from the Greeks, had made the mistake of massing too much of their strength against the British and French attacks to east and west—were able to organize against them. They had been busy all night "reversing" the captured trenches in anticipation of a determined attempt on the part of the reinforced enemy to retake them in the morning.

The hilly but well-metaled cartroad, along which by the light of the waning moon I cantered with an officer of the Greek staff, had been thronged all night with the surging current of the battle traffic—an up-flow of munition convoys and reinforcements, and back-flow of wounded and prisoners—but I could not help remarking the comparative quiet and absence of confusion with which the complex movement was carried on.

"Somehow this doesn't seem quite like the transport of a new army just undergoing its baptism of fire," I said to my companion. "I've seen things on the roads behind the western front in far worse messes than any of these little jams we've passed to-night. These chaps are as businesslike as though they'd been at the game for years."

"So they have," was the quiet reply. "Our army, as recruited so far, is a new one only in name. The men who attacked yesterday were of the famous S—— Division, which fought all through the last two Balkan wars and gained no end of praise from all the foreign military attachés for its great mountain work. It was this Division which scaled the steep range beyond Doiran and drove the Bulgars out of Rupel Pass."

"The S—— Division" "Rupel Pass." Instantly I recalled how a British General, over on the Struma a few days previously, had pointed out to me a steep range of serried snow-capped mountains towering against the skyline to the northwest, and told me that the feat of the Greeks in taking a division over it at a point where even the wary Bulgar had deemed it impossible was one of the finest exploits in the annals of mountain warfare.

"The Italians have fought the Austrians at a greater altitude in a number of places in the Alps, and in our wars with the Himalayan tribesmen we have sent our Ghurkas twice as high. But all of that was after more or less preparation. Here, the Greeks simply started off and went over that range with only their rifles and the packs on their backs. I know of nothing to compare with it save the taking of Kaymakchalan by the Serbs last November in the operations which freed Monastir. Not many in Saloniki have had much good to say of the Greek as a soldier of late, but you may be sure that we can do with more men of the kind that crossed that mountain range, and there is no reason why Venizelos should not be able to bring them to us."

The hill from which we were to follow the action jutted out of the mountains into the plain like the bow of a battleship. So favorable was its position for observation—from its brow a wide expanse of mountain and valley was spread from twenty to sixty miles in three directions—that the British and French as

well as the Greeks maintained posts there. We found the officers in both of the Allied "O. Pips" [signal corps talk for O. P. meaning observation post] highly enthusiastic over the work of the Greeks in their attack of the preceding day.

We found two officers in the British Observation Post chuckling over the evening bulletin, which had just been delivered to them. "You have to read between the lines of Sarrail's *Evening Hope* if you want to get at the real facts," said one of them. "It's what it fails to tell you, that you really want to know. Now you might be able to gather from this that all the Balkan Allies have been doing quite a bit of attacking during the last day or two at various parts of the Front from Doiran west to Albania, but you have to go between the lines to find that our shifty Bulgar friend over there gave most of them as good or better than they gave him all the way. It's sad but true that in this, our 'Great Spring Offensive,' as the papers at home have talked of it, the whole lot of us—French, British, Russian, Italian, and even the Serb—have been fought to a standstill by the Bulgar. Far as I can see, the only gain we have to show for it is in the casualty lists."

I failed to see just what there was to chuckle about in such an interpretation of the glowing lines of the evening bulletin, and said as much.

"It isn't funny in the least," was the reply, "and it would seem still less so if we could see at close range some of the things that are lying out on a hundred miles of these accursed mountain sides as a consequence of what has happened. But what *did* strike us as a bit rich was the fact that, of all the Allies, this little piece of the Venizelist army, which we have held in leash all winter while we made up our minds as to whether it would be safe to slip or not, is the only one of the whole lot of us that has taken all the objectives set for it."

A sporting instinct and a grim sense of humor—the readiness to admire a brave foe and the ability to extract amusement from discomfiture—are the two things that have conspired to make the British soldier so uniformly successful in treating those "twin impostors," Triumph and Disaster, "just the same."

The sky was lightening and throwing into ghostly silhouette the line of the mountain ridge across the Vardar by the time we had pushed on out along the communication trench to the Greek Observation Post on the extreme brow of the hill. Since midnight the enemy "heavies" had been coughing gruffly under the mist-blanket that overlaid the plain, dappling it with alternately flashing and fading blotches of light till it glowed fantastically like a lamp-shade of Carrara marble; star-shells, fired with a low trajectory, popped up and dove out of sight again, throwing a fluttering green radiance over the white pall which swathed the battlefield.

The mist-mask must have fended the daybreak from the plain long after it was light upon the hill from where we watched, for it was not until the range of serrated peaks to the east of Doiran was all aglow with the red and gold of sunrise that the higher-keyed crack of the enemy's field-guns came welling up to tell us that the Bulgar was getting ready to go over the top. The flame-spurts—paling from a hot red to faded lemon as the light grew stronger—splashed up against the mist-pall as the jet of an illuminated fountain rises and falls, and down where the battered first-line trenches faced each other the dust-geysers of the exploding shells rolled up in clouds to the surface of the thinning vapors as the mud of the bottom boils up through the waters of an agitated pool.

For a minute or two the ragged line of the barrage wallowed forward through the outraged mist alone. Then, as a sudden flight of rockets spat forth from the Greek first line to warn that the enemy infantry was on the way, all the Allied artillery that could be brought to bear opened up and began dropping shells just behind where the murky mist-clouds marked the swath of the Bulgar barrage.

For the space of perhaps two or three minutes the fog-bank swirled and curled in swaying eddies as the shells came hurtling into it; then—whether it was from a sudden awakening of the wind or through the licking up of its vapors by the first rays of the now risen sun, I never knew—almost in the wave of a hand, it was gone, revealing a broad expanse of trench-creased plain with a long belt of gray figures moving across it in a cloud of dust and smoke.

"It isn't much of a barrage as barrages go on the western front," said Captain X—— half apologetically. "Their artillery won't do much harm to us, and, I'm afraid, ours not much to them. And we'll hardly be having enough machine guns emplaced to sting them as they ought to be stung for swarming up in

masses like that. But if it's only a second-class artillery show, I still think I can promise you —if only the Bulgar has the stomach for it— a livelier bit of hand-to-hand fighting than you might find in a whole summer of looking for it in France. Do you see those little winking flashes all along where the infantry are moving? Some of them are from bayonets, but most are from knives. A great man with the knife is the Bulgar. Did you ever hear that song about him they sang at a revue the British 'Tommies' had at Saloniki? It was a parody on some other song that was being sung in the halls in London, and went something like this:

I'm Boris the Bulgar,
  The Man With the Knife;
The Pride of Sofia,
  The Taker of Life.
Good gracious, how spacious
  And deep are the cuts,
Of Boris the Bulgar,
  The Knifer—

"Now for it! Look at that!"

I never did hear just what it was that Boris was a knifer of, for at that juncture the two barrages—having respectively protected and harried to the best of their abilities the advancing wave of infantry down to within a hundred yards or so of the Greek trenches—"lifted" almost simultaneously on to "communications," and that lifting was the signal for the opening of the climacteric stage of the action. Without an instant's delay, a solid wave of Greeks in brown—lightly fringed in front with the figures of a few of the more active or impetuous who had outdistanced their comrades in the scramble over the top—rose up out of the earth and swept forward to meet the line of gray. The gust of their first great cheer rolled up to us above the thunder of the artillery.

"Now for it!" repeated X——, focussing down his telescope and steadying himself with his elbows. "I think you'll find the show from now on worth all the trouble of coming up to see."

I do not attempt to account for what happened now; I only record it. It may have been that the Allied artillery had wrought more havoc in that advancing wave of men than had been apparent from a distance, or it may have been that the enemy artillery had done less to the entrenched defenders than it was expected to do; at any rate, the line of gray began to break at almost the first impact of the line of brown, and the great hand-to-hand fight that X—— had promised me was transformed into a Marathon.

"As I expected," muttered my companion. "'Boris' has no stomach for a fight to-day with the man who licked him yesterday, and will lick him to-morrow and go right on licking him to the end if they'll only give him a show. The Bulgar never has stood up to the Greek, and he never will."

THE GREEK HEADQUARTERS

The Greek Staff shared a round bowl of a mountain valley, a few miles back from the front lines, with a clearing station. The equipment of the little hospital had mostly been provided by the British Red Cross, but the Venizelists had made a brave effort to furnish the staff themselves. There were two French-trained Greek surgeons, a Greek matron, Greek orderlies, and two Greek nurses. Since the attack began there had been work for a dozen of the latter, but—as it had been impossible for the women of most of the Venizelist families to get away from Old Greece—no others were available. An English nurse, who had marched in the retreat of the Serbians, and a French nurse from a Saloniki hospital had volunteered to step into the breach, and these five women were courageously trying to make up in zeal what they lacked in numbers.

"We are not enough for a double shift since the fighting began," Madame A——, the matron, had said to me the night of my arrival; "so we are accomplishing the same end by working double hours. We are working to atone for the dishonor our King has brought upon our country, just as our men are fighting to atone for it; and the harder we all work and fight the sooner it will come about."

The last thing to catch my eye as I looked back from the rim of the valley when I rode away at midnight had been the flash of a bar of light on a white uniform, as a tired figure had drooped against the flap of a hospital tent for a breath of air.

"If any one of those women has had a wink of sleep in the last three days," Captain X—— had said as we reined in to let a string of ambulances go by, "it must have been taken standing. I have been up most of the time myself, and never once have I looked across to

the clearing station but I saw some sign of a nurse on the move."

Madame A—— had asked me to drop in at the nurses' mess for luncheon in case I got back from the trenches in time, and this, by dint of hard riding, I was just able to do. Three or four powerful military cars drawn up at the hospital gate indicated new arrivals, but as to who they were I had no hint until I had pushed in through the flap of the mess tent and found M. Venizelos seated on a soap-box, *vis-à-vis* Madame A—— at a table improvised from a couple of condensed milk cases. At the regular mess table, sitting on reversed water-buckets, were three French flying officers and a civilian whom I recognized as the private secretary of M. Venizelos. Two nurses were just rising from unfinished plates of soup in response to word that a crucial abdominal operation awaited their attendance at the theatre.

"Most of the Provisional Government has come out to pay us a visit this morning," said Madame A——, showing me to a blanket-roll seat at one end of the mess table, "and we are lunching early so that it can get back to Saloniki to take up the reins of State again. The General has carried off the Admiral and the Foreign Minister, but I have managed to keep the President for *our* banquet. He has made the round of the hospital and spoken to every man here—that is," she added with a catch in her voice, "to all that could hear him. We've—we've lost three men this morning just because there wasn't staff to operate quickly enough."

That was, I think, one of the strangest little "banquets" I ever sat down to. Every one travels more or less "self-contained" in the Saloniki area, and whenever a party is thrown together the joint supplies are commandeered for the common good. The mess menu was a simple one of soup, tinned salmon, rice, and cheese, but by the time M. Venizelos's hamper had yielded a box of fresh figs, a can of the honey of Hymettus, and a couple of bottles of Cretan wine, and the French officers had "anted up" cognac, some tins of *flageolet* for salad, and a tumbler of *confiture*, and the English nurse had brought out the last of her Christmas plum-cake, and I had thrown in a loaf of Italian *pan-forte* and a can of chocolates, the little crazy-legged camp-table had assumed a passing festal air.

A number of toasts were proposed and drunk, but no one spoke of the nearer or remoter progress of the war. M. Venizelos adverted several times to the wonder of the spring flowers as he had seen them from the road, especially the great fields of blood-red poppies, and I overheard him telling Madame A—— some apparently amusing incidents of his early life in Crete. But it was not until, the banquet over, he had settled himself in his car for the ride to Saloniki that he alluded to any of the things with which his mind must have been so engrossed all the time.

"So you thought that our troops had all the best of the enemy this morning?" he said with a grave smile as he shook my hand.

"Incomparably the best of it," I answered.

"Then perhaps you will understand why I felt so confident that the Bulgars would not have come into the war if they had known that Greece would stand by Serbia. And you will also understand why I feel so confident that our military help to the Allies will be a very real one, perhaps enough of a one even to save Greece from herself."

This was, I believe, the latest occasion on which M. Venizelos visited his troops at the front. Before another fortnight had gone by the forces of the "Protecting Powers" were moving into Old Greece, and in a month Constantine had abdicated and opened the way for the return of his former Prime Minister to Athens.

From the time of the Balkan wars of 1912-13 to the outbreak of the present one Venizelos was often referred to as "The Maker of Modern Greece." After this war he may well be known as "The Savior of Modern Greece"; and of the two achievements there can be no doubt that history must record that the one of "saving" was incomparably greater than the one of "making."

It is still too early to make it worth while to endeavor to forecast what is on the knees of the capricious war-gods of the Balkans, and there is no use in trying to deny that the Bulgar—just as long as Germany has the power and will to back him up—will take a deal of beating. But that Venizelos will be able to make the army of reunited Greece a potently contributive factor in bringing about that devoutly-to-be-wished consummation may now be taken as assured.

WITH MAUDE AT THE TAKING OF BAGDAD

The Capture of the City of the Arabian Nights After a Dramatic Sixteen Days' Campaign

BY

ARTHUR T. CLARK

[*Mr. Clark is a young American who went to Mesopotamia in Y. M. C. A. work and who returned to this country to enter the United States Army when he heard that we had entered the war.* —THE EDITORS.]

LUXURIOUS, gaudy, mystic Bagdad! A City of Golden Domes! The City of the Thousand and One Wonderful Arabian Nights—Genii, Aladdin, Ali Baba, Sinbad! Rot!! Bagdad—military objective, map 34, sector E-16, Turkish town, 134,000 inhabitants. Just like the rest of the Mesopotamian objectives —dust and heat.

On the roofs of Bagdad's buildings, where a little time before Turkish officers had spent their nights, now British officers were sleeping the sleep of the just. On their advance to Bagdad, in sixteen days, they and their regiments had marched one hundred and twenty miles and had fought three terrific battles. They had earned a few good sleeps.

On one of these roofs, I, with some comrades on special army work, was lying under the brilliant sky looking over the city, thinking of that other, pitifully little force of one brigade of British troops that had landed in Mesopotamia when Turkey declared war in 1914—two and a half years before. They had started a bigger thing than they knew, something bigger than a little battle of Tommies against Turks. The story of that first campaign is too long to tell here, the advance of that little force up the Tigris, Euphrates, and Karun rivers, in fan-shaped formation; the overconfidence that led to the drive for Bagdad; then the awful retreat with thousands of wounded and a complete breakdown of Medical Services, Townshend's plucky stand in Kut, where for five long months the Division with him fought a losing battle against starvation, with the guns of the doomed relieving force within hearing, but firing in vain, and in the end the surrender. Those 10,000 troops had stuck to it, only to have to choose between life as prisoners and death of starvation! It was over. A new campaign of infinitely larger proportions had to be started.

The new campaign was under way. General Maude had taken command of the Expeditionary Force. Townshend and his men were prisoners of the Turks. Kut-el-Amara was in Turkish hands. Kut-el-Amara must be taken. So stood affairs when our transport arrived at the Tigris. We stuck on the bar at the mouth. Every boat does. It was hot and sticky like a summer day in New York. Near the mouth of the river a fleet of native boats, mahailas, was starting on a trading expedition. Shades of Sinbad, indeed! Those great bulging sails might take their ancient hulls and the Arabian pilots to any magic shore. Afternoon brought the tide and set us free. We entered the muddy river steaming between banks of swamp. Little was said as we steamed up the winding current. We studied the faces of the skippers of the native boats we passed. Little they knew or cared whether British or Turks were winning farther up the river. They had their business as usual, and had never paid the Turks any taxes. We spent the night amid peaceful oriental scenes and people, where Father Time is never heeded, and where present and future blend into one.

We were due for a different, more modern, atmosphere in the morning. We were at Busra. All the thoughts of peace, of quiet, of ease, conjured up with the night fled before the light of a different scene. There was war, unceasing and tireless. The proof was on every hand. The river was full of transports of the army, and gunboats of the navy. The land, for miles, was a mass of camps, barracks, supply dumps and workshops. It was war

and nothing else. None of these things would have been here otherwise. It was a tremendous business and Busra was the warehouse and workshop. Time meant something now. Immense bands of Indian and Egyptian laborers were working at top speed on roads, railroads, and wharves. Other bands were unloading stores from the ocean boats, and piling them up in great huge pyramids. Here and there a motor lorrie or a Ford ambulance was sending up a cloud of dust as it tore over the desert, while at the transport stations were hundreds more, with their drivers awaiting orders to get on with a job. Not a moment must be lost. Kut-el-Amara must be taken.

PREPARING FOR THE CAMPAIGN

Busra, with its river district of Ashar, lay on the west bank of the river. The many flat-roofed Turkish buildings were now converted into billets or offices of the British Army. Where had stood soft couches for the idle Pasha, now stood tables with typewriters going at newspaper office speed. Where had been Turkish gardens, now were piles of cut stone for roads, brought from overseas. There were signs of the intrigue of the days of peace. Materials for the Berlin-Bagdad railway were piled as they had been left by the Teuton railway engineers. A canal, near the town, was bridged for the small British army railway by rails, "made in Berlin," marked "Busra." Immense as were the preparations we knew that each unit of troops, each stock of stores, each conveyance, machine, building, and improvement was to have its share, large or small, in the great campaign which must be successful because everything was ready.

When the heat of late summer mid-day had passed and it was safe to expose ourselves, carefully, to the rays of the sun, we examined more minutely the warehouse and workshop of this big business of war. Busra's buildings looked as they had always looked but their lazy inmates had gone. Officers and men must be billeted, and a warehouse needs many hands and many heads. On the flat roofs camp-cots and blankets reigned supreme. Electric wires followed the roads through the town. On the door casings signs of G.H.Q., D.S. & T., E.S.O., D. L. of C., A.Q.M. G., D.O.S., D.M.S. and many other offices of greater and of less importance had taken the place of Arabian coffee-shop signs and of star-and-crescent door knockers. Even in the bazaars the wants of the British soldiers were crowding out the shops of native goods. The Turkish barracks were crowded with British troops, the small river and canal boats which served as taxis were taken almost entirely by English patrons. Most of the townspeople had left their ordinary merchant business and were working for the men in khaki. Beyond the town were the camps and dumps, hospital huts and wharves, animal enclosures and transport machines, newly made roads and land developments. A hasty inspection of cities of tents was all we could make before night was upon us. It was getting dark, and the sentries were posted. We were stopped abruptly by one with "Halt! Who goes there?" "Friend" came the answer. "Pass friend, all is well," was the quick response. Some Scotchmen were passing the post with us and one them, more proud of his highland kilts than the rest, asked, "Do ye no ken hoo Fritz ud look in ilka kilts?" The sentry thought more than he said.

With the night returned the East, and as we lay in our little tent, the jackals' barks and camels' grunts alone broke the stillness of the night.

THE FIRST CASUALTIES

It was a cold crisp evening in December, one of the coldest days of the year, though still above freezing, when a paddle boat landed at the casualty dock, and sent off the wounded on stretchers. With their uniforms spattered with blood, and rough field dressings on their wounds they were brought into the hospital huts. They were the first wounded of the campaign. Some of them, young boys of nineteen or twenty, had gone over the top for the first time. One of them was sitting up on his stretcher and seemed quite happy.

"Good evening, Chum," I said. "Where d'ye cop it?"

With a broad grin he turned and said, "Aw, I copped it fair, not 'alf—A blinkin bit o' shell in me thigh."

But he smiled when he said it. A few hours later I found him sitting on his bed, wiggling his five toes to show he could use the leg he still had. Another boatload came next day. They were a game lot. Yes, they had done their bit, but were willing to take more if there was more coming to them. Some of the operations were worse than wounds, but they went to them all like men. We had a celebration in

one of the wards. A piece of shell was taken from one of the men's legs. With the iron scrap were a button and a piece of a watch that had come from the clothes of the comrade on his right. "Good Christmas present, that," he said as he thought of the approaching day of days.

All was going well at Kut. General Marshal's force was moving westward, south of Kut, while the other section of the force, under General Cobbe, was attacking the Sanniyat trenches on the northern bank. The Tigris, from Kut running almost due east, gave two distinct fronts, one on each bank. Marshes north of the river made any enveloping movement by the British in that section out of the question. But on the south side the position was different, and the blow was struck. The enemy's attention was held by our attacks on the north bank at Sanniyat while at some distance south of the river a force moved west, lengthening out its line over the River Hai, which flows due south from Kut, till the cavalry advance post was four miles west of Kut. The position changed its face from north and south to east and west. Slowly but surely the line moved nearer the Tigris, the Turks steadily falling back toward its edge. There was hard fighting to be done, and Tommy did it well.

A MERRY CHRISTMAS IN MESOPOTAMIA

Christmas came, and there was a light-hearted, happy lot of men to enjoy the songs that go round at Christmas time. Wherever it was possible an extra fine concert was got up among the men to celebrate the occasion. In one of our hospital tents queer looking performers stood on the platform of the improvised stage. Bandaged heads with slits for eyes, arms in slings, feet with ba.. ages so thick they might mean gout, brought added zest to the occasion when each man tried to do his part in the evening fun. When pieces of sweet chocolate were offered as prizes for excellence with the mouth organ or with songs, the applicants for the test came in crowds. "I can no sing bu' I wi' try," said a Scotchman who had just come from Sanniyat with a slight scrape from a stray bullet. He started off on a little Scotch ballad that sent the thoughts home to the fireside.

But there were more serious things to be thought of elsewhere. In the firing trenches were men who could not take time off to think about Christmas. Many units had gone from our station into the trenches a few days before, and each boat brought back some of the old friends who had "stopped" something during one of the engagements that were going on so steadily. January came around, and the New Year started. The pressure against the Turkish lines south of the river became more and more earnest. Casualties were heavy on both sides. In one sector of the line a small detachment of English troops got into a tight hole, and was nearly surrounded. Help was slow in arriving. Something went wrong. Some of them thought "the beggars have let us down," but they didn't say it. They gritted their teeth, and fired till their rifles were hot. When relief came the Turks were repulsed. The little force was nearly wiped out, but they found more Turkish dead around them than they had lost.

Day after day the pressure against the Turks continued, till at last it was too great to withstand, and after nearly a month's resistance they withdrew to the northern bank, crossing in pontoons and native craft under cover of darkness. The River Hai now became the centre of activity, and convoys and wounded came quite regularly from the trenches just below the town of Kut. "We could see the place, easy. I think we'll be in in a few days," said one enthusiastic Tommy who a few hours before had been hit as he was wildly plunging on toward Kut, as though it were his responsibility to take the town. Little did he suppose that there was no intention of entering the city from that direction. It wouldn't do to disillusion him.

The 1st of February was celebrated by the bringing down of a German Fokker airplane. Now wild and marvelous exploits were following each other in quick succession. On the 2d, a section of cavalry galloped up the river twenty-five miles past Kut, and threatened to cut the Turkish line of communications with their force. On the 10th the force moving north was just across the river from Kut. The Turkish liquorice factory, "shelled till it was no longer a landmark," and the position around it fell into British hands. Five days later, in a bend of the river at Kut, the Turkish force, less fortunate than the one that got back to safety, surrendered. All day long they came out of their trenches with white flags tied to their bayonets. In one place the surrendering force outnumbered the

attacking force. They seemed happy to be taken.

"We have waited for the rain and mud to stop you," said a young Turkish officer, "but Fate willed that it should not rain."

Now every fighting Turk was on the north bank of the river. Two days afterward the Scotchmen delivered a terrific attack on the Sanniyat position. It failed and casualties that day were heavy. It was a busy time for us in camp, but work is a pleasure when there is such response as comes from wounded men. Some of the men had smoked their last "fags," and when we found them some they were as thankful as though we had found them bags of gold. Some had no hands to hold them or light them, but when a chum stuck one into another's mouth and held a match to it a smile came over his face with a meaning that words could not express. At night the pain grew worse and the smiles less broad, but there was never a whimper. One man had "copped it" a little worse than he could stand, and was gradually approaching the time to "go west." He whispered to ask whether he might have a fag. He had it, and the lines of his face that were drawn with pain relaxed in an easy smile.

The 22d was a day which will be long remembered. Another attack at Sanniyat! this time a success. All through the day they fought. Six times the Turks counter-attacked only to be beaten back, almost destroyed. By evening two lines of trenches were in our hands. All through the night the British force on the other side of Kut was preparing to cross the river, the Turks all on the northern bank. Across the river from Kut there was a great commotion among the British troops and, anxious to stop what might cross there, the Turks brought all the men they could spare to the scene. Nothing stirred. A little lower down a party launched a pontoon, crossed and captured a Turkish trench mortar. More Turkish troops were drawn down the river. It was nearly day when quietly, mysteriously, three parties of boats started to cross the river four miles above Kut. The Turks had been drawn away. The stunt was a surprise. Three companies of English, and one of Indian troops got a foothold on the Turkish bank.

THE TURKISH RETREAT TO BAGDAD

That was the beginning of the end. A pontoon bridge fairly sprang across the river. While it was in progress the Scotch again attacked at Sanniyat. Still trusting in their strong position, the Turks fought doggedly, despite the fact that a few miles to their rear the British were crossing the river. Perhaps they did not know. The attack was splendid and the opposition crumbled. By 4:30 in the afternoon the army was crossing the newly made bridge, built in nine hours across a river in flood 340 yards wide. That was the end. Pell-mell the Turks rushed up the river, leaving guns, stores, shells, small-arms ammunition, equipment, bridge material, tents, trench mortars strewn over the country in their wake. The story of that hasty retreat 115 miles to Bagdad with the British following, gunboats on the river, cavalry on the right, and infantry following as fast as their legs could carry them, is a melodrama in itself. A river bank strewn with war materials, guns half buried or thrown into the river, Turkish wounded, stripped and plundered by Arab "Budoos," half dead animals, struggling in a mess of harness and rope, and the Turkish force, now a disorderly mob, fleeing for Bagdad, closed in and riddled with bullets on both sides, and driven from behind —that tells something of the scene.

CROSSING THE DIALA RIVER BY MOONLIGHT

A week's halt at Azizie gave time for the British to reorganize and prepare for the final drive. The Turks, still disorganized and demoralized, took up a position at Lajj, the site of Townshend's camp at the time in 1915 when he could sweep on no farther toward Bagdad. A day of heavy spirited attacks was all the Turks could stand this time. They evacuated the position during the night. Seven miles south of Bagdad the River Diala flows from the northeast into the Tigris. Here the Turks made their last feeble stand. To press the advantage of the Turkish retreat, boats were launched in the bright moonlight to cross the river without the aid of artillery for which registering was impossible, so swift had been the advance. Time after time volunteers entered these boats, only to be shot down and to float, in the drifting boats, down the river. Next night, behind a barrage of dust raised by a volley of shells, sixty men made the opposite bank. All that night in a natural stronghold in the bank, they held back the Turkish attacks. Next day British machine guns on the south bank, playing in front of the little position, prevented the Turks from attacking.

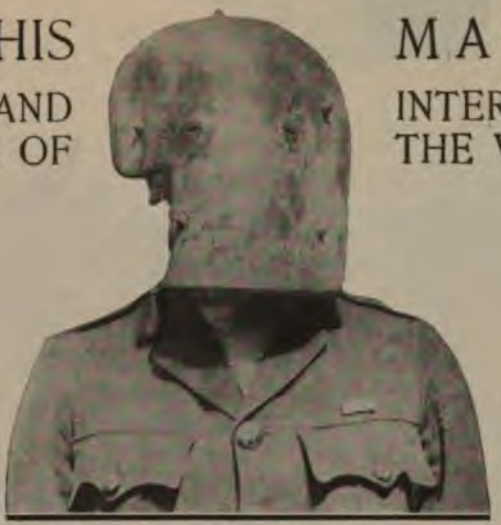
THE BRITISH CITY OF BAGDAD

Next night, while the little force still held their position, the main British force silently crossed, high up, over the stream and swung round in the rear of the Turks. Another pell-mell retreat began, and there was no determined halt until the pursued Turks were twenty miles north of Bagdad.

Our paddle boat was steaming toward Bagdad. We were turning the last bend in the winding river just as the sun was rising. There through the mist we could see the shimmery City of the Caliphs. All that the wondrous tales of Bagdad had told us lay half concealed through that veiling mist. The domes and the minarets of the mosques, as perfect as the best in form, the clusters of palms, the fruit orchards and the old wall to keep out the hordes of "infidels," all were there, the city of Golden Domes and the Palace of Haroun-al-Raschid. We steamed nearer, the mist cleared, and there was the tumbled-down city of a Turkish Pasha. Nearer still we moved, and now there was more to be seen, barges of supplies, the paddle boats, the huge camps in the palms, and the British flags. It was the British city of Bagdad.

MAN AND HIS MACHINES

USEFUL AND INTERESTING DEVICES OF THE WAR



A SNIPER'S MASK

It is made of Krupp steel and is so heavy that it cannot be used unless it rests on its base. It was found in the possesion of a captured German

© Western Newspaper Union

A GUN GRENADE

Known as "Tromblon" (blunderbuss). French soldiers in the photograph are demonstrating its use to American soldiers in France

FOR AVIATION TRAINING BY NIGHT

A 1,500,000 candle-power searchlight recently installed by the Government at one of its aviation training fields

A TOY BALLOON

Used in the French Army to determine wind direction and velocity for the scientific firing of large shells

© Underwood & Underwood

A GERMAN PISTOL CAMERA

Found on a captured German aviator. The camera is of the Graflex style, with the release extended to the trigger. Notice the sight finder on top of the box

A MACHINE SHOP ON WHEELS

A type of portable machine shop surmounted on an automobile truck used in the American Army

A CAMERA KITE

Used by the French Army for photographing enemy positions. The photographs are taken automatically

FOR CARRYING PIGEONS

A basket used by Swiss Army cyclists for carrying homing pigeons. Notice the individual baskets, made of wicker, for each pigeon, with cover and strap, and openings to permit of the free use of the pigeon's feet and head

A TRENCH-DIGGING MACHINE

Used recently in building one of the American National Army cantonments. It is shown here digging a trench in which to lay water mains

A PORTABLE ICE-MAKING MACHINE
On an automobile truck, capable of making two tons of ice daily. Used in the American Army

A SUBMARINE TRANSPORT
The submarine enters through an opening in the bow, and the water is then pumped out of the hull of the transport

HOW PARIS IS WARNED OF THE APPROACH OF AN AIR RAID
Sirens mounted on housetops to send the warning in all directions as soon as enemy airplanes or Zeppelins are sighted

SPEEDING UP DISTRIBUTION AND CUTTING DOWN ITS COST

Present Primitive Methods of Wholesale Buying and Selling Made Obsolete by the Bush Coöperative Plan

BY
EDGAR G. CRISWELL

I NEVER took much stock in that hoary chestnut about the fellow who went off into the woods to build his mouse-trap and made such a good job of it that the mice wore a path to his door, coming up in droves to be caught. They must have been wood mice or field mice.

Perhaps that is not just the way the story went, but it was not a good story, anyway. It tried to teach that if you make a good article you needn't tell anybody about it or show it to anybody. Folks who want such an article will find out about it for themselves and go to any amount of trouble to get it. It implies some special virtue in hiding one's light under a bushel. All of which is bad business, bad morals, and contrary to Scripture.

The American business man is held up to the world as an exponent of aggressive and efficient selling methods. As a matter of fact, a very large part of the staple merchandise sales in this country are made on the plan of the mythical mouse-trap man. If you doubt it, ask any wholesale buyer from out-of-town to tell you about the time, money, and patience he wastes in scouting over the long and devious trails of Manhattan Island, with side trips to Jersey, Brooklyn, and the Bronx, all for the purpose of discovering the various lines of goods which he is eager to buy and which the manufacturers are equally eager to sell, but which, for the most part, seem to be hidden in widely scattered and out-of-the-way places.

BUSH COÖPERATIVE IDEA APPLIED TO DISTRIBUTION

A thirty-story building in New York's Times Square district to house the Buyers' Club and sales quarters and display rooms of the world's leading manufacturers

Irving T. Bush believes with all his heart and soul that the interests of the whole people are always paramount to the selfish interests of the few. The dominant idea of his life has been to promote increased economies and efficiency in the production and distribution of goods. He believes in helping small enterprises to operate on equal terms, as nearly as possible, with their big competitors. He believes that for the common good every worthy industrial and

commercial enterprise should have the fullest opportunity for expansion and growth. And he believes that this can best be accomplished by substituting the broad spirit of intelligent coöperation for old-fashioned, narrow-minded individualism.

Mr. Bush hates lost motion, because it means inefficiency and waste. The Bush Terminal Industrial Buildings afford 276 practical demonstrations of how lost motion can be eliminated by coöperation because there are 276 manufacturing concerns in those buildings, making nearly 400 different lines of products, and ranging in size from the sturdy infant with a big idea and a few thousand dollars, occupying 6,000 square feet, to its giant neighbor with millions of capital and a worldwide business, whose plant occupies 100,000 square feet. And the smallest of them enjoys exactly the same manufacturing and transportation advantages as the largest.

A COMFORTABLE CORNER IN THE BUYERS' CLUB

This same principle of coöperation has now been applied to the wholesale selling of manufactured wares. Mr. Bush has developed a service whereby the wholesale buyer, in any part of the United States or in any foreign country, may obtain prompt and reliable information regarding the offerings in this market in any given line of merchandise. If he chooses, he may have his buying wants attended to expertly and economically through the Bush Service; or, if he contemplates a personal visit to this market, he can find waiting for him on his arrival a complete up-to-the-minute report on the situation and specific information regarding any lines of merchandise about which he may

BUSH SERVICE BUILDING

Here goods are received in carload lots, broken up in lots as designated, and expertly repacked and reshipped to any part of the world

have inquired in advance of his visit. Moreover, he may have the privileges of a luxuriously appointed club in the very heart of the hotel and theatre district; and there he will be entirely free from intrusion and yet have every facility for transacting his business.

In addition to all the conveniences of a well-appointed club, there will be at his service the most complete bureau of market information that ever has been devised. And all of this he can obtain at a minimum cost because of the coöperative nature of the Bush plan.

A MERCHANDISE EXHIBIT IN CLUB BUILDING

As a corollary to this Buyers' Service, and largely complementary to it, is a unique service to manufacturers. Instead of asking the buyer to hunt for him all over the map, the manufacturer may display his goods and maintain his sales quarters under the same roof as the Buyers' Club. For him, too, every convenience and facility is provided for showing and selling his goods under the most favorable conditions. For him are available invaluable information and reports regarding the demand in his line in every domestic and foreign market. He may have his own sales people in charge or may have the work competently attended to through the Bush Service.

Moreover, no matter where his factory may be located, he can, if he choose, have his goods shipped in carload lots to Bush Terminal, where, according to his directions, they will be broken up into lots as designated and repacked and reshipped to any points in this country or abroad. The experts of the Bush Service are familiar with shipping

BUSH COOPERATIVE IDEA APPLIED TO INDUSTRY

Here nearly 300 individual manufacturers, making more than 400 products, find just the amount of space they require for their business, with power, shipping facilities, and labor bureau

routes and conditions, and the best methods of packing for all parts of the world.

And all of this service is available to the manufacturer, little or big, at a minimum cost, because of the Bush coöperative plan.

The crying need of the hour is intensified efficiency and economy in the production and distribution of goods. It is not merely a question of individual profit but an imperative duty to the nation and to humanity.

And when the war-storm shall have passed, and the period of world reconstruction shall begin, there will be scant room for the old, wasteful, uneconomic methods. In the race for world-markets that will then begin, none can afford to carry weight. Those will survive who shall have learned best the lessons forced upon us by the war.

BUSH SHIPPING SERVICE

Manufacturers pack their merchandise and place it on their elevators; Bush Coöperative Service then assumes every responsibility connected with shipment and delivery to any destination

Business men in America and in foreign countries who wish to find out just how the Bush coöperative system may fit in with their individual requirements (using any one or all of its departments) are invited to address the executive offices of the Bush Terminal Company at 100 Broad Street, New York. An office, with full information, is also maintained by the Bush Terminal Company at Imperial House, Kingsway, London, W.C., England. Attractive booklets will be mailed upon request describing the warehouse and cold storage system; the industrial buildings and their economies; and the Buyers' Club and Sales Exhibit.

BUSH TERMINAL—A CITY WITHIN A CITY

Here the longest docks reach out into New York Harbor; more than a hundred warehouses hold raw materials and finished products; a score of model loft buildings hum with the activities of hundreds of individual manufacturers and their 30,000 employees

The World's Work

ARTHUR W. PAGE, EDITOR

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TERMS: $3.00 a year; single copies, 25 cents. For Foreign Postage add $1.00.
Published monthly. Copyright, 1918, by DOUBLEDAY, PAGE & COMPANY.
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Entered as second class matter at the Post Office Department, Canada.
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DOUBLEDAY, PAGE & COMPANY
The NEW COUNTRY LIFE — The GARDEN MAGAZINE
CHICAGO: Peoples Gas Bldg. GARDEN CITY, N. Y. NEW YORK: 120 W. 32nd Street.
BOSTON: Tremont Bldg. LOS ANGELES: 412 W. 6th Street.

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MR. SAMUEL McROBERTS

Formerly executive manager of the National City Bank of New York, who under the recent reorganization of the Ordnance Department of the Army was placed in charge of its Procurement Division, with control of orders and contracts for artillery, small arms, ammunition, and other articles heretofore contracted for by the various divisions of the Ordnance Department

THE
WORLD'S WORK

FEBRUARY, 1918

VOLUME XXXV NUMBER 4

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

OUR boom era in the conduct of the war is nearly over. We proclaimed our prowess to ourselves and the rest of the world—like a Western land dealer. Ten million men in the draft, a million in France by spring in 1918, the air full of airplanes, countless ships for the sea, and our mobilized geniuses to invent an antidote to the submarine.

The war, too, was going to our liking. We hailed the Russian Republic with joy, and the British, French, and Italians were on the offensive. And we were told week by week of victories over the submarine. There were warning voices but they were thrust aside.

Then came the end of the boom. Russia collapsed, the Italian line gave way, and we realized that we were needed and needed immediately. We began to take stock of ourselves seriously.

It became evident that we could not get an army of a million men ready to fight in France before another year—and equally evident that without that army the Allies cannot achieve victory this year. We realize, too, that another victorious campaign against the submarine with the net loss of tonnage that resulted from the campaign of 1917 would very nearly prevent our having a big army in France even in 1919. We realized that our lack of foresight and ability has prolonged the war at least a year, and we are not quite easy in our minds about where the German propaganda may win another victory in the meanwhile.

Having gotten down somewhere near bedrock, let us stay there. Let us ask Washington, official and semi-official, to give up rose-tinting everything and tell us the plain unvarnished truth from now on, for the country has as much stomach for hard news as the Government has, and it has the right to know.

And at the same time let us not put too much store in the compliments that come to us from our friends across the water. They are glad we are coming to help them and they say all the pleasant things to us they can. That is natural, but we are not in a position to accept congratulations, when our work is still ahead and we are late.

We began with a hollow boom and built a false optimism on it. It collapsed. From now on let us stick to the facts and build justifiable optimism on accomplishment alone. It will be slower, perhaps, but worth having.

Moreover, we have got to live down a disappointment which our Allies are going to have in us increasingly as they realize what we now know—that we have done too much talking.

We have a grim time ahead and we must go at it with the sanity to face the facts and build on them for victory.

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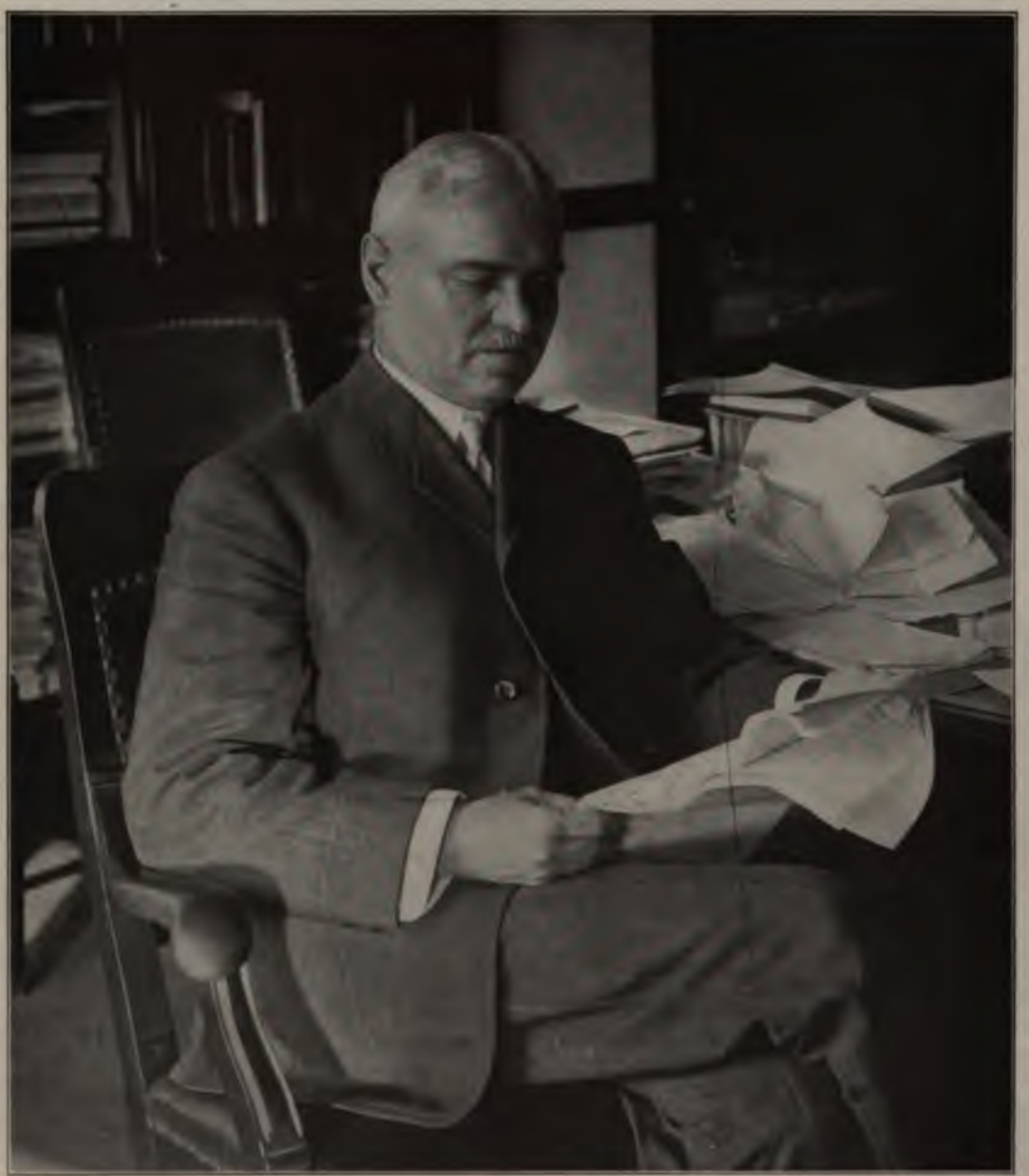

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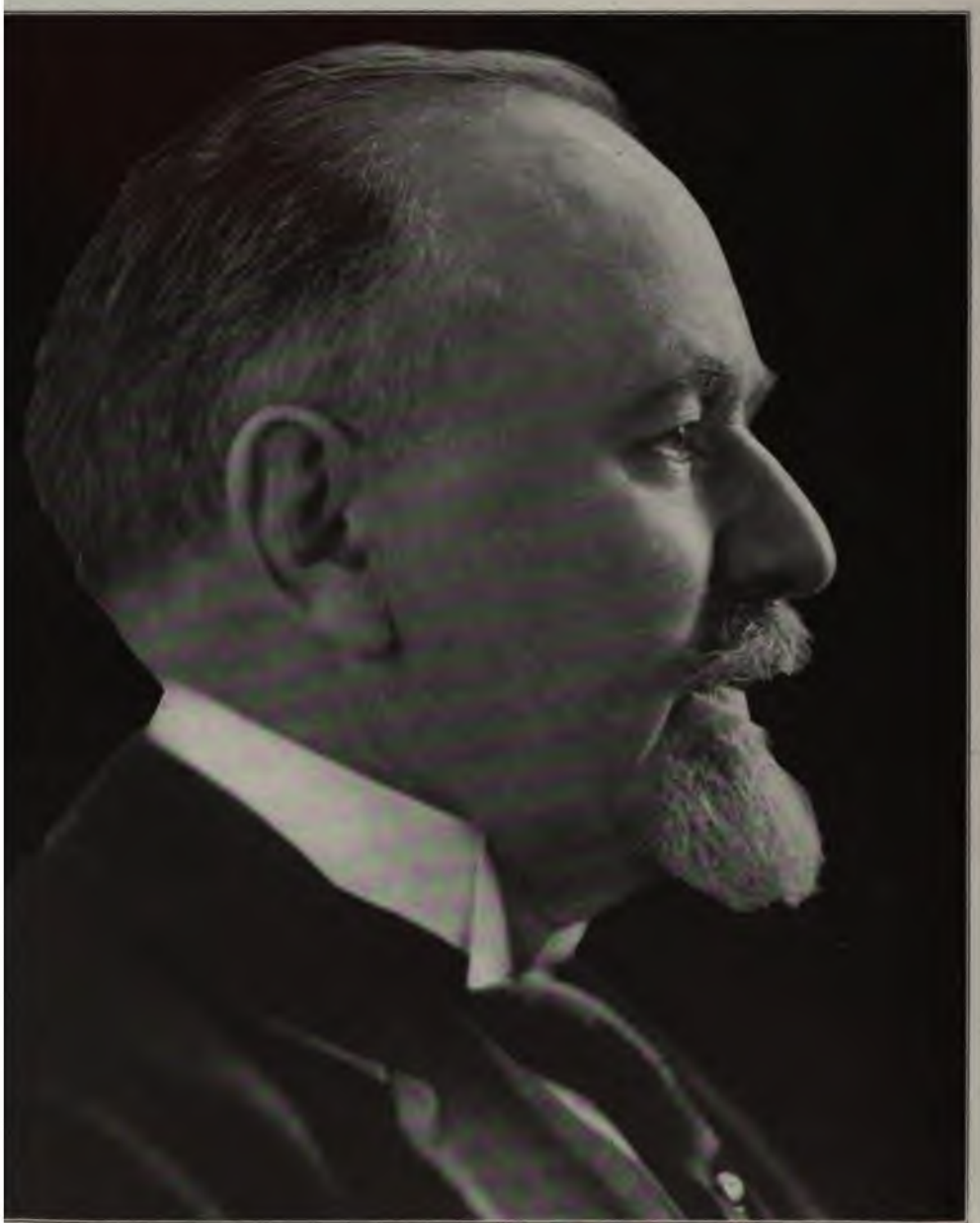
MAJOR GENERAL GEORGE W. GOETHALS

Who, upon the appointment of Major General Crozier to the newly created War Council, was recalled to active duty by Secretary Baker to be Acting Quartermaster General of the Army, in which position he assumes the task of providing equipment and supplies for the Army



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DR. MILENKO VESNITCH

The head of the Serbian Commission to the United States

THE REV. JAMES E. GREGG

The Congregationalist rector of Pittsfield, Mass., who succeeds the late Dr. Hollis B. Frissell as principal of Hampton Institute, in Virginia

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THE CREW OF A GERMAN SUBMARINE SURRENDERING TO AN AMERICAN DESTROYER

The story of how two American destroyers, the *Fanning* and the *Nicholson*, recently sank a German submarine and captured its crew is told in the following excerpt from the Navy Department's report of the incident:

At about ten minutes past four o'clock in the afternoon, while escorting a convoy, Coxswain David D. Loomis, lookout of the *Fanning*, sighted a small periscope some distance off the port bow, extending about a foot out of water and visible for only a few seconds. The *Fanning* immediately headed for the spot and about three minutes after the periscope had been sighted dropped a depth charge.

The *Nicholson* also speeded to the position of the submarine, which appeared to be heading toward a merchant vessel in the convoy, and dropped another depth charge. At that moment the submarine's conning tower appeared on the surface between the *Nicholson* and the convoy, and the *Nicholson* fired three shots from her stern gun. The bow of the submarine came up rapidly. She was down by the stern, but righted herself and seemed to increase her speed.

The *Nicholson* cleared, the *Fanning* headed for the U-boat, firing from the bow gun. After the third shot the crew of the submarine all came on deck and held up their hands, the submarine surrendering at twenty-eight minutes past four o'clock.

The *Fanning* approached the submarine to pick up the prisoners, both destroyers keeping their batteries trained on the boat.

A line was got to the submarine, but in a few minutes she sank, the line was let go, and the crew of the *U-boat jumped* into the water and swam to the *Fanning*.

The War For Human Liberty

PRESIDENT WILSON'S statement of war aims has given our present enterprise a definiteness and a high and mighty purpose which it had not had before. At one stroke he has introduced the element of order into a somewhat confused situation, made plain what we are fighting for, and made plain at the same time that we shall fight until we get it.

What, then, are the specific aims for which we are fighting?

I. No secret treaties; no private agreements between monarchs or ministries that bind whole peoples without their knowledge. This means supplanting the "Willy" and "Nicky" system by the principle underlying paragraph two, section two, article two, of the Constitution of the United States: The President "shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties." In other words the representatives of the people shall ratify every international agreement. The great statesmen who drew up our Constitution in 1787, understood the wickedness of secret diplomacy and struck this effective blow at it. Recent material unearthed in the Russian archives has pictured the Czar and the Kaiser in 1906, plotting to embroil Europe in war. "We took our oaths before God, who heard our vows," telegraphed the Kaiser. Mr. Wilson is evidently opposed to select secret societies of this kind. Mr. Lloyd-George, in his recent speech, borrowed a phrase from the Declaration of Independence, "consent of the governed," as describing the central idea on which the world should be reorganized. These few words from our Federal Constitution furnish similarly an excellent basis for the future conduct of international relations.

II. Freedom of the seas, "alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants." Herein Mr. Wilson asserts another familiar doctrine. It is also, strange as it may seem, an ancient German principle. In the treaty negotiated by Benjamin Franklin with Prussia it was provided that private property should not be subject to seizure at sea. The adoption of this principle would end all blockades, by submarines or surface ships, and would make illegal any attacks in the open sea upon enemy and neutral commerce. Mr. Wilson hopes to establish some international arrangement that will end war, and therefore he makes one exception to his anti-blockade principle. In case any nation violates its peace agreements, then a blockade against its ports, by the navies of all nations, would be used to bring it to terms. The first part of this recommendation necessarily depends upon having the last part.

III. Mr. Wilson's third condition has caused some flutter among the protectionist Republicans, who seem to think that he is seeking to establish a world system of free trade. "The removal, so far as is possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations." Senator Smoot and other worshippers of Schedule K detect in these words something more dangerous to mankind than Prussian autocracy. In the first place the phrase, "so far as it is possible," clearly saves us from a definite commitment. But it is not likely that Mr. Wilson was thinking of protective tariff in the Smoot and the Gallinger sense. Many people have advocated boycotts and non-trading arrangements directed against Germany. It has been proposed to ostracize Germany from all commercial relationships with the rest of the world; an economic war has been advocated as a sequel to the present military operations. There are indications that this possibility has driven the German leaders to despair, and that, could they be assured that Germany would once more be admitted to the family of nations as an economic equal, they would seek the quickest means of making peace. Mr. Wilson has asserted from the beginning that we are making war, not on the German people, but on the German autocracy. But none the less it is true that the fewer and lower the tariffs the less likelihood there is of war.

IV. The reduction of "national armaments to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety." In this Mr. Wilson announces a policy, without going into details or precisely defining what he means. Since his plan provides for an international blockade against offending nations, it is quite plain that armament, especially naval, is not to be ended. This stipulation is directed in general against Prussia, the huge armed camp which has burdened and terrorized Europe for forty years. The details of its practical application are left for the future.

V. The President's fifth stipulation

vides for the settlement of "colonial claims." As Germany is the only Power that has lost any colonies in this war—the only one of the Central Powers, indeed, that has any to lose—the President is evidently discussing Africa, Tsingtau, and the German islands in the Pacific. Germany has evinced great eagerness to have these territories returned, while England and France quite clearly do not favor such a restoration. Mr. Wilson insists that "the interests of the population concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined." This rule would make inevitable the restoration of Germany's concession at Tsingtau to China. If the interests of the African tribes are to determine the matter Germany's African colonies certainly should not go back to the Fatherland. A plebiscite of the Hereros, should such a thing be possible, would not disclose any great affection for the Prussian system. It was in these African colonies that the German armies served the apprenticeship in brutality that prepared them so well for the more mature exploits in Belgium and northern France. The Germans have never shown any aptitude for colonization and it is unlikely that they ever will. It is improbable that the interests of Germany or the world would be promoted by a continuation of this grotesque experiment. However, Mr. Wilson is willing to leave this matter open—only insisting that humanity and not imperialism shall control the settlement.

VI. Necessarily the evacuation of those parts of Russia held by Germany shall be a preliminary to any permanent treaty of peace. Germany's cynicism in approaching Russia with a proposal for "peace without annexations" and then insisting that she retain Russian Poland, Courland, Lithuania, Livonia, and Esthonia is apparently the action which inspired the President's message. Mr. Wilson's suggestion for settling the Russian question, including that of the invaded provinces, is precisely that same broad principle which he hopes to see applied to the reorganization of the whole world, including Germany itself. It is what Germany calls "the self-determination of peoples," but for which we have a better phrase—"the consent of the governed." Thus Russia is to be welcomed "into the society of free nations under institutions of *her own choosing." Mr. Wilson has not dopted that bitter attitude toward the sev*eral brands of Russian revolutionists which has become so general. He sees a nation distracted by all kinds of difficulties and blindly groping toward the light. He would lend a helping hand. He would extend Russia "more than a welcome; assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire." This is one of the high points in the message.

VII. That Belgium must be evacuated and restored is fundamental. And Belgian independence, as President Wilson understands it, will contain not the slightest taint of German domination or control. There must be no "attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations."

VIII. Necessarily all invaded French territory must also be evacuated and restored. And Mr. Wilson does not limit this evacuation to the crimes committed in the last three years; he goes back to 1870-71. For the first time he speaks definitely the words "Alsace-Lorraine." Germany will never be admitted into the family of nations until she surrenders the plunder of forty-seven years ago. The fate of Alsace-Lorraine will finally decide whether the new ideals have triumphed in this struggle.

IX. Mr. Wilson insists that Italy shall be reorganized on the basis of nationality. This implies that the Trentino and parts of Istria and the east coast of the Adriatic shall become parts of the Italian kingdom. Again the principle of the "consent of the governed" is to settle a problem that can never be permanently settled on any other basis.

X and XI. Mr. Wilson has definite ideas on the settlement of the most tangled of European problems, that of the Balkans. What is to become of the Slavic parts of Austria-Hungary, of Serbia, Rumania, Montenegro? Many regard this question as even more important than Alsace-Lorraine. Germany's plan for a huge Germanic state or federation, including the present German and Austrian empires, Serbia, Rumania, and large sections of the Turkish empire, in Europe and Asia, is perhaps the chief stake in the present war. The realization of this ambition would mean the end of democracy, not only in Europe but possibly in North and South America. President Wilson's terms are intended to destroy this Byzantine dream of conquest. This principle of self-government necessarily

implies the establishment of such historic nationalities as Serbia, Rumania, and Montenegro. Serbia, in order to maintain herself as a nation, must have that outlet to the sea which Austrian policy has persistently denied her. Mr. Wilson disclaims any intention of destroying Austria-Hungary, but he insists that the several Slavic peoples which now lie under the frightfully oppressive rule of the Hapsburgs shall have the right of "autonomous development." The expression is vague, but the principle involved is clear. It means that these peoples are no longer to be exploited for the benefit of a decrepit dynasty, but are to have the right to earn their own living in peace, to enjoy the fruits of their own toil, and to give expression to their racial ideals. It means that they are to be free men, instead of slaves.

XII. Turkey is to be permitted to rule Turks, but not to rule and destroy Armenians, Slavs, Greeks, and other peoples who have been subjected to a murderous sway for nearly five centuries. The Sultan may retain Constantinople as his capital, but he shall not be permitted to close the Dardanelles. This indispensable highway of commerce shall be controlled by international guarantees, and the Black Sea and the Mediterranean shall be as free and open as the Atlantic.

XIII. Perhaps Mr. Wilson's most dramatic demand is for the resurrection of Poland. He proposes not only a revision of the treaty of Frankfort; he seeks to turn the clock back to the days of Frederick the Great and Catherine of Russia and to undo the hideous crime of the eighteenth century. The Europe that remained inactive onlookers while Prussia, Russia, and Austria vivisected the Polish kingdom must now, nearly one hundred and forty years after the event, step in and give back Poland to the Poles. Hardly any statesman has ever proposed a modern Polish state on the comprehensive plans now outlined by President Wilson. It includes not only Russian Poland, but those parts of the ancient Polish Kingdom which are now integral parts of Austria and Prussia. The clause that will enrage the Germans most is the one in which Mr. Wilson demands that Poland, like Serbia, shall have an outlet to the sea. This means that Danzig will become the great seaport of the new Polish state and that Prussia itself will be split in two, with a strip of Poland as an intervening wedge. A sufficient answer to German objections is that this is what was precisely the situation until Prussia rapaciously added these territories to her own dominions. The one determining fact is that so-called Prussian Poland is Poland, that its peoples are Poles, not Prussians, and that they overwhelmingly desire to become part of the new Polish state. There can be no complete Polish nation that does not include them.

XIV. After having made good all these ancient wrongs and rebuilt Europe on national lines, Mr. Wilson proposes an international organization that shall exist for the purpose of guaranteeing its perpetuity. In such an organization the United States will become a part. For a long period we recognized no responsibility for civilization except in our own hemisphere. By entering this war we seemed to admit a wider responsibility. By pledging ourselves to fight until the peoples of Europe are free, which is what the President does, we fully accept a share of responsibility for civilization in the whole world; no matter how the leagued association is formed or how it works we have definitely begun a new era.

The aims set out by the President can be achieved only by a victorious war.

So long as Germany is controlled by its present rulers whose religion is conquest, supported by an unbeaten army, its pledges will be worthless, its intentions hostile, its power great, and even if it agreed to such terms as we demand its pledges would be worthless.

We and our Allies have got to finish beating Germany now or be constantly prepared to fight at any later time when she chooses to run amuck again.

If Germany is beaten in the field the prestige of her military government will be gone and a republic may take its place. With the military autocracy successful it can and will kill all attempts at free government in Germany.

From our side the military defeat of Germany is an absolute necessity to prevent the repetition of Germany's systematic attempt to destroy civilization. The geographical and commercial terms which the President outlines are for the purpose of leaving as little cause as possible for future wars arising from other reasons. Not everyone believes with the President that human ingenuity will be clever enough to arrange the world so that no more causes for war will exist. But if the cold-blooded desire to fight is beaten out c Germany and Austria and does not c

up in some other Government, the great nations ought to be able to maintain a maximum amount of peace. But if Germany and Austria continue in the state of mind in which they want war there is no way in which the rest can prevent war from occuring.

Moreover, as the Imperial war-willing German Government uses the foreign trade organizations to currupt and weaken the political life of other nations and to spy on them, as long as the autocracy in Germany persists no nations can ever safely trade with Germany —and such a refusal to trade would probably lead to war.

As the President says, we are not fighting to dictate to Germany what kind of Government she shall have, but the fact remains just the same that there will be no chance of an arrangement promising even a fair amount of peace until the German military organization is defeated in the field and driven out of power. When that is done there will be an opportunity to put into practice the statesmanlike and far reaching programme the President proposes.

Director General McAdoo

WHEN the President appointed Mr. McAdoo Director General of Railroads he did a great service toward the successful prosecution of the war. The President's action had two fundamental merits. He gave the job to a single man and gave him the power to do it. There is no committee, board, council, or advisory commission. The power and the responsibility are lodged in a single individual, which is the only way to get things done. In the second place the President gave this task to the man in his immediate circle who particularly has the habit of getting things done. Mr. McAdoo has many enemies—has had more than he has now—and there are many people who have questioned his policies, but no one can question his initiative, his courage, or his energy. These are now the essential qualities. Moreover, Mr. McAdoo's governmental activities form a rather remarkable record. He was a large figure in the inauguration of the Federal Reserve System, without which unquestionably our war financing would have been in bad straits by now. He endeavored to start *Government* shipping lines in 1915. The *World's Work did not then and does not* now believe his project would have increased shipping faster than it did increase, but, none the less, his shipping plan was another evidence of his energy and initiative. Mr. McAdoo is responsible for the Government war risk insurance on shipping which has been most useful. He is responsible for the soldiers' insurance plan, which seems as if it might be far more beneficial to the soldiers and sailors than the old pension system and also escape becoming a vast political scandal such as the Civil War pensions have become. Mr. McAdoo is responsible for the successful flotation of the two Liberty Loans and for the inauguration of the War Savings Stamp plan. There is a tendency, of course, in some quarters to say that the Liberty Loans were made successful by the bankers. This is true to a certain extent. But if the bankers had had their way the first Liberty Loan would have been at 4 per cent. instead of 3½. They said that it could not be floated at 3½ successfully. Mr. McAdoo had the courage to go ahead anyway and he was right. Moreover, if the Loan had been a failure it would have been his failure. It was a success. On the same basis the success is his.

All in all it is a good record. Mr. McAdoo has the courage to take responsibility and he gets results. If he does this in the railroad business it is all the public should ask of him during the war. As for his having three or four other jobs already, that is all right too, so long as he can do them. In war time there should be no mercy for a public official who fails to get results, and no jealousy toward one who does.

The Director General's Problems

MR. McADOO'S new title is Director General of Railroads and his task was to take over their operation. In cold truth his most useful function will be protector general of railroads. The railroads were much more sinned against than sinning.

For example, let us take the coal situation. The railroads have this winter delivered to many sections of this country more coal than in any previous year. In other words the coal shortage, particularly the shortage of domestic coal is not due primarily to the railroads. But after the railroads transported the coal it did not take its usual course. The public feared a coal famine. The forehanded, who could

afford it, laid in an extra supply. The retail dealer's business was to sell his coal and turn it into money as soon as possible. With the public in an apprehensive mood about the future this was easier than usual. The result was excess supplies for many and scarcity for many more. But the railroads had no power over local retailers of coal to prevent this. Nevertheless, when the supply ran out in certain communities because some people had bought too much, the railroads were called on to rush extra coal. They were faced with frantic demands for rush deliveries in every direction. They had to try to comply with all these demands. They will continue to be faced with this kind of demand until Mr. McAdoo, who has the power which the railroads did not have, refuses to try to make the railroads make good the faults of local distribution and forces the local authorities or the Fuel Administration to handle the distribution so as to make a fair amount of coal suffice. And what applies to coal applies to many other things, also.

But, as railroad protector general, Mr. McAdoo has an even larger task in protecting the transportation system from abuse by other departments of the Government. Various branches of the Government had the power to issue, and quickly acquired the habit of issuing priority shipping orders for almost everything they wanted. The consequence was that some railroads were faced with the necessity of hauling nearly every piece of freight offered them before every other piece of freight! Moreover, the process of mobilization resulted in vast quantities of freight being sent to places which had no facilities. Places that had facilities were crowded beyond their abilities. Freight was rushed to the seaboard and there blocked the terminal facilities for four, five, six, even seven months, waiting to go abroad. The lack of ships was not the railroads' fault. Nor was the foolish practice of sending to the ports tonnage that could not be moved away the railroads' fault. But they were unquestionably the victims of these practices. The Senate Interstate Commerce Committee at a special hearing drew from Chairman Hall of the Interstate Commerce Commission the statement that the Government's failure to centralize priority administration was largely responsible for freight congestion.

Chairman Hall took occasion to exonerate Chairman Lovett of the Priority Board of blame in connection with the issuance of unnecessary orders, placing responsibility on the action of the boards in the War and Navy Departments, as well as with the Shipping Board, which designate what freight for these departments is to be moved first.

"Couldn't the President have improved the situation last July by having these priority orders pass through one man?" asked Senator Kellogg.

"You can draw your own conclusions as well as I can," Chairman Hall replied.

But whoever else could have controlled the situation, the railroads could not because it was against the law. It has been against the law for railroads to combine as much as they have. The measure of unified control achieved by the Railroad War Board under the chairmanship of Mr. Fairfax Harrison was contrary to law but in strict accordance with necessity. If the problem had been merely one of unified operation the railroads could probably have worked it out themselves, but it was much more than that. The problem is based upon the conception of the United States as a huge workshop devoted to producing trained men and munitions for war. The job of the Director General of Railroads is to move men, raw materials, and finished products over the shortest and easiest routes, and to maintain an even flow to prevent congestion, just as materials are routed through the different departments of a factory. This means arbitrary power to say that a coal dealer in Indiana must get coal from an Indiana mine instead of a West Virginia mine to save hauling. Commercial competition has resulted in many needlessly long hauls of many kinds of things. And railroad competition for freight has encouraged this. The Government with the arbitrary powers of war time can stop these cross hauls and needlessly long hauls and save a large amount of railroad operation for more useful purposes. The part of Mr. McAdoo's task which offers the greatest opportunity for public service is the direction of the traffic of a nation.

In the field of operation the Government can achieve a larger measure of unification of control than the railroads had already achieved, particularly in the use of terminal facilities. But the railroads have already made a very good record in the actual moving of freight. Traffic hauled in 1916 was a quarter more than

that in 1914. So that, while complete unification of control can undoubtedly do still more to improve operation, there is not likely to be as great an opportunity for improvement in pure operation as in the direction of the traffic. The number of ton-miles accomplished by the railroads in 1916 would probably suffice for even our war needs if all traffic were directed so that none of the tonnage was wasted.

Government operation will also take care of any difficulty that might otherwise have arisen in borrowing money to buy new equipment and to pay off former loans that are maturing. The Government may even see that the roads get the equipment, as well as see that they have money to pay for it. The railroads have ordered new cars and engines, but the military needs abroad have prevented their getting many of them. The Director General will have the power to get such cars and engines as the conduct of the war demands for our roads.

As for the railroad revenues themselves, under the Government any deficit that might arise in operation would be met by taxes.

Besides directing traffic, unifying operation, and financing the roads, Mr. McAdoo must face another problem—in many ways an even harder one. He has got to find some way of maintaining the personnel of the railroad organizations. The engineering companies, the draft, and munition factories have all drawn on the railroad labor supply. Mr. McAdoo will have to meet these inroads and also meet the demands of the railroad brotherhoods for more and more wages. Two years ago the brotherhoods showed their strength to the Government, and their experience then would not deter them from trying the experiment again. Perhaps the patriotism of the railroad workers will remain uppermost in their minds during the whole course of the war. If not, Mr. McAdoo has a real test ahead of him. If such strikes as have spread over most of other war industries, despite the promises of labor leaders, come into the railroad field, it will make railroad conditions as bad as those which Mr. McAdoo was called on to improve.

Altogether the new Director General of Railroads is faced with many difficulties, and with an equal number of opportunities—opportunities full of possibilities of service to *the Nation in winning the war.*

Mr. Baker and the War Department

FOUR months ago there appeared in *Collier's Weekly* a very fair and friendly article about the Secretary of War in which he was quoted as saying:

> I delight in the fact that when we entered this war we were not, as our adversary, ready for it, anxious for it, prepared for it, and inviting it.

Certainly all Americans will agree with Mr. Baker in being delighted that we were not anxious for this war. But our delight at being unready and unprepared is being tempered, if, indeed, most people had it. For a Secretary of War to have had this feeling about a war which had been directly threatening us for nearly two years causes some wonder as to what Mr. Baker considered the purposes of the War Department to be. When Mr. Baker, with the present situation abroad staring him in the face, told the Senate Committee that the war was 3,000 miles away and that there was no hurry, the suspicion of his unfitness was confirmed.

Mr. Lowry, the author of the *Collier's* article, gave the following description of Mr. Baker last September:

> He has not disclosed a powerful, penetrating intellect of "flashing impulses," but he has a sound, good mind. He contends daily in the War Department with an almost impossible, impractical organization. The power and responsibility in that archaic scheme of things are not intelligently placed. But Mr. Baker runs his job; it does not run him. Too infrequently can that be said of Cabinet officers.
>
> It is not possible to erect Mr. Baker into a great heroic figure forging thunderbolts of war and launching them with majestic mien against a cowering and hated enemy. That is not his style. Neither is he the negligible quantity and colorless apparition some persons suppose.

The "almost impossible impractical organization," that "archaic scheme of things" which makes up the War Department, came into Mr. Baker's hands two years ago. As Mr. Lowry points out, the Secretary seemed to dominate the Department until war, which is the test of a War Department, struck it. But then, as the Senate investigation has shown, the task got somewhat away from him. The humiliating testimony given by General Crozier and General Sharpe indicated that there was not a vigorous controlling force in the Department. General Sharpe, for example, testified that he had not been officially informed of how many men he was to clothe,

but that he heard there were to be a half million more and went and asked about it.

Not only did the testimony seem to indicate a lack of a big enough man at the top, but the results were bad. It is announced now that we are to have 400,000 men in France by March. That is thirteen months after we broke relations and eleven months after we declared war. The British recruited and trained and delivered to the war area many more than that number from a population half the size of ours in the same length of time. And the army that Great Britain sent could not count on artillery, machine guns, or other munitions from its Allies as we are doing.

Mr. Baker has now shuffled the archaic scheme of things around and has gotten in some new blood. In peace times we should let it go at that, for Mr. Baker's personality is pleasant and his intentions are good. But we are now at war and delay means death, mistakes kill people. Big mistakes and long delays kill thousands. The President and Mr. Baker must know that the lack of foresight and the lack of efficiency in the War Department cause grave concern to the people in the United States and damage our reputation abroad and will lead to unnecessary deaths in our army. If the President and Mr. Baker are sure that no one else can be had to do the job better than Mr. Baker is doing it and will do it, it is the part of courage and patriotism to keep him at his post.

Optimism About the Shipping Situation

OFFICIAL statements, from both the United States and England, give grounds for optimism concerning the general shipping situation. Mr. Bainbridge Colby, a member of the United States Shipping Board, goes so far as to say that the shipping problem is solved. "America's stupendous ship-building programme is the answer to the submarine." The recent parliamentary statement of Sir Eric Geddes, the new First Lord of the British Admiralty, gives more definite reasons for thinking that the German submarine has done its worst. The net losses in British shipping, in three and a half years of warfare, have amounted to 2½ million tons. That is, England has that much less tonnage afloat now than in August, 1914. But the explanation for this falling off, Sir Eric says, is not primarily the German submarine. For the first two years of the war, the English shipyards almost stopped building mercantile ships, devoting all their energies to constructing war vessels. The annual output of warships in England has exceeded the product of peace years by 300 or 400 per cent. The general impression that England's navy is at least twice as large as when war began is apparently substantiated by this official declaration. British yards can now turn their attention to recouping the losses in England's mercantile fleet. Sir Eric supplies another new fact: had England in these three years of war maintained her construction of mercantile ships on the pre-war level, English shipping, despite the depredations of the submarines, would be 2 or 3 million tons to the good. Now that the British yards have begun building merchant ships on a much greater scale than prevailed before 1914, the chances of making good the losses seem favorable.

Since February, 1917, when Germany's unrestricted campaign began, England has lost 3 million tons—at the rate of about 300,000 tons a month. How much shipping has been constructed in that same period? From January 1st to June, according to Chairman Hurley, American yards launched 500,000 tons; that is, even before the United States adopted its present large programme, we were building at the rate of one million tons a year. Shipping statistics are so entangled that it is impossible to tell how many tons England has turned out in this same period. We can get some idea of British capacity, even before the augmentations required by war, from the fact that, in 1913, British yards turned out 3 million tons. Probably the statement is therefore entirely justified that English and American yards have replaced at least 2 million of the 3 million tons which England has lost since February, 1917. But there have been other sinkings than those of English ships. The best figures estimate that Germany has been destroying about 500,000 tons a month of the world's shipping since she decided to play her last card. This is at the rate of 6 million tons a year. If English shipyards produce 3 million tons and Americans 5 million tons, it is quite apparent that Germany has failed, even though the English and American navies find no more effective method of handling the submarine. Though Mr. H. L. Ferguson, president of the Newport News Shipbuilding Company, insists

that our yards will produce only 3 million tons in 1918, Chairman Hurley still promises 5 million tons.

So far as our "programme"—the situation on paper—is concerned, the German submarine is already defeated. But our shipyards are still disorganized, the labor problem is still unsolved, and there is yet no definite assurance that we shall build 5 million tons this year. The necessity for action exists as much as ever.

The Attacks on Mr. Hoover

THE attempt which is now being made to discredit Mr. Herbert C. Hoover will make little headway with the American people, or at least that part of it which is interested in the thorough prosecution of the war. It is necessary at the present moment to maintain a constant attitude of criticism toward any public man whose activities, intentionally or otherwise, help to promote the German cause. There is no probability that Senator Reed, of Missouri, is a German agent; there is not the slightest doubt, however, that his activities for the past year and a half have been more helpful to Germany than to the United States. While there is no desire to do injustice to an American Senator, there are certain phases of Mr. Reed's career which it is necessary to keep in mind. He comes from a state—Missouri—with a large German population, and with his colleague, Mr. Stone, Mr. Reed has taken a stand throughout the war which has not been displeasing to this element in his following. His attitude on food conservation has sufficiently demonstrated his hostility to the great enterprise in which we are engaged. Every country, especially Germany, has found it necessary to subject its food supply to the most minute supervision. In face of this fact Senator Reed fought the food bill all last summer. This one man is more responsible than any other single influence for the fact that this measure was delayed for nearly three months. As part of his opposition he attacked Mr. Hoover, the man who had won the admiration of Europe for his able and devoted work in feeding Belgium and northern France. America has had to pass through many humiliating experiences in recent years; but the spectacle of a man of Mr. Hoover's ability and character being so assailed on the floor of the Senate by a man of Senator Reed's type was a crowning shame. The American people should let Mr. Hoover know that they support him whole-heartedly in the present crisis.

Adjustment of Business to the War

THE adjustment of business throughout the country to war conditions has so far been effected with very little trouble. Business was universally in a highly prosperous state when we entered the war last April. That helps to account for the small number of failures since. But the real adjustment of business to a war basis is likely to come this year, and we are coming to that with business generally in a satisfactory condition. There are exceptions, of course, to this commercial prosperity; and these point the way that the readjustment must take, and give warning to those engaged in activity that must be curtailed. During 1917 there were fewer commercial failures in the United States, according to reports of R. G. Dun & Co., than in any of the three years previous, when we ourselves were not involved in the war. The total liabilities of the failures last year were $183,441,371, which is smaller than the corresponding figures for nearly ten years back. There were 20 per cent. fewer failures in trading occupations, such as stores, in 1917, both in numbers and in the amount of the liabilities, than the year before. Among manufacturers, on the other hand, there was an increase of 8 per cent. in liabilities, although the number of failures showed a 12 per cent. decline. Manufacturing plants are generally hard to convert from one product to another, and consequently a manufacturer of luxuries has the hardest task in adjusting himself to war conditions. It is on such manufacturers that the pressure of war has begun to tell.

The Duty of Congress to Investigate Our War Preparations

MR DAVID LAWRENCE, a careful observer, after the Congressional inquiries had shown the more or less serious failure of the War Department in every activity except the furnishing of food, sent the following despatch to the New York *Evening Post:*

For several months practically all the facts that have just been revealed by the investigating committees of Congress were known and gossiped

about in the national capital, but, owing to the peculiar restrictions of censorship and an atmosphere of official intimidation, the American people were denied news that might have been the basis for the same kind of helpful criticism which is only now stimulating the Government to greater effort in prosecuting the war.

Washington knew about the shortage of rifles and the changes in ordnance, the complaints of visiting manufacturers, their offers to supply the Government with munitions, and the lack of equipment. It was even predicted by men within the army exactly what the suffering would be, both on the transports and in the camps. Not a word of this, however, was it possible to print because of the strict rules barring any discussion of military plans. No one in the Government would permit any information to be released which tended in any way to reflect unfavorably on officials. Efforts were made frequently by the Committee on Public Information headed by George Creel to bring about relations of frankness with the press, but these failed. Similarly War Department officials, when confronted with the stories of inefficiency which were current here in many cases, actually entered denials and forbade their subordinates to throw any light whatsoever on these subjects. The usual reply was that the information would be useful to the enemy, but no person in authority either in the Committee on Public Information or any other branch of the Government weighed the advantage to America in a revelation of inefficiency as compared with the alleged disadvantages of having Germany learn details of American equipment.

The return of Congress has been the first healthful influence brought to bear on a situation the gravity of which had long been known inside the national capital. The attitude of smug complacency which some officials adopted toward their work was not disturbed, because criticism has been for many months virtually impossible. Rumors galore were prevalent, but newspaper inquirers, anxious to obtain the facts on which to base a judgment, were repeatedly thwarted and told that military matters were none of the public's affairs.

The creation of a Department of Munitions is again being urged as a way out of the ordnance troubles and the difficulties of handling questions involving contracts and supplies on a large scale. This suggestion has been repeatedly made in the sessions of the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense, and a separate munitions organization responsible for ordnance would have been formed many months ago, could a public opinion have been aroused as to the need of such a step.

There are several deductions from Mr. Lawrence's narration of facts, which is in no way an exaggeration.

The fact, of course, is that there was and is something rotten in the state of the War Department.

The second is that the press failed in its duty. Censorship or no censorship, a paper with the information and the courage could have forced the issue.

The third deduction is that even if the censorship did stop the press from telling the whole truth, there is nothing to stop Congress from finding out whether the executive branches of the Government are doing their duty. It is the fundamental safeguard of all liberal government that the legislature elected by the people shall control the expenditure of the people's money and that the executives, whether elected or appointed, are in the last analysis responsible to that body, which, with us, is Congress.

But the difficulty with our system is that Congress does not attend to that function of supervision except periodically. Most of the executive departments go their way between appropriations with little responsibility to any one but the press. The press has assumed the task of watching the operations of the executive departments and reporting on them to the people. But it is a voluntary responsibility. The Washington correspondents who really perform this service to the Nation are not elected by the people to do this. It is in reality the duty of Congress, and the fact that the press generally does it does not excuse Congress from its obligations.

If the Committees of Congress had representatives of the departments empowered to answer questions about the department activities before them every week, Congress would keep posted and the departments would have to keep up with their work all the time. As it is, the Congressional investigations only occur after there is good reason for the public to believe that there has been a failure or a scandal.

The opportunity for Congress to assume its responsibilities and serve the country lies before it. In practically all other countries with democratic governments the executives resign when their conduct is unsatisfactory to a majority of the legislature. Our cabinet members are not responsible to the legislature to the degree that an adverse vote would mean resignation, and to make them so would require a constitutional amendment, but they are, nevertheless, responsible in that few adminis

trations would continue men in office who could not justify their work before Congress. And Congress by keeping in close touch with the administrative departments would be able to encourage ability, prevent mistakes, and legislate more effectively and with greater knowledge. Congress has a great opportunity within its grasp to grow in importance and responsibility and to render a great service to the United States and to civilization.

Concrete Ships Making Progress

TO WHAT extent might concrete ships help to solve our shipping problem? Concrete vessels may be built quickly and cheaply; material is readily available; concrete is fireproof, rat-proof, and rot-proof, and withstands hard usage. The practicability of concrete barges and the smaller types of self-propelling freighters has been proven by practice though the value of concrete for large ships is yet to be shown.

It is interesting that the first example of what is now called reënforced concrete was a small boat, built by a Frenchman in 1849. Prior to 1900 several barges of less than 100 tons were in use in Italy and Holland. In 1900 a 200-ton barge for river traffic was built in Germany, and to-day concrete barges varying in capacity up to 700 tons are used in the Panama Canal, the Welland Ship Canal, and the Manchester Ship Canal in England, and in the harbors of San Francisco, Baltimore, and Sydney, New South Wales.

But the last year has demonstrated the true possibilities of concrete boats. A company in California will soon launch a 5,000-ton self-propelling vessel for ocean service. But Scandinavia is taking the lead in this new industry. In that country several companies advertise that they will build concrete ships for ocean travel as large as 5,000 tons, and early this year they will launch several ships, of three and four thousand tons, equipped with Diesel engines. One 400-ton Scandinavian ship has already received a Lloyd's rating. The English and French governments, it is rumored, are planning to construct a fleet of concrete barges and coastwise self-propelling ships. And it has even been suggested in England that mammoth concrete barges of 15,000 or 20,000 tons' displacement be built for train ferries between England and Gothenburg.

Save for the Next Liberty Loan

THE determination of the American people to see the war through to the right ending will be tested by the third Liberty Loan—the first loan of 1918. We are now past the first burst of enthusiasm; we have settled down to the grim business of war. We have reached the point where the real sentiment of the people will be reflected in their actions, and there must be no occasion for doubt in Germany as to what that sentiment is. The time has come for each one to do his or her part. Less than ten million people subscribed for the first two loans. It is not just a question of furnishing money. It is a question of backing the Government with the clear declaration that we will give everything needed to rid the world forever of this German menace. The next loan affords the best opportunity to show that determination unmistakably to the world, to cheer our hard-pressed Allies, and to hasten our participation in the war on the scale necessary for final victory.

Now is the time to begin thinking about this third Liberty Loan and to start saving for it. It will come within the next two months. Saving that is done for it now is better than saving done for it afterward. If we have the money ready to pay for the bonds in full when they are offered, then we do not tie up bank funds to finance our purchases. And saving done now rather than later means that the material and labor, which would have been bought by that money were it not saved, is released that much sooner to increase the supply of labor and material available for war purposes. Those are the things which the Government needs, and to do one's part, those are the things which the individual must really save. The man who sells other securities to buy Liberty Bonds does not do half as much as the man who saves and buys Liberty Bonds. The man who buys the other securities from him may be doing more than he, provided he saves the money to buy them with. For by saving the money he saves labor and material for the Government—saves the things with which the war must be fought.

The man or woman who buys a $1,000 Liberty Bond provides the Government with sufficient funds to equip twenty-five soldiers with two rifles apiece, or a full company with

one hundred rounds of ammunition. The man who buys $20,000 of bonds can say that he provides for the full clothing of a company; about $15,000 more will fully equip it. If the money to buy these bonds is saved from current earnings, then the individual can say that the labor and material needed to manufacture this clothing and equipment have actually been given to the Government. The money is only loaned.

With the next loan we will soon again have an opportunity to show our national determination to win the war. Every day we individually have the opportunity by saving to make our determination the more effective.

Don't Give Up Your Liberty Bonds

A READER of the WORLD'S WORK has written an interesting letter from Louisville, Ky., in which he says:

"I happen to know quite a trade has been done by local musical firms handling Victrolas and piano-players in Liberty Bonds during this Christmas season, the securities received in payment being immediately sold to the banks for cash at regular market rates. Now, are not these merchants defeating the very purpose for which Liberty Bonds were issued in encouraging people to part with them in this way?"

An example of the attempts to justify this use of Liberty Bonds is contained in the following paragraph from the Louisville *Herald*.

> One hundred dollars, buried in the napkin of a Liberty Bond, is dead until the war is over and the bond is mature. It can render no further service to the Nation. But, if that $100 of credit, which was created when the bond was purchased from the Government, is spent and put into active circulation, it is entirely possible that it may change hands every day—leaving a service profit at every change of hands—thus rendering a continuous national service through multiplying profits and providing the prosperity which can pay its share of the war taxes, or buy the new issues of bonds, and enable us to pay the Nation's war debts without depleting our capital.

The writer's idea is that Liberty Bonds should be used as currency and that every time a person gets one in the course of trade he has helped the Government, and that every man who gives one in trade has likewise done his duty. If this were true we should also be helping win the war every time we either received or spent a five-dollar bill. War is not as easy as that.

The Government wants to have some one actually save money which represents labor or materials, and buy Liberty Bonds and keep them for a later date, for the Government needs more labor and material than it can pay for at present by taxation. The Government does not need any more currency. The Federal Reserve system is sufficiently elastic to furnish all necessary currency without recourse to the use of Liberty Bonds. The stores in Louisville and the papers there have hurt the Government, not helped it, by encouraging people to give up their bonds for merchandise.

Secretary McAdoo, of the Treasury, recently said: "I hope that the merchants of the country, upon a more careful consideration of the subject, will discontinue their efforts to sell merchandise and take Liberty Loan Bonds in payment," adding that, though he has no doubt that merchants offering to take Liberty Loan Bonds in exchange for merchandise are actuated by patriotic motives, such transactions tend to defeat a primary object of the bond sales, as they discourage thrift and increase expenditures.

Canada Decides to Stay in the War

CANADA'S overwhelming defeat of her several disloyal elements, united under the leadership of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, has both a sentimental and a practical significance. Had the Canadian electorate refused to support the splendid Canadian army, this refusal would have been one of the basest betrayals in history. Sir Robert Borden's defeat would also have meant Canada's elimination from the fighting forces. Up to date Canada has sent about 350,000 men to France; with these the Dominion has kept four divisions, about 80,000 men, constantly in the field. In order to maintain these forces—for the wastage rate is a very large one—Canada has constantly to send fresh troops to France. The experience of the last year has demonstrated that she cannot obtain these new men by the voluntary system; recruiting has reached practically an end, and without conscription the four Canadian divisions would gradually disappear, and Canada, in a comparatively short time, would be unrepresented

in the armies where she has rendered such heroic service. Now that a popular vote has endorsed the conscription policy, Canada will not only have the men to fill up the depleted ranks in her four divisions, but will be able to organize a fifth. Her strength in the fighting line will stand at 100,000 for the rest of the war.

Canada introduced several new ideas in this election—methods which, although they may shock those Americans who are sticklers for constitutional principles, yet indicate that our northern neighbors are doing much straight thinking in this present crisis. The Dominion is plagued, as are we, by thousands of people who have conscientious and religious scruples against bearing arms. The Borden Government does not force these citizens to enter the army; it did, however, disfranchise them in the recent election. "If you do not care to defend your country, you shall not be permitted to vote to prevent others from doing so," seems to be the philosophy back of this proviso. Canada also found a short way with her German-Canadians, Austrian-Canadians, and other hyphenates. The mere fact that these aliens, the majority of whom were believed to be hostile to the war, held citizenship papers was not regarded as giving them the right to vote. The election law provided that no citizens born in enemy countries who had lived less than fifteen years in Canada should exercise the suffrage. On the other hand, the Canadian army contains many thousands of young men who were non-residents of Canada when they enlisted, in particular Englishmen who had recently arrived and Americans who had crossed the border for this express purpose. The election law gave these men the right to vote, the principle being that "any man who is good enough to fight for Canada is good enough to vote for her." In this recent election, therefore, many American citizens have cast their first Canadian ballot. The new election enfranchised, also, all nurses engaged in war work and every wife, widow, daughter, mother, and sister of any man who had served in the ranks. A single soldier might thus be the means of giving the vote to half a dozen women and even more. These regulations may seem rather drastic, yet they merely mean that, in this present trying-out time, Canada recognizes only two classes of citizens—those who are fighting for her and those who are *fighting against her.*

Polonius as Mayor of New York

THE inauguration of Mayor Hylan in New York City marked the low point of the cycle which goes on in municipal government in this country—the only cheerful thing about the situation being that this low point is not as low as the last one, for it is true that, in spite of ups and downs, the general tendency of our municipal life in America is up. The new Mayor signalized his inauguration by reading to his newly selected commissioners an assortment of sententious maxims that suggest Polonius's advice to his son. Officials "must not loll in city automobiles with big cigars in their mouths." "They must not be conspicuous at baseball games when they should be in their offices." "They must not spend two hours at luncheon." "They must use city automobiles for city business only." "They must show no discourtesy or arrogance to callers." "They must dispense with the service of so-called efficiency experts." "They must observe simplicity in office accommodations and furniture." "They shall be at their desks at nine o'clock and shall spend their time until five on work for the city." "They shall refrain from catering to any newspaper or making alliance with any." "All subordinates shall refrain from advertising themselves in any way." "They must write the record of this Administration, not in the frothy . . . literature of hired promoters, but in the concrete things with which our Government must deal."

Mayor Hylan accompanied these sayings with a list of the subordinates whom he had selected to give them reality. The great majority were men who pretty well represented all the evils against whom the "inaugural address" was directed. They were for the larger part old-time Tammany Hall politicians. Mayor Hylan officially proclaimed efficiency and industry as the guiding stars of the next four years, and then chose Tammany Hall district leaders and veteran political hacks as the men who are to accomplish this great revolution in city administration. With all his high-sounding phrases about "making New York yearn for democracy," the Mayor's first act has been to delegate his power over appointments to Charles F. Murphy, leader of Tammany Hall, and to John H. McCooey, leader of the Tammanyized Democratic organization in Brooklyn.

Apparently, therefore, these facts give us the complete mental and moral stature of New York's new mayor. On one side a taste for windy platitudes, on the other a considerable subserviency to the sinister forces that lifted him from obscurity to the Mayor's office. America's greatest city is evidently in for four years of "democracy," of the Jack Cade brand. The one evidence that Tammany has progressed is that furnished by the man selected to be the new police commissioner. This is Mr. Frederick H. Bugher, a man whose personal reputation is high, and whom it would be difficult to picture as handing over the great city to the forces of the underworld. His appointment evidently means that Tammany has concluded that the old days of a 'wide open" town, with a regular tariff of blood money levied upon thieves, saloon keepers, gamblers, and prostitutes, have gone forever. Arthur Woods has abolished graft and made the police department efficient and clean; Tammany has decided that it will be "good politics" to keep it so. The public conscience has advanced to a point where the association of government with the criminal classes cannot be tolerated. This gradual improvement of standards is, after all, the only thing that counts in a democracy; so the existing situation in New York is not so discouraging as it might at first seem.

Do You Want Photographs of Our Army in France?

YOU can get a photographic print of any picture which you see published in the press marked, "The Committee on Public Information," for ten cents apiece.

The description of the pictures sent out by the Government is as follows:

"The pictures themselves will be excellent in material and workmanship, size 6½ x 8½ inches, 'photographed on double weight paper, beautifully finished, ready for framing or insertion in albums"; and the gentleman from whom they can be had is L. E. Rubel, Director, Division of Pictures, Committee on Public Information, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Rubel suggested that the WORLD'S WORK call the attention of its readers to this service offered by the Government, which we do with pleasure, for we believe that there are many people to whom these photographs will be interesting and valued possessions.

How Finance Settlers on Farm Lands?

AUSTRALIA has appropriated 100 million dollars to buy and make ready farms for returning soldiers. This, for a population of five million, is equivalent to an appropriation of two billion dollars in the United States. The Australian Government has done this, not as an act of charity, but to meet conditions that we are facing and shall face in this country. These conditions are:

(1) The growth of absentee ownership and tenant farming.

(2) The disappearance, under economic maladjustment, of self-respecting white farm labor.

(3) The economic waste of the present system of speculative ownership of farm lands by men who do not farm them but hold them for a rise in price.

Australia has substituted a better system. So also have the British in the case of Ireland, the Danes, and the New Zealanders. In these countries, the governments have bought land in large areas, subdivided them into farms and farm laborers' allotments, leveled the land, built the roads and houses, seeded part of each body to crops, and then sold them to actual settlers, on long-time payments—so long that a practical farmer of small means can acquire ownership without heart-rending struggles. The sole purpose of these Governmental activities has been to build up a rural citizenry that is prosperous, contented, and productive. The essence of their success is that the Government's credit is used to finance the farmer at interest rates which he can pay; and that only men are allowed to hold the land who live on it and make it produce. In this they are further aided by the advice of Government-paid agricultural experts, by standardized breeds of cattle and seeds, and by economical standardized plans for buildings. The plan costs the Government nothing, as all it spends comes back in payments from the farmers.

In the United States, farmers pay from 8 to 25 per cent. interest, as against the 4 and 5 per cent. of State enterprises. They buy land at speculative values instead of productive values. The land is not ready for cropping, and the farmer's meagre funds are often exhausted in clearing and leveling instead of going at once into productive labor. This condition still holds despite the wor

of the Federal Farm Loan Board recently started by the Government, for its operations, though immensely helpful to farmers, do not meet the problems of the settler.

A bill was lately brought before Congress to give both state and national aid to land colonization after the pattern of the successful enterprises abroad. This bill provides that the Federal Government shall lend the states money with which to buy, improve, and settle the land, and that the Federal Government shall construct and manage all public works, such as irrigation systems. The state governments shall select the lands, buy them, improve them, and choose the settlers, and be responsible to the Federal Government for the return of the money lent to them.

The problem of returning two million soldiers to civil life when the war is over would alone make this bill vital to the future of the country. But the bill strikes also at the roots of notorious and costly evils in the whole structure of rural life in America. It should be understood by every citizen. The simplest way to learn about it is to get from the American Economic Association, Ithaca, N. Y., the report of the addresses, before the recent annual meeting in Philadelphia, of Prof. Elwood Mead, which states the case for Government direction, and of Prof. Richard T. Ely, which states the case against it. Whether or not this specific bill is the proper remedy, there is a vital necessity for some comprehensive plan.

The Piggly Wiggly Stores

THE Piggly Wiggly stores sound as if their origin was Mother Goose. But in fact they originated in Memphis, Tenn., and there is far more in the idea that they represent than the name implies.

When a customer goes into a Piggly Wiggly grocery store she usually carries a basket and, if not, she can get one inside. Once within she is confronted with shelves and bins of groceries in packages with prices plainly marked, but no clerks to wait on her. She merely takes what she wants and puts it in her basket. The way out, and the only way out, is by the cashier, who looks at her purchases and takes her money. There is no delay, no wrapping unless the buyer does it, no delivery, no clerks, and no clerks' expense. The customer *gets her goods* quickly and cheaply. The store does its business efficiently and cheaply. The Piggly Wiggly stores sell at lower prices than normal grocery stores. They must get customers and they can because their expenses are so low. An account of their operations in *Printers' Ink* says:

> For the week ending October 6, the total expense for the nine stores then operating in Memphis was $795.11. The net sales were $25,429.90, which leaves the cost of doing business only 3.12 per cent. The highest cost of any store was 5.27 per cent. and the lowest 2.31. Salaries, $494.85; ice, $46.20; light, $21.74; rent, $180.82; sundries, $24.32; telephone, $11.81; water, $1.67.
>
> The first store in a town is called "King," the second, "Prince," and the rest are numbered. The color scheme is blue and white, both inside and out. The queer name, "Piggly Wiggly," was selected because of its attention-getting value and because it is difficult to imitate. Patrons of the store take a basket when coming in, if they do not bring one, and, after going through a turnstile pass through a series of aisles and before shelves, bins, counters, refrigerators, etc. There is a swinging price tag before each article and every piece of merchandise is within the convenient reach of the customer. To get out of the store the buyer has to pass before the cashier.
>
> Like everything else about these unusual stores, the advertising is decidedly different. Mr. Saunders [the founder of the Piggly Wiggly system of stores] believes strongly in advertising his ideas and the enterprises with which he is connected. He has a strikingly individual style. Some might call some of the copy bizarre. Usually generous space is employed which is packed with reading matter. The Piggly Wiggly advertisements are copyrighted, and are part of the system.
>
> As an experiment in distribution, Piggly Wiggly is interesting and is worth watching. As a retail system that demonstrates the easy salability of advertised goods, its initial success speaks volumes. But just how wide the field is for stores that eliminate absolutely all service and thus keep selling expense down to a minimum remains to be seen.

When this is compared to the normal 12 to 20 per cent. of expense necessary in the conduct of the ordinary grocery store, it becomes plain why the Piggly Wiggly grocery-cafeteria plan can reduce prices.

The cost of producing what we eat, wear, and use is often not as great as the cost of selling these things to us. Most of our effort at economy has been expended on production. The bigger field for economy is in selling, and in this field the Piggly Wiggly stores are an interesting and hopeful experiment.

American Tractors to the Rescue

IN SENDING 1,500 farm tractors to France in charge of Mr. Henry Morgenthau, Jr., the United States has started a movement that may have the utmost influence upon the course of the war. This number of machines will not in themselves compensate French agriculture for the losses of the war. In the uninvaded parts of France nearly 10 million acres have gone out of cultivation as a consequence of war. The simple fact is that the cultivators are in the armies. It is estimated that Mr. Morgenthau's tractors will plow 500,000 acres this spring and 1,000,000 in the fall—thus putting back into cultivation about 15 per cent. of the land that is now lying unused. This preliminary shipment, however, marks only the beginning; there is no reason why, in the next year or two, we cannot send to France enough farm machinery to make good the farm laborers France has lost to the armies and to reëstablish French agriculture as it was in 1914. In that year France was a self-supporting country.

If we do this, we shall merely repeat history. Perhaps the element that chiefly contributed to the success of the North in our Civil War was the use of the harvesting machine. The Northern armies took one out of every three men from the farms. In many places the situation was not unlike that in France today; only women, children, and old men were left to work the fields. Yet this greatly reduced labor supply produced the food which fed our civil population and the armies, as well as an enormous surplus which, shipped to Europe, provided the liquid capital which financed our military operations. Europeans looked on at a new spectacle—that of a nation fighting the greatest and most expensive war in history and growing infinitely richer in the process. The explanation was found in an ungainly red chariot, which ran over the fields of ripened grain and did the work of fifteen or twenty men. McCormick invented his reaper in 1831, but, owing to the plentiful supply of cheap labor, it did not come into general use until the Civil War. It seems almost like a stroke of an ironical fate that, whereas it was the invention of a Northerner. Eli Whitney, that made the Civil War inevitable, it was the invention of a Southerner, Cyrus McCormick—a Virginian—that made it inevitable that the North should win.

From the Civil War dates the use of American agricultural machinery in all parts of the world. Ex-President Loubet said, several years ago, that France would starve to death were it not for "the self-binders made in Chicago." Is it too much to expect that this comparatively new device, the tractor, may do for our general food situation now what the reaper did in the Civil War?

Admiral Mayo's Rank

WITH a portrait of Admiral Mayo, in the WORLD'S WORK for January, the following caption was printed: "Ranking officer of the United States Navy and Commander-in-Chief of the Atlantic Battleship Fleet." This caption was written after the editors had communicated with naval authorities in New York. Word from Washington, received since that issue was published, makes the following correction: "The ranking officer of the United States Navy is Admiral W. S. Benson, the Chief of Naval Operations. Admiral Mayo is Commander-in-Chief of the United States Atlantic Fleet. This includes not alone battleships, but all forces of whatever character which we have operating in the Atlantic or waters adjacent thereto. Admiral Mayo ranks next after Admiral Benson."

Mr. Cox's Design on the Cover

THE design on the cover of the WORLD'S WORK this month is reproduced through the courtesy of Mr. Kenyon Cox, the artist. It was originally painted as a patriotic service, being a gift from him to the Government for use as a poster to stimulate recruiting in the Marine Corps. It so fittingly suggests the high motives and firm purpose of our country in this war that it is, the editors feel, a national service to call it further to the attention of the public, in the hope that its inspiration to patriotism may be felt by others who have not seen it.

[*The investment article that usually follows the editorials appears in this issue on page* 393.]

HOW GERMANY IS PREPARING FOR THE NEXT WAR

The Government's Realization That Its Ambition of World Dominion Cannot Be Attained In the Present Conflict—Its Systematic Devastation of Belgium, Northern France, and Serbia, and Its Destruction of the Economic Life and Financial Subjugation of Those Countries, As Well As of Its Own Allies, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, and Its Shrewdly Calculated Methods to Increase the German Male Population, All in Order to Insure the Success of Its Next War By Which It Is to Extend the German Empire From Calais to Bagdad—The Peril to America Unless Germany Is Defeated Now

BY

J. B. W. GARDINER

AMERICA'S greatest peril is to be found not in the present war but in a war of the future, a war for which Germany is already preparing, and which, if she is unsuccessful in her present attempt to conquer the world, she will provoke long before the memory of the present struggle has passed from us. This is of particular interest to us at this time lest in our failure to realize our true aims in the present conflict we be led astray by German cunning, and in consequence agree to a separate peace. With our knowledge of the vast number of Germans killed and maimed since the outbreak of hostilities, of the sufferings and privations of the civilian population, it is almost inconceivable that Germany's lust of conquest should not by this time be stilled, that it should retain sufficient of its life and vitality to permit the German leaders to look forward to another such devastating conflict. Nevertheless, the evidence as to Germany's purpose is unmistakably clear. This evidence is presented to us in a variety of forms. Of these the most important are:

(1) The complete immolation of Serbia.

(2) The systematic destruction of the entire economic life of Belgium through the dismantling of her factories and the deportation of the male population.

(3) The complete devastation of all the occupied region of France.

(4) The many and Satanic means of increasing the male population of Germany.

(5) The subjugation to a state of complete financial and economic subservience to Germany of Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey.

As regards Serbia little need be said, as this side of the case has been elaborately discussed in recent publications. Serbia is the bridge which spans the gap between Germany and her Near-Eastern allies. Through Serbia and Serbia alone can the dream of a Hamburg-Bagdad railroad become a German reality. But even with peace declared, Serbia would always be a constant threat directed against that all-important link between Belgrade and Nish. Germany can reap the maximum benefit from this so-called Oriental railroad only through holding in a tutelage which approaches bondage all the countries through which it passes. Only by this means can Germany mobilize and develop the full resources of the Near East and organize the great Turkish population of Asia into an effective military force. Since it is impossible for Germany to ally Serbia to herself by treaty or agreement, and since it was necessary that the Serbian menace be eliminated, Germany deliberately planned to reduce Serbia to such a degree of innocuousness that she could not possibly recover in a generation. By that time Germany would have fought the next war and won it and Serbia would have become a German vassal. Therefore, we have witnessed not the conquering of Serbia alone but her complete immolation. The country has

been turned into a waste; the population ruthlessly destroyed—women have been deliberately left to starve and freeze with their babies on their breasts, children on whose small shoulders rests the future strength of the country, viciously, wantonly murdered. Even the horrors of Belgium pale beside those of Serbia. Not one generation must pass, but two, before Serbia can rise from the ashes; and then, by the German reasoning, it will be too late.

THE PURPOSE OF THE BELGIAN HORRORS

In the case of Belgium, Germany has made her purpose so clear that the mere recital of the sequence of events is sufficient to reveal it unmistakably. In the first flush of the invasion the German soldiery, driven on by its officers who in turn were merely following the instructions of still higher authority, deliberately set about to put the fear of the German in the heart of all Belgium within the path of the invading army. The horrors of those early days—the crimes of Louvain, of Termonde, of Dinant—are still fresh in our minds. The object was merely to inspire fear and terror in the souls of the citizens so that there would be no fear of a general uprising against the invaders. Later, when the occupation became an established fact and quiet had been generally restored, the atrocities ceased, and except for the exaction of a large monthly indemnity the Germans made no deliberate attempts to interfere with the commercial life of the conquered state. But later came another phase—events in the various active military fields drilled into the German consciousness that a German peace was impossible. The fortunes of war had so inverted the German mental processes that instead of victory there remained only the hope of preventing defeat. When this was fully realized the German tactics changed. The first evidence of this was the Belgian deportations. Germany wove the usual network of lies in extenuation of this crime, claiming that only the idle were deported. This was in a sense true. But why were so many men idle? I personally know of one case in the province of Hainaut, where, in order to get around a promise made to an American commissioner not to deport workers, one factory was entirely dismantled, all the machinery being shipped to Germany. Then the "idlers" who had been employed in that plant were deported as an "economic measure." This is but one of a great number of similar cases, until now there is hardly a factory in operation in Belgium, while all the able-bodied men formerly employed have been sent into Germany as slaves. The net results accomplished in Belgium are:

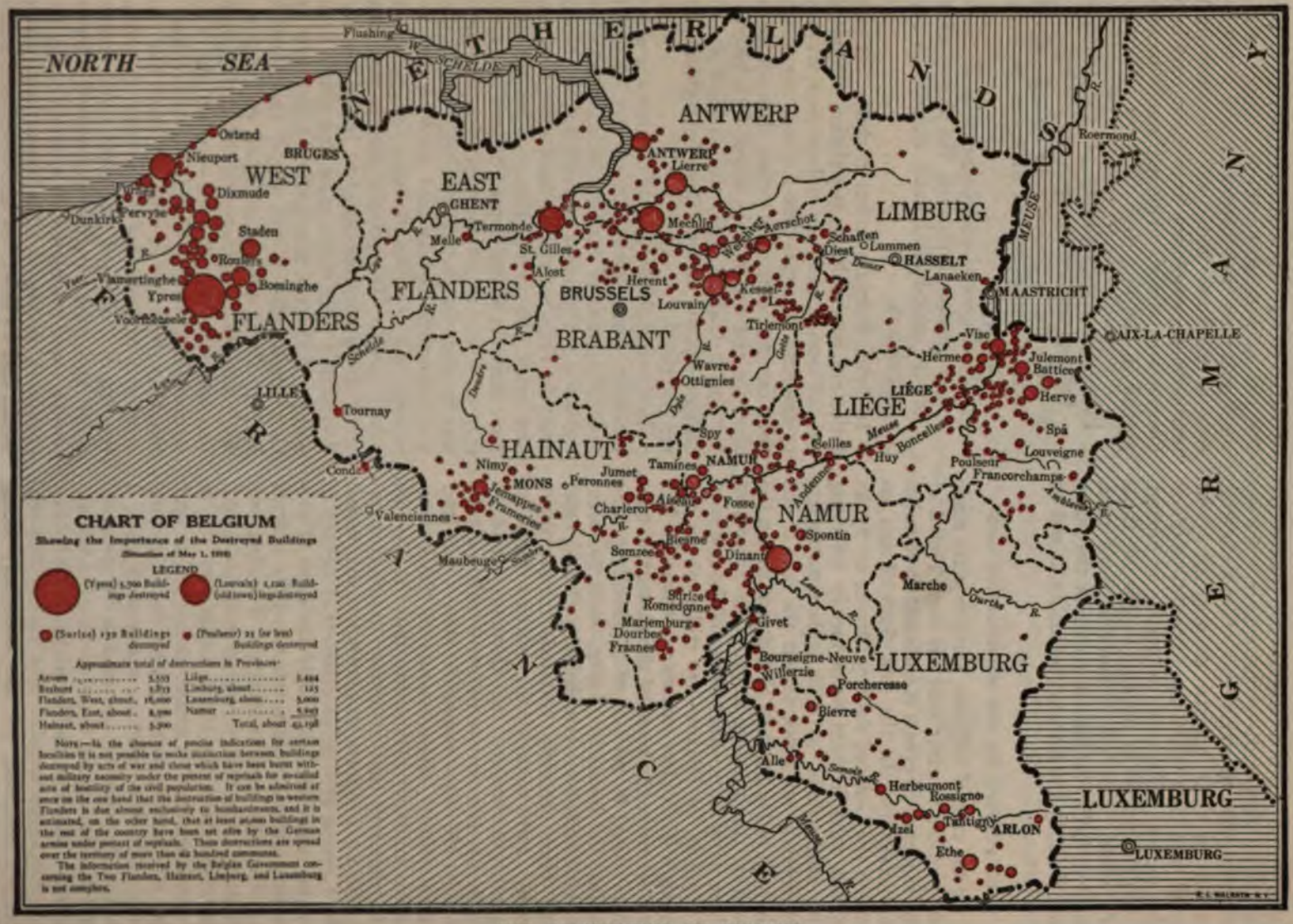
First—the impoverishing of the country through outrageous levies of money.

Second—the economic ruin brought about through stripping all factories of their machinery.

Third—the social and commercial destruction produced through the deportation of the able-bodied male element in the population.

In brief, Belgium is but a shell. Its factories are but walls, its population composed only of women, children, and old men, its past commercial structure but a dream on which they can ruminate. Economic dependence is absolute and will remain so for fifty years—for not in that time can the national life so crushed by the German heel be revived and reconstructed.

In the occupied regions of France the same processes have been carried out. We all know the wave of horror which surged over the world at the havoc wrought by the retiring army in France; how railroads were torn up, dirt roads dynamited, houses destroyed and their contents either burned or sent into Germany. Every work of art or of architecture was leveled, every tree cut down, all Nature was systematically ravished until all that remained, of a populous, thriving country was a desert waste. The popular idea is that this was but the outcropping of an innate lust for destruction, that it was pure and simple vandalism. I think a moment's consideration of Germany's position will dispel this illusion both in the case of France and of Belgium. As I have said, Germany realized at that time her own inability to win—rather she was seriously threatened with defeat. She realized, too, that these acts of rapacity, more like the venting of rage of some savage beast than like the acts of a civilized, organized State, unless there was some carefully considered interior motive, were calculated to arouse among her enemies a feeling of bitter resentment which would find its reflection in the terms of peace which Germany as a defeated nation could obtain. Germany is cold, shrewdly calculat-



THE DESTRUCTION OF BELGIUM

The areas in which the Germans have destroyed cities and towns in this thickly populated industrial country. Everywhere they have stripped industry of its machinery and deported labor in an effort to keep Belgium from becoming an economic competitor after the war

ing, and materialistic. She does nothing from impulse but tempers her acts to fit in with a carefully mapped out plan. Least of all would she close the door to a generous peace in the case of possible defeat unless, as I have said, she were impelled by an ulterior motive—and the motive here is easy to divine. It is to so weaken France and Belgium, while she herself is still intact, that they cannot possibly recover from the effects of war in the same time that Germany herself can. To reconstitute the Belgian nation alone, with all its able-bodied men except the relic of its army, will take several generations. With depopulated, blasted France the case is almost as bad. In much less time would Germany be ready to strike again, and with Belgium no longer a thorn in her side, and with the northeastern gateway to France wide open, the German hordes could march without effective opposition direct to Paris and Calais.

GERMANY'S METHODS OF INCREASING HER POPULATION

The question which is presented to Germany of increasing her population for war purposes has been answered in many ways. The first, in order of time, was the authorized and systematic ravishing of the women of Belgium and of France and the sending of the offspring from this official and bestial debauchery into Germany, to form part of the future "defense of the fatherland."

The deportation of the men of Belgium is another phase. These men will, of course, never return if Germany can prevent it, and so will constitute an effective increase in the male population. But they will either voluntarily or through compulsion form some sort of liaison with the surplus women of Germany and produce offspring which in twenty years will be available fodder for powder. As the excess of Germany's female population is now great and will be still greater after the war, this will prove also a ready means for providing for this surplus.

We next find the German references to the so-called lateral marriages. There are hundreds of thousands of young women in Germany, capable of bearing children, who are at present unattached because of the absence of their husbands at the front. To German efficiency this is a waste of human material. God would not have endowed woman with such an important function if it had not been intended that she should use it. And to what better use than for the fatherland? Therefore, Germany proposes a "lateral" marriage. A man, married or unmarried—it is immaterial, only if married he must get his wife's permission—is encouraged by the Government to form a temporary union with one of the neglected women (who must also obtain her husband's consent) whose consort is at war. This alliance is to last until a child is born, when it automatically is to cease, the child being either retained by the mother or sent to an institution to be reared that he may form a unit in the future national defense. It is an admirable German scheme, quite typical of the German mind which suffers agony at the sight of anything idle that is susceptible of use.

The next development concerned the women who have been widowed through the war and the men who have been so crippled as to be of no further use in the war area. The burgomasters of the various German towns have been instructed to obtain a list of all war widows in the districts controlled by them, and also a list of all cripples. Advertisements are then to be placed in papers known to be read by women generally, for wives for the deserving cripples. Thus, playing the rôle of Cupid, the beneficent Government will bring together Venus and Adonis and, as is stated in official instructions, sow the seed of a new generation which will, in the fulness of its manhood, take upon its shoulders the national defense.

It is somewhat difficult for us to conceive how, in this enlightened age, a supposedly civilized nation can so foul the beauty of motherhood, so depreciate the great moral value of its womanhood, as to turn the whole community into an official human stock farm by making simply brood animals out of its women. It is an indication of the moral slough into which Germany has descended, so that we need no longer wonder either at the crimes committed by the German soldiery against the women of France and Belgium, or of the complete breakdown of German morality.

Finally, in the discussion of population, we come to Germany's purpose in Africa. One of the terms of peace which Germany will insist on will be, in case of a negotiated peace, the restoration of her African colonies, or in case of victory, the surrender to her not only of

the colonies which she possessed previous to August, 1914, but those of England, France, and Belgium as well. This, indeed, is already being openly advocated in the German press. The colonial troops, it is argued, have proven their great value in this war in two ways. First they have been a material addition to the forces in Europe and have given an excellent account of themselves on the European battlefield. Secondly, they can be made thoroughly competent to defend their own land against any attacks to which future war might subject them. In at least one of the German papers commenting on the plan of mobilizing Africa, it was openly stated without effort at concealment that the basic idea was a preparation for the next war. The question of population is also inextricably entwined about the reduction of Germany's allies, economically at least, to the status of German vassals. Germany has seen to it that financially she controls their destinies. This is true now in every economic sense; after the war it will be true in a commercial sense as well. The principal object in this has been and continues to be not alone the wealth which exists but the fighting population as well, since through the control of the material resources the control of the man power can be made absolute. This subservience to German domination is, in the case of Turkey in particular, in every sense absolute. This the Kaiser has carefully and skilfully contrived to bring about, since Turkey is the most important link in the German chain of influence. It is not merely because the longer section of the Bagdad railway runs through the Turkish Empire. The most potent element is the Turkish population—25 million people—almost half as large as that of Germany. Place this population under German rule for twenty-five years, permit Germany to mobilize and train and control its latent resources in man power, and we shall at that end of that period see a military force of more than 3 million men—perhaps, indeed, double that number—fully equipped and ready to be thrown into a new Battle of Europe. The completion of the railroads between the Taurus mountains and the Persian frontier—which roads have already been under construction for some years—will make the problem of the transportation of these troops to any European theatre one of simple solution.

We may, then, sum up the situation as it *will exist twenty* years after the close of the present war somewhat as follows, provided the Allies do not succeed in dictating all the terms of peace:

Germany, her territory unscathed by the present war, will have in large measure recovered from its effects, while, with her continental enemies so bitterly ravished by the war's sweep, the process of regeneration will scarcely have gotten well under way. The mobilization of her man power and that of her allies will place an army of 17 million men all German-trained and German-equipped under the German command to be thrown against one fourth of that force in Europe. This time the struggle will be short. There will be no miscalculation, no Marne, no Verdun. Then will the real German aim—not Hamburg-Bagdad but Calais-Bagdad—be achieved; and out of the apparent downfall of the present war will spring the World Power of which the Pan-Germanic League has been dreaming since 1870 and of which Bernhardi wrote in 1912.

It is to be observed, too, how all this synchronizes with the peace efforts which at certain periods Germany has put forward. Germany was told at the Marne that she was not to be permitted to win the war. This message was emphasized when, after a triumphal march through Russia, her army was pinned down definitely on the Dvina River behind the great Tirul Marsh. Then it was that the first peace overture was made. But the effort was weak, and the western Allies had not begun to fight, so the seed fell on sterile soil, and Germany pulled in her horns and bided her time for a more auspicious occasion, an occasion which she later attempted to create.

THE HAMBURG-BAGDAD DREAM

The destruction of Serbia furnished another opportunity for a peace move. But it was broken on the rock of the Allies' sense of decency and right, and as before, dissolved in mist. Then came the German repulse at Verdun, and the Somme, the forerunner of an Allied victory. It was the first positive proof that the German lines in the west could be strained to the breaking point—a demonstration that Germany could not ignore. There was no longer any question of German victory on the decisive front in France and Belgium. The thing had become impossible. As the British and French artillery continued to hammer this fact relentlessly into the Ger-

man mind, another peace propaganda was begun. This time it was more widespread, more determined, and more effective than before. In December, 1916, even the President of the United States himself was stirred to move for peace. Later the Pope, as a result of the pressure of the Austrian Cardinals, made a similar effort to reconcile the warring Powers. But by this time the Allies had come to understand and know Germany, and in consequence realized that peace on the basis of a stalemate, with an ostensible return to the *status quo ante*, would in effect be a German peace just as surely as if Germany had really been declared the victor. This effort, therefore, went the way of its predecessors.

The failure here was followed by the drive in Italy, not because Germany hoped to obtain a military peace, a peace dictated by force of arms, but because through crushing Italy she hoped for peace through negotiation, a peace made around the council table on the basis of exchange. But Germany is actuated in all this not by the desire for peace for the sake of peace, but for peace for the sake of war, lest she be too thoroughly exhausted before the close of the present struggle to be ready for the next one which she proposes to launch.

The whole German attitude is admirably summed up by Nietzsche who, in his "War and Warriors," says: "Ye shall love peace as a means to new wars—and the short peace more than the long."

WHY AMERICA IS IN THE WAR

It is not necessary to state to any American whose mind functions humanly and nationally what such a situation in Europe would mean to the American continent. The meaning of the last three years is altogether obvious. Equally obvious is our present duty of carrying the present war on to a successful conclusion though its accomplishment take two, ten, or twenty years. But what is meant by "victorious conclusions"? When can a nation at war be said to be victorious. Only when it has achieved the purpose for which it took up arms through the defeat of the Power with whom the quarrel existed. If, therefore, we would perform our duty in the present case we must first see clearly what that duty is; which means that we must face facts rather than theories, think along geometrically straight lines, speak the truth without circumlocution no matter whom it may hurt, and speak it so that he who runs may read it, and, reading, understand it.

Our first step must be a radical change in our mental processes, a revolutionary upset in our war psychology. We are to-day suffering from an overdose of idealism which is struggling hard to destroy the bacilli of facts with which our position in the world is surrounded. I know of no better way to express our mental condition than by the use of a word for which I feel a personal indebtedness to France—*camouflage*. Instead of living up to our international reputation for straightforward speaking even to the point of bluntness, we have been going out into the highways and the byways seeking for high-sounding phrases which betoken an esthetic idealism through which to explain the most ordinary and elementary processes. Our grandfathers would adjure us to call a spade a spade. But we refer to this prosaic tool as an instrument which man, inspired by God, devised in order that Nature might be assisted in her effort to reproduce plant life and thereby create on earth the democracy of the soil. But this war is so big, it reaches down so close to the roots of things, that there should be no room for *camouflage* of this sort. There never was a time when it was so necessary for a people to realize the truth and to grasp the elemental facts surrounding our present-day life. Failure to do so may involve us in future disaster and drag down with us our present Allies who have given so generously of their riches and of their blood for the cause for which we are all fighting.

The mass of people in the United States is peculiar in that, because of its heterogeneous, cosmopolitan character, it responds only to elemental facts, plain truths plainly told. There is no racial ideal because we are not a race but a mixture of races. When, then, we tell this mass that we went to war for an abstract governmental principle, we are not only *camouflaging* the facts, but we are sowing the seed of discord since we are not all ready to accept that principle as the correct one. Moreover, we do not all understand it and consequently are not willing to fight for it. On the other hand, every man understands what we mean when we tell him that his home is in danger because there has been let loose a wild beast which is threatening to murder his children and maltreat his wife, and every man will fight for their defense. Even the scruples

THE INDUSTRIAL DISTRICTS OF NORTHERN FRANCE

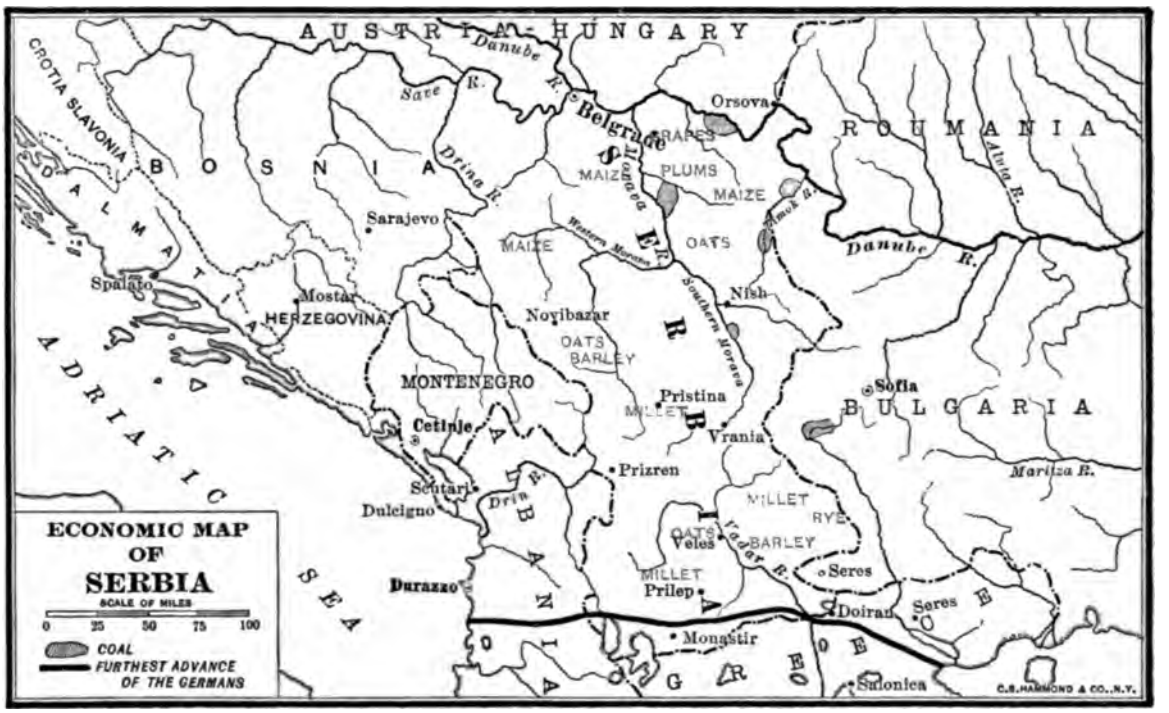
The districts shown in red are the largest centres of intense industry in France. They correspond to the Pittsburg and Providence districts with us, only they represent a much larger percentage of the total. The Germans held most of the northern district for two years and a large part of the southern district. What they have held they have destroyed utterly, and what is within range of their guns is ruined by the destruction of war. They have succeeded this much in crippling the industry of France in the hope that France will not rise again as an industrial competitor

of the pacifist and the qualms of the conscientious objector would fade before the attack. And yet we persist in interpreting our entrance into the war in terms of democracy, humanity, and civilization, esthetic abstractions, incapable of precise definition.

Again, we are exponents of the basic rights of the individual to liberty of thought and of action. We believe that the voice of the *people when* expressed is the supreme law of the land. It follows, therefore, that the people of a sovereign state have an inalienable, indisputable right to choose the form of government under which they shall live. We recognize that in every state the people are the true source of all power. If they choose to exercise this power either by permitting an existing government to continue, or by overthrowing it in favor of some other, it is their right and their privilege with which no outside

nation can with justice interfere. As far as we are concerned, it is in every way inconsistent with the genius of our political institutions that we should endeavor to impose upon the German people a form of government which we select for them and which they do not want. It is leading about as far from the essential ideals of democracy as one could stray.

against innocent children and defenseless women? Was not the deliberate sinking of the *Lusitania* but another instance of the same kind? We must be dull indeed if it took two and a half years for the nature of these acts to penetrate. If we are waging war against autocracy, why were we so long in declaring war on Austria? Why have we not declared war on Bulgaria, on Turkey?



SERBIA, A LAND CHIEFLY OF AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES

In 1914 Serbia had a population of about 4½ million people. That 4½ million was the greatest obstacle to German control of the Hamburg-Bagdad railroad and the Balkans, and its existence as a separate nation fed the hopes of the approximately 3½ million Serbs under Austrian rule that some time they, too, would be free. So the Germans desired the destruction of Serbia. Of its former population of 4½ million, approximately 1½ million are dead, one million are in the army or in exile, and of the 2 million who remain all the men have been deported to Austria or Bulgaria to labor for their enemies. The German plan of complete destruction has thus nearly succeeded

But we did not go to war for democracy, nor to confer its benefits upon the German people, nor for humanity, nor for civilization. If these were our propelling motives we must acknowledge ourselves to be the most hopelessly dense, thick-headed, ignorant people in the civilized world. The war broke out on the 1st of August, 1914. Was democracy threatened only in January, 1917? Is it not rather coincidental that democracy was placed in the balance only when our rights as a sovereign Power were attacked? Were not humanity and civilization outraged when Germany marched through Belgium, put her cities to the torch, and turned bayonets

Why did we not declare war on Russia before the revolution?

We know why we went to war, and the reason is self-defense—nothing more; and no State could have a better reason. Our citizens while on a legal errand on an international highway were attacked and ruthlessly murdered. We were informed, moreover, that they would continue to be murdered at the will of Germany. In defense of our citizens, of our country's flag, of our Nation's honor, we took up arms. And no nation ever entered upon a more justifiable struggle, or did so with a purer motive. The defense of one's home and of one's country against a

cruel, unscrupulous aggressor is surely enough for any man in whose soul there is even a glimmer of decency and right to fight for. It is useless, then, because unnecessary, and it is moreover dangerous, to cloud an issue already so clear and so simple, by garbing it in high-sounding words and phrases that only destroy its substance. The issue at stake is civilization, undeniably—but the American people must be made to understand clearly and in no uncertain terms why we, the United States, took up arms.

The next fact, the existence of which we must recognize, is the force against which we are fighting, since it is only through the defeat of this force that we can claim the victory—and this force is the German Government, which is one with and is backed up, supported, aided, and abetted by the German people. Victory can be achieved, then, only by the defeat of both. The German people have placed the stamp of approval upon the invasion of Belgium and are even now demanding the annexation of that unfortunate state; the German people turned the *Lusitania* massacre into a German fiesta; of the two hundred and odd Socialist papers in Germany less than a dozen acquiesced in the justice of the attempt to separate the Government and the people. We have received no evidence that the German people do not want the Government they now have. We have, on the contrary, a wealth of evidence that they do.

The trouble lies much deeper than a superficial governmental form. It is the entire system of German philosophy with which both Government and people are thoroughly impregnated. For years, all German thought has been controlled by the doctrines of the famous triumvirate, Nietszche, Treitschke, and Bernhardi. Almost without exception, every professor in every German university, every teacher in every German school, every preacher in every German pulpit has been teaching and preaching of Germany's divine mission on earth, of her paramount right, by virtue of her superiority in mind and in morals, to anything she might feel necessary to her unlimited growth regardless of who might be the rightful owner. *Deutschland über Alles* is but the crystallization of this entire philosophy. And as a vital dogma of their political and religious faith the German peoples believe it and live it. Until this dogma is stripped from German *philosophy,* until there has been beaten into the soul of every individual in the empire that right alone makes for might, and that there is no righteousness in brute force—until the German people are taught the meaning of personal individual honor, of national and international morality, the German people as well as their Government will continue to constitute the greatest menace to civilization and to the peace of the civilized world.

But what, you may ask, has all this to do with Germany's preparations for the next war? The connection is not difficult to establish. Any peace which does not embrace a permanent solution of those questions for which we took up arms is unthinkable. But before we can think of peace we must form a clear mental conception of why we are fighting, whom we are fighting, and what we are fighting for.

The Germans are shrewd, cunning, and unscrupulous. A German so-called democracy, with a Scheidemann as its head and the Hohenzollerns behind the curtain pulling the string, would not be a difficult thing to form; and, once formed, how could we, if we are honest in our stated aims, refuse to make peace. And having made peace, what would there be to prevent the beast from again raising his ugly head, and, while his fangs are still dripping with the blood of the millions he has caused to be slain on the soil of Europe, burying his claws in the heart of the civilized world?

If we destroy the Hohenzollerns and leave untouched the German people with their false philosophy we are applying merely a surface treatment to a deep-seated canker which will only erupt again, more violent, more virulent than before.

If we would accomplish our purpose, then this Power must be destroyed; otherwise we have lost the war, and all the sacrifices of wealth and of life will have been in vain. The peace will not be a peace but, as I have said, a truce, and we must at once prepare for a greater, a more consuming struggle. Lest we make such a peace, we must change our mental process, revise war psychology, and see to it that the ability ever to war again is permanently removed from Germany and from all things German, from the quiet beer drinker of Munich as thoroughly as from the war lord at Wilhelmstrasse. This can be accomplished, not through peace engineered about the council table, but through peace made on the battle field as a result of the destruction, the capture, or the dispersion of the German Army.

AMERICAN LEADERS IN THE WORLD WAR

PORTRAITS IN COLOR OF

Mr. Herbert C. Hoover
Mr. Henry P. Davison
Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip
Mr. Edward N. Hurley

Paintings by Gordan Studios, New York

Painted from a photograph © Underwood & Underwood Studios, N. Y.

MR. HERBERT C. HOOVER

MR. HENRY P. DAVISON

Mr. Herbert C. Hoover

Food Administrator of the United States, Who Has Succeeded in a Surprising Degree in the Tremendously Intricate Task of Controlling the Distribution, Retail Price, and Consumption of Foodstuffs

Mr. Henry P. Davison

Chairman of the War Council of the American Red Cross, Who Directed the Campaigns for More Money and More Members Which Produced 20 Million New Memberships in the Society and 100 Million Dollars for Its War Work

Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip

Who Inaugurated the Campaign to Popularize the War Loan by the Sale of War Saving Stamps and Who in Other Ways Has Put His Knowledge of Finance at the Disposal of the Government

Mr. Edward N. Hurley

Chairman of the Shipping Board, Who has Accepted Personal Responsibility for the Success of the Building Programme Which Calls for 5 Million Tons of New Merchant Ships in 1918

MR. FRANK A. VANDERLIP

THE LEADERSHIP OF SAMUEL GOMPERS

Labor's Position and the War, in the Light of His Loose Control of the Unionized 2½ Million Workers Out of the Total 30 Million Laborers in America—No Truce on Strikes and Boycotts—The First of Three Articles on the Labor Situation

BY

BURTON J. HENDRICK

ABOUT seven hundred delegates representing organized labor recently gathered at Buffalo in annual convention and elected Mr. Samuel Gompers their president for another year. The action was dramatic in its atmosphere and momentous in its possible bearing upon the history of this country. Mr. Gompers, now in his sixty-ninth year, has become almost a venerable figure. The time has passed when his friends and his enemies referred to him as "Sam"; the usual designation now, indicating either affection or contempt —according to the particular person who uses the phrase—is "the old man." Mr. Gompers's grizzled hair and deeply furrowed, almost haggard, face abundantly justify this title. He certainly looks the "old man"—even older than he is. And his career has taken on new and almost unexampled dignities. The little immigrant boy who was placed, at the age of fifteen, at work in a cigar factory—and cigar factories fifty years ago were even more destructive places for labor than they are now —and who immediately demonstrated his capacity for leadership by starting insurrections against his employer, has risen to become the confidant of Presidents and the director of important national policies. He had already given his associates a demonstration of his power by bringing President Wilson before his convention. Although the newspapers had printed stories that Mr. Gompers's enemies had finally assembled sufficient support to dethrone him, these enemies, at the final test, summoned only five opposing votes—the opposing members, let it be recorded, bearing the significant names of Voigt, Kaufman, Halonen, Buchbinder, and Silberstein. Perhaps the finest aspect of Mr. Gompers's triumph was that it was generally accepted, both inside and outside the convention, as a final indication that Americanism had won over the forces of disloyalty in the labor ranks. The word went out from Buffalo that the American workingman had enlisted for the war.

Yet, despite the American flag which each member of the convention carried, certain proceedings inspired considerable anxiety. The delegates adopted two resolutions: the only one that was headlined in the newspapers was that in which the delegates pledged "our undivided support in carrying the war to a successful conclusion." The resolution which did not receive such wide attention was the one in which the American Federation practically stated the terms upon which it would join hands in the prosecution of the war. "The recognition of the employees as a group having common interests is one of the fundamental prerequisites to coöperation . . . Whenever the employees in a department or an establishment have a common complaint or grievance, it is fundamental that the employer should meet those who may be selected by the workers to represent them . . . There should be no cessation of work except as a last resort." The "loyalty pledge" was indefinite; but these terms of coöperation, however velvety the phrasing may have been, were very much to the point. They mean, of course, the unionization of American labor. They plainly say that strikes, when necessary to attain the workmen's aims, shall be resorted to.

The brief speech made by Mr. Frank Morrison, the reëlected secretary, hardly held forth the promise of an industrial truce. This speech was practically a declaration of war against the two corporations upon which we chiefly depend to produce war materials. "I have only this to say: That as in the past I will give all the time I have to assist in organizing the unorganized workers and retaining the standards established by the trade union movement, and I hope that during the

coming year the organized forces of the Federation capture the last trench of the unorganized workers and organize the employees of the United States Steel Company and the Bethlehem Steel Company."

There is a general impression that employees and employers have declared a truce for the period of the war. Our popular national habit of headline reading has made most people believe that Mr. Gompers and his associates have promised that there shall be no strikes. The declarations already quoted, and hundreds of others that could easily be brought forward, show that this is a mistaken idea. The thousands of strikes that have taken place since April 6, 1917, clearly show that no such promises have been made, or that, if they have been made, they have certainly been violated. The fact of the matter is that the public has the most grotesque conception of the attitude which organized labor has assumed in the present crisis. Few people understand even the position of Mr. Gompers. Yet, as the leader of two and a half million men, forming a considerable part of that industrial army which must furnish the fighting materials for our soldiers in the field, there are few Americans whose activities have such importance and interest.

THE POWER OF THE FEDERATION

Mr. Gompers, as already indicated, has now reached the zenith of his power. When he became president of the American Federation in 1881, it had a membership of less than 50,000; at the present time it has nearly three million. Though he holds his position only by annual tenure, in only one year (1894) has he failed of reëlection. These facts in themselves testify to his resourcefulness as a leader and his personal power. It is true that he has not succeeded in his life ambition of unionizing American industry—there are about 30 million workers in the United States, less than 10 per cent. of whom have affiliated with his organizations; but he has accomplished great things in other ways. A mere glance around Washington to-day reveals the extent to which Mr. Gompers has unionized the Administration. No Administration has ever maintained such close relations with the American Federation of Labor as the one which is now in power. It may be mere arrogance that makes the Federation regard Mr. Wilson as one of themselves; nevertheless they do so regard him. The recent loyalty pledge praised President Wilson as "a staunch defender and able interpreter of the fundamental principles of practical democracy"—a phrase which, to those who are familiar with union literature, means that Mr. Wilson is an advocate of union ideas. Mr. Baker, Secretary of War, openly proclaims his sympathy with the union cause. Mr. Wilson, Secretary of Labor, is a leader in the union ranks. The new Department of Labor is practically a union organization. In most of the special commissions which have been appointed to handle labor difficulties in the war union leaders or their sympathizers have predominated. No Administration has ever responded as has this one to the demands made for legislation favorable to the union cause. For many years Mr. Gompers has sought the ear of Presidents and Congresses in the interest of reforms which he regarded as essential to the labor triumph; it was not until the Wilson Administration came in, however, that his long and arduous campaigns met with success. Legislation has been passed exempting labor unions from the operation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law—an exemption for which Mr. Gompers had vainly struggled for years. Another law has exempted labor unions from the processes of injunction. The law passed in the heat of a campaign raising the wages of railroad employees is still fresh in the public mind. The Army appropriation bills carry prohibitions against the use of so-called "efficiency methods" in Government plants and forbid the payment of extra wages or bonuses to workmen who display unusual skill or fidelity. These are only a few of the things which indicate the power which Mr. Gompers now wields in our public life.

MR. GOMPERS FRO-ALLY

The breaking out of war, therefore, found Mr. Gompers the most powerful labor leader in the history of the country. There were few men whose attitudes loomed so important. Though union members form only a small minority of American workingmen, they could do much to make or mar our war preparations. What would Mr. Gompers do? As to his unswerving fidelity to the Allied cause there could be no question. In the nearly three years preceding our entrance into the war Mr. Gompers had shown no taint of pro-Germanism. His enthusiasm for the cause of

the Allies was manifested on every occasion. He opposed the so-called People's Council, an organization which devoted its energies to attaining an early and a German peace. He fought the pro-German activities of Frank Buchanan and his associates. In many public addresses Mr. Gompers showed a clear understandng of the issues involved. Perhaps the fact that he is English-born explains this somewhat; a more powerful influence, however, was his realization of what a triumph of Germany would mean to the cause of democracy and the common man everywhere. In private conversation and in letters his antagonism to Germany became even more emphatic. There were even indications that he went further in supporting the Allies than did his associated officers of the American Federation and the rank and file. Though Mr. Gompers never took a public position in favor of universal service, there is a general belief that he supported that policy. The American Federation has always opposed conscription; it opposed the Administration bill last spring; and Mr.Gompers, as president has felt called upon to make the Federation's attitude his own. This is not the first time that his position as Samuel Gompers has differed from his position as president of the American Federation of Labor. In 1896 he found himself a gold-standard man while the Federation officially stood for free coinage. Thereupon Mr. Gompers, as an upholder of democratic control, immediately made the Federations's belief his own.

This duality of person, and this antagonism between his own inclinations and the inclinations of his following, perhaps explain much in the present union situation. For the signs are plentiful that Mr. Gompers does not have an undivided following. These 2½ million members represent all kinds of men, all nationalities, all grades of allegiance to this country, all possible attitudes toward the war. A considerable wing is openly treasonable and pro-German. This is composed of men of German birth and sympathies, a large part of whom compose the Socialists who have made trouble in the ranks for many years. Socialism in labor circles had its beginnings as far back as 1886. It was a direct importation from Germany. It has always been German, and has displayed all the clannishness and unreasonableness of the German character. It has never fraternized with the other elements in the American Federation; on every occasion it has sought to promote its own interests and the interests of Germanism. It has chronically attempted to depose Mr. Gompers as president, but has never made much impression. The war has produced some sympathy between this wing and the professional Irishmen who love the Germans simply because they are fighting England. By themselves, however, these combined elements could make little progress

But there is another faction whose activities are more serious. This is composed of the large number of union fanatics who are devoted, above everything else, to the cause of organized labor. These men have no pro-German and no Socialistic taint; the great majority are American born. But they think in the terms of class; in their minds the relations between employer and employee must necessarily be one of continual warfare. The salvation of Society, or at least that part of it which works with its hands, depends upon the triumph of unionism. It is more important, they say, to win what they are pleased to call "the industrial war going on within our own borders" than to defeat Germany. The Kaiser is not the real enemy—the real enemy is the United States Steel Corporation. The traitor is not the man who works in the interests of Germany—the traitor is the scab. Any one who reads the proceedings of the last Federation meeting constantly runs against this state of mind. Several of the most influential labor leaders have recently made speeches that bristle with this same antagonism. One of the most powerful officers of the Federation is James O'Connell, second vice-president, and president of the Metal Trades Department. Mr. O'Connell occupies a pretentious office in the new Federation building in Washington. He represented American labor on the Industrial Relations Commission, and he is a member of the Labor Committee of the Council of National Defense. He is thus one of the three or four most influential men in the Federation's ranks.

"THAT BEAUTIFUL THOUGHT OF 'MORE'"

In a recent address to a wildly applauding Boiler Makers' Convention Mr. O'Connell outlined his ideas as to labor's position in the present crisis. "You are meeting now, my friends," he said, "and you will be expecte

before this convention adjourns to make a declaration as to what the position of the Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America is, so that the world may know. It is not a mere question of being behind President Wilson. That is a sort of catchy expression, a catch phrase, sounds nice. The question is, are you behind yourself? If you are you will say so before you leave here . . . We took advantage of the situation as we found it abroad, and before war was declared by the United States we saw to it that organized labor was going to get proper recognition and that conditions of employment and standards of living would not be interfered with, would not be lowered . . . Nothing can take place, nothing can be done, unless we are consulted and practically give our consent to it. . . . You have the ship building, and we are not talking about getting a penny an hour increase now. . . . Now we are striking for dollars. We have forgot there is such a thing on the market as a penny any more. . . . Out on the Pacific Coast, . . . Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, all asking for dollars, two dollars a day increase, three dollars a day increase. It doesn't frighten anybody any more. . . . We are just coming together and going to get dollars now instead of pennies. Now, I want you to get it in your heads . . . to talk about dollars, not pennies, in your organization, . . . The opportunity is presented for the first time in the history of the United States Government, practically a union contract signed between the Government and the officers of the Department and affiliated organizations, practically requiring that the ship builders of America come to Washington and put their feet under the table with the labor leaders to settle their troubles. . . . Uncle Sam is paying the expenses of union committees to come to Washington and meet the employers. Isn't that a pretty good union agreement? That is only the beginning.

. . . Now, I hope the Boilermakers, in convention here, will get in their minds that beautiful thought of 'more,' Place your officers in a position to go out and demand, and then back them up. Give them your united and undivided support. And in this crisis, instead of our organization being wiped out, instead of our power being lessened, we will *come out after the war is over* bigger and greater and grander and better understood than we ever were before."

It is thus apparent that Mr. Gompers is not the head of a unanimous organization. The American Federation particularly prides itself upon its "democracy," and by this it means that it tolerates all shades of opinion within its ranks. Moreover, it is the loosest kind of an organization. Each union is practically independent within its own field. Mr. Gompers possesses little authority except that which his own intelligence and force of character enable him to assert. The resolutions passed by the convention and the policy adopted by the Executive Council do not bind the affiliated unions. If the assembled delegates at Buffalo had recommended a policy of "no strikes during the war"—which they did not do—the several thousand unions represented in that gathering could have gone home and each one could have acted in accordance with its individual will. Granting that Mr. Gompers really desires to maintain an industrial truce for the period of the war, the difficulties that beset his path are now apparent.

THERE IS NO INDUSTRIAL TRUCE

But there is not the slightest indication that the American Federation desires to establish an industrial truce. It has stated its position in unmistakable terms. Last March, before the declaration of war, Mr. Gompers called to Washington his executive council and nearly 150 delegates representing seventy-nine international and national unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The purpose was to outline the attitude of organized labor in the war. The conference spent two days discussing the issues involved and then made public its *pronunciamiento*. This document, when digested, means nothing less than that the conduct of the war, so far as labor is concerned shall be placed in the hands of the unions—that is, that all labor shall be unionized. A few sentences taken from a lengthy document make this as clear as daylight. "In no previous war has the organized labor movement taken a directing part. Labor has now reached an understanding of its rights, of its power and resources, of its value and contributions to Society, and makes definite, constructive proposals. . . . Wage-earners in war time must keep one eye on the exploiters

at home and the other upon the enemy threatening the National Government. . . . Previous wars, for whatever purpose waged, developed new opportunities for exploiting wage earners. . . . For these reasons workers have felt that no matter what the result of war, as wage earners they have generally lost. . . . The workers of America make known their beliefs, their demands, and their purposes through a voluntary agency which they have established—the organized labor movement. . . . We hold that industrial service shall be deemed equally meritorious as military service. The same voluntary institutions that organized industrial, commercial, and transportation workers in times of peace will best take care of the same problems in time of war. It is fundamental, therefore, that the Government coöperate with the American organized labor movement for this purpose, since in Government factories and private establishments, in transportation agencies, all should conform to trade union standards."

This declaration of principles has attracted little public notice; instead the newspapers have focussed upon a statement issued April 8th, two days after war began, by the Labor Committee of the Council for National Defense. From one end of the country to the other the press hailed this document as a "pledge for an industrial truce." "Gompers promises that there will be no strikes," was the message that was flashed from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The Sub-Committee on Labor, which was supposed to have adopted this pledge, contained leaders both of organized labor and of capital. Mr. Gompers was chairman and nearly all his important associates in the organized labor movement were members. Its membership was sufficiently comprehensive to include Mr. James O'Connell, whose "beautiful thought of more" speech has already been quoted, Mr. Warren E. Stone, grand chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Mr. Elisha Lee, general superintendent of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and Mr. C. E. Michael, representing the National Association of Manufacturers. The statement upon which this comprehensive committee agreed, as representing the attitude both of labor and capital in the war, was as follows: "Neither employers nor employees shall endeavor to take advantage of the country's necessities to change existing standards." In a supplementary statement the committee amplified this declaration as signifying "that employees and employers in private industries should not attempt to change the standards that they were unable to change under normal conditions." Secretary Wilson, of the Department of Labor—himself a strong union man—explained this definition of policy as meaning "that where either an employer or an employee has been unable under normal conditions to change the standards to their own liking they should not take advantage of the present abnormal conditions to establish new standards."

It seemed clear, therefore, that these antagonistic forces, so-called Capital and Labor, had agreed to lay aside their differences for the period of the war. Their leaders, in the interest of national efficiency, had agreed to stop quarrelling over the matters that had distracted them for thirty years and to accept the *status quo* as a working basis. The standards that prevailed in each particular plant, when war broke out, should continue until the conflict ended. Shops that were "open" should remain open. Shops that were "closed" should remain "closed." Shops in which the eight-hour law prevailed should continue working on that basis, and shops in which ten hours was the prevailing order should continue on that schedule. Every one recognized that the increasing cost of living would make necessary the revision of wage schedules, so that question was not included in this declaration. It seemed clear, however, that any workingmen who struck to obtain unionization of the plant or any employer who discharged men because they belonged to the union would violate this treaty of peace.

MR. GOMPERS CORRECTS A MISINTERPRETATION

At the time this statement was made Mr. Gompers probably understood it in this sense. His sincere desire, manifested on many occasions, to serve his country and to persuade labor loyalty to do its part necessarily carries this implication. But Mr. Gompers, as already said, is not a free agent. The murmurs of protest that came from all labor quarters—the quarters which had insisted that the unions should play "a directing part in this war" now made his position a difficult one. This declaration of an industrial truce hardly coincided with the official demand that the American Federation should run the labor si

of the war and introduce union methods and standards in governmental and private plants. Perhaps this is the reason why Mr. Gompers now began to disclaim the interpretation placed upon his statement by Secretary Wilson and the general press. In many editorials printed in the *American Federationist* Mr. Gompers has explained his official attitude. "Strangely enough, when the resolution was made public," he writes in July, referring to the Council's statement, the "metropolitan press, with one accord, misinterpreted the thought and purpose of the resolution by sensational headlines and editorial comment, to the effect that the workers would forego all strikes during the period of the war, and would agree to any conditions rather than interrupt production. This statement was in direct conflict with the facts. No representative of organized labor has been authorized to make such a declaration and no one has made such a declaration. The right to stop working—to strike—has been established by years of struggle and sacrifice. It is the inalienable right which free workers refuse to surrender." "The resolutions in question," Mr. Gompers writes in May, 1917, "clearly apply only to the large industries and the transportation system whose operations are essential to the prosecution of the war. They are not intended to cover every petty labor difficulty in the country, though it is hoped that patriotic regard will be had by all citizens to the need of a possible maximum of industrial peace everywhere. It is, of course, not expected that negotiations or even strikes now on in various occupations shall be wholly suspended, irrespective of the merits of the questions under discussion. On such points each trade union is the judge of the principles which should prevail in its action."

Clearly, therefore, according to the highest authority on the labor side, there is no "industrial truce." Each trade union is the judge of the principles which should prevail in its action. But has Mr. Gompers any positive policy in the existing crisis? He certainly has. What are the terms upon which his Federation will coöperate in arming and equipping our men, in building ships and cantonments? A few extracts from his recent writings—and these extracts could be extended indefinitely—make the whole thing plain. "Coöperation of workers can, with *justice only, be asked when* that movement (organized labor) is recognized as the organism through which all workers express their will. The Government . . . must recognize and deal with the organized labor movement in all matters which concern labor. . . . It is the opportunity for labor, conscious of the dignity of its service, assured of the justice of its cause, to demand the right to participate as a distinct entity in national affairs." "What the Government and employers must recognize is that there is no definite, tangible way to deal with unorganized workers and that our success in winning the war depends upon our ability to organize our men and our resources. The only practical policy is to lay upon the union labor movement responsibility for dealing with the labor side and then give it an opportunity to make good. Labor organizations desire to enter into agreements so that they can give loyal service. The metal trades have offered to furnish the Government with necessary workers for war contracts and to arbitrate all differences without cessation of work." "The fight for industrial freedom goes on even in war time. The only way, therefore, for the Government to enable the workers to be free to give unreserved service is to protect them by recognizing and maintaining trade union standards in Government work and contracts."

These declarations certainly do not picture the Mr. Gompers who has become a familiar figure in the popular mind since the outbreak of the war. They simply reveal once more the militant fighter for the unionization of American industry, the fighter who will even take advantage of this unexampled calamity to advance his cause. The editorials do not square with the statements which Mr. Gompers has made in private conversation. The explanation furnished by his friends is that these clarion calls to unionization are merely politic. "He's in a bad fix," it is said. "He is really doing the best he can with the material that he is working with. There is not the slightest question about Gompers's loyalty; there are large elements in his ranks, however, who cannot be persuaded to lay aside their old differences for the period of the war. Gompers has to hold these men in line and can only do it by talking this way."

Whatever Mr. Gompers's personal opinion may be, there is no mistaking the meaning of his public attitude. The extracts already quoted simply signify that organized labor will

mobilize enthusiastically for war only on condition that the closed shop is established in American industry. Mr. Gompers says that "labor organizations desire to enter into agreements" so that they may loyally do their part in the war. "Agreements" in the parlance of labor organizations have only one meaning.

Now it is not impossible that this unionization of American industry is an indispensable preliminary to our preparations for war. I have no brief for or against the Gompers plan; the foregoing merely represents an attempt to describe precisely what that plan is. There are many men highly placed in Washington who insist that unionization should be enforced as a war measure. Perhaps they are right; such a change, however, would be as great a revolution as Government ownership of the railroads or of the steel plants. It would be "conscription of labor" in a sense quite different from that in which that phrase is generally used. Mr. Gompers protests loudly against forcing his followers to serve in a huge industrial army; his plan of unionization, however, would force into labor organizations an army infinitely larger than any which we expect to send to France. The public has the most exaggerated notion of the strength of labor organizations; the activities of miners' organizations, railroad brotherhoods, and the American Federation has created a popular idea that the great mass of American workmen have such affiliations. The exact opposite is the case. Great as Mr. Gompers's achievements have been, his life, so far as its ultimate purpose is concerned, has been a failure. The figures tell the story. There are about 30,000,000 men in the United States who earn their living with their hands; less than 3,000,000 belong to labor unions. And the affiliated workers by no means represent the ablest and most skilled men; probably the facts are the reverse. The coal miners and the copper miners, are practically all unionized; the extremely skilled workers in the automobile factories, the steel mills, the shipyards are not. The great exception in favor of the unions are the building trades, which are organized. But the men in munition plants, or in plants that can be transformed into munition plants, are not followers of Mr. Gompers. The United States Senate has recently published a document describing our facilities for making war. It lists 18,654 factories that can be utilized for the production of war materials. Of these 1,867—about 10 per cent.—operate under the closed shop; the remaining 90 per cent. are free from union control. There are 1,950 shops that can make ammunition, powder, explosives, gun carriages, airplanes, machine tools, and the like. Of these only 73, or 3¾ per cent., are unionized.

Thus the great mass of American workingmen, especially those who must produce the inert materials with which we are to fight Germany, have no connection with labor unions. The Gompers proposal, when reduced to its simplest form, apparently implies that they are to be forced into the union ranks. This would be "conscription of labor" with a vengeance. There is no step the Administration could take which would produce more antagonisms. It would stir almost to rebellion the many millions of American workmen who do not belong to labor unions—most of whom, apparently, have no sympathy with the movement. It would discourage to desperation the manufacturers who have refused to close their shops and who declare that they cannot do the best war work under closed-shop conditions. The general merits of closed or open shop are not involved in the present discussion. The point is that this fight between employers and employees has now been going on for forty years, and that the differences are apparently irreconcilable. The logical thing to do is to declare a truce for the period of war; for both sides to sink their differences, stop quarreling, and get to work. Sometimes when two nations reach an impasse over a difficulty and do not care to go to war, they establish what is known as a *modus vivendi*—some temporary arrangement, admittedly not a settlement of the problem, that permits them to go on for a time in peace. What the industrial situation here needs is a *modus vivendi* for the period of the war. If the employers continue the fight against the unions, or the unions against the employers, American industry cannot do its part in the war.

[*A second article by Mr. Hendrick in the March* WORLD'S WORK *will describe the labor difficulties that have greatly impeded war work since April* 6, 1917, *and* the causes that are producing so *many strikes.*—THE EDITORS.]

BORDEAUX-ODESSA vs. BERLIN-BAGDAD

A Latin-Slav Line for the Economic Liberation of Southern Russia, the Balkans, and Asia Minor—The Line of the Forty-Fifth Parallel—A Factor for Permanent Peace

THE Berlin to Bagdad railroad is the backbone of Germany's dream of world dominion. M. Paul Claudel, of the French Consular Service, proposed to the Franco-Russian Association in France the Line of the 45th Parallel, a railroad from Bordeaux to Odessa to cross the Berlin-Bagdad line at Belgrade and give Southern Russia, Asia Minor, and the Balkans an open rail line to Italy, France, and the French Atlantic ports.

The Berlin-Bagdad line, as the Germans planned it, meant that Asia Minor and the Balkans were to be the economic slaves of Germany. The Turks and Balkan peoples were to be forced to buy and sell almost exclusively with Germany whether it was to their advantage or not. And this could have been done except on the seacoast, because the control of the one railroad outlet would enable Germany to discriminate against all trade except trade with her. The Berlin-Bagdad railroad was to bind together all the people from Hamburg to the Persian Gulf and a tariff wall was to keep competing trade from entering at the sides of the long strip of *Mittel Europa*—and once *Mittel Europa* was cemented together, organized and drilled by Germany, its 150 million people would be ready to dominate the world. The Germans themselves provide the proof that their intention is to develop the Berlin-Bagdad line in its economic aspects primarily for the purpose of war.

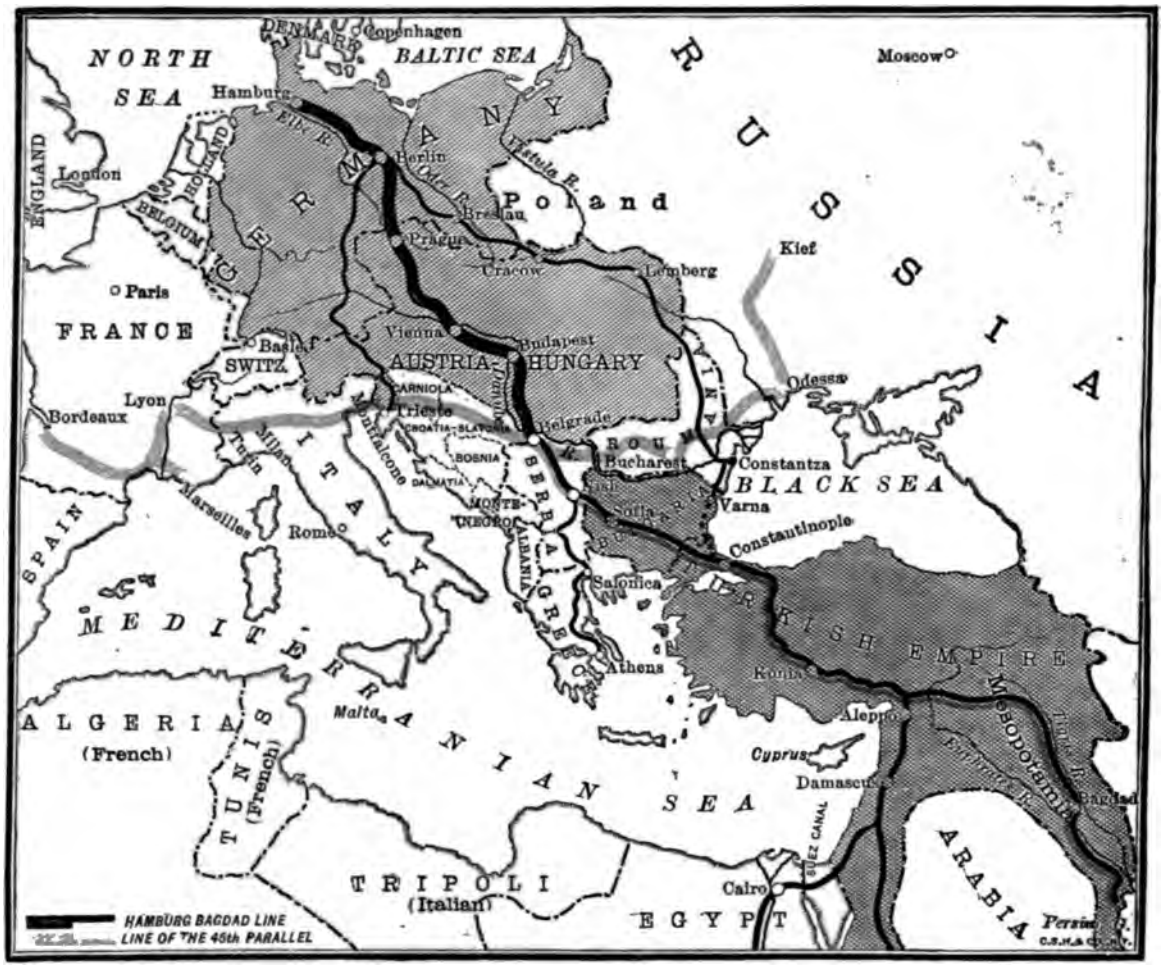
A report on the subject made recently by Herr Sprikerhoff, director of railways, says:

"The present interests of the Central Powers, from the North Sea to the Gulf of Persia, demand the rapid construction of a network of railway lines, the receipts of which would be assured in peace times chiefly because they would embrace Turkey-in-Asia. This would bring our superiority, due to our interior line, over our enemies, separated as they are by the sea, to its maximum, and once in possession of an all-embracing network of railroads, the Central Powers would be in a position to reunite their forces rapidly at any point; whereas without this system they would finally succumb to the superior strength of the foe. Since it is not possible to construct such a network of railroads for purely military purposes without having an economic basis to assure the funds for its construction, maintenance, and operation, the only way to make sure of success is to secure a freight traffic large enough to render Turkey independent of enemy countries, independent of the sea, and independent of England and of whoever are her aids. The Central Powers, from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf, should be in a position to supply their own needs during both war and peace, so that eventually if the worst comes to the worst they can get along without the use of the sea altogether. Under these circumstances neither an internal crisis due to the war nor a boycott such as that proposed at the Paris Conference could shake us, and every hostile coalition, whether warlike or economic, would fail. Turkey would thus cease to be the apple of discord of the entire world, and a spark to ignite future wars.

"To accomplish this Germany and Austria will only have to strengthen their railway system by installing yards and sidings and paralleling lines in the countries of our allies, and by overhauling considerably existing roads and constructing new lines."

The backbone of the whole grandiose scheme is the Berlin-Bagdad line and *its exclusive control of the territory it served.*

The Line of the 45th Parallel would end this exclusive control. The Berlin-Bagdad line would be a Teuton line. The Line of the 45th Parallel would be a Latin line. It would be a French and Italian line that would reach into the Balkans, into the rich districts of Southern Russia, and into Asia Minor. Its operations would open to competition the markets of millions of people and free them from the economic monopoly which Germany was fast fixing upon them. The Berlin-Bagdad line would be not only the sign of the economic supremacy of Germany in *Mittel Europa*, it would be also an economic barrier between Russia and the outside world by which Russian goods



A PROPOSED RAILROAD TO BLOCK THE HAMBURG-BAGDAD SCHEME

The so-called "Line of the 45th Parallel," suggested by M. Claudel, a French consular agent, to free Southern Russia and the Balkans from the economic overlordship of Germany by opening a market for their agricultural products and raw materials in the manufacturing regions of Northern Italy and Southern France. Such a line would practically give those regions a port on the Atlantic Ocean, and, by tying them in friendly commercial intercourse with these Latin nations, effectually block the Teutonic scheme of an economically controlled *Mittel Europa*

could pass only on terms to which Germany agreed.

The Line of the 45th Parallel from Bordeaux, Lyons, Verona, Venice, Montfalcone, Belgrade, Bucharest, to Odessa, if unobstructed by tariffs would open Southern Russia to the world almost like an outlet on the sea. For the Balkan States and Asia Minor to be able to send their produce north and west either to Italy, France, Austria, or Germany would mean economic freedom for them. For France and Italy the Latin Line of the 45th Parallel would be a great trade advantage. For Southern Russia, the Balkans, Asia Minor, it would mean, as already said, economic freedom—and economic freedom is one of the indispensable requisites of peace.

Even before the war, freight and passengers could go by rail from Bordeaux to Odessa; that is, there was a rail line all the way, but such a journey was so full of obstacles made by different tariffs at the frontiers and by different operation of the many railroad companies which controlled the different parts of the line that there was no such thing as a through service or a practical one for steady and large volumes of commerce. Moreover, to make a through Bordeaux-Odessa line of a modern type would mean some new construction, particularly in the present Austrian provinces between Italy and Serbia, and a great deal of betterment, double tracking, etc., all along the line. But no one has suggested any plan whereby money could

better expended to produce an economic basis for the peace and prosperity of Europe and the rest of the world.

Moreover, the plan of M. Claudel [described at greater length by M. Chalumeau in the publication *New France*] for the line of union between Latin and Slav along the 45th parallel, to be effective, presupposes unhampered communication across Rumania, Serbia, Bosnia, Italy, and France. That means a revolution in the mental attitude of Europe. It means a degree of economic freedom, of unhampered transportation hitherto unthought of.

The Line of the 45th Parallel runs through countries which are now united in the conduct of the war and, therefore, in a frame of mind to coöperate except between Montfalcone on the Italian border and Belgrade. Between these two places the line crosses Austrian provinces peopled chiefly by Serbs. If there is a political liberation of small peoples at the end of this war, Austria will not be able to block the Latin-Slav line and the economic emancipation of the Near East by her hold over the Slovanians in the Province of Carniola and the Serbs in Croatia, Slavonia, and Bosnia.

WHY FRANCE WANTS ALSACE-LORRAINE

The Lost Provinces Mean Much to France, and, to the French, Justice Will Be Done Only When They Are Recovered

BY

STEPHANE LAUZANNE

(Editor of the Paris "Matin" and member of the French Mission in the United States)

A FRENCH Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Louis Barthou, has condensed into three words the French terms of peace. "We want," said Mr. Barthou, "Restoration, Reparations, Guarantees."

The restoration naturally implies the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France, as well as the return of the departments of Ardennes and Meuse. Between the territories occupied for forty months and the territories occupied for forty years, there is in the French mind no difference. They belong to France in the same manner; they are dear to France in the same degree. And this is the first thing that one must well understand if he speaks of Alsace-Lorraine.

When France demands Alsace-Lorraine, she does not do so because she will have some more departments in her geographical configuration, but because these territories belonged to France during centuries and centuries, because they were taken from France by force forty-seven years ago, because the people of these territories not only were never consulted, but also protested against Prussian domination—because, in a word, it is a question of right.

Historically speaking, there are in Alsace-Lorraine three parts: there is Lorraine, there is Alsace, and there is the southern part of Alsace including the town of Mulhouse.

As regards the town of Mulhouse, the question is most simple and clear. The town never, at any time, belonged to Germany or to the Germans. It belonged to Switzerland and, at the end of the 18th century, during the French revolution, the town after a referendum decided to become French. A delegation was sent to Paris, to the French Parliament, then called the *Conseil des Cinq-Cents*, and the delegation expressed publicly, officially, the desire of Mulhouse to be part of the French territory. There was a deliberation, and unanimously the *Conseil des Cinq-Cents* voted a motion couched in the following terms: "The French Republic accepts the vow of the citizens of Mulhouse."

A few weeks later the French authorities, among scenes of unparalleled enthusiasm, made their entry into the town, and the flag of Mulhouse was wrapped up in a tricolor box bearing the inscription: "The Republic of Mulhouse rests in the bosom of the French Republic."

Alsace—the rest of Alsace—became French in 1648, more than two centuries before the war of 1870. It became French according to a

treaty. The treaty was signed by the Austrian Emperor, because Alsace belonged to the Austrian Imperial Family. And it is not without interest to quote a sentence of the treaty:

> The Emperor cedes to the King of France forever, *in perpetuum*, without any reserve, with full jurisdiction and sovereignty, all the Alsatian territory. The Austrian Emperor gives it to the King of France in such a way that no other Emperor, in the future, will ever have any power in any time to affirm any right on these territories.

When to-day one reads that treaty, one has the impression that more than two centuries ago the Austrian Emperor had already a sort of apprehension that later on another Emperor would interfere in the matter and create mischief!

Lorraine became French in 1552, more than three centuries before the war of 1870. Lorraine became French not after a war and as the result of a conquest, but according to a treaty signed by all the Protestant Princes of Germany, in which we find the following sentence, which is really worthy of meditation: "We find just that the King of France, the most promptly as possible, takes possession of the towns of Toul, Metz and Verdun, where the German language has never been used." So that the Germans themselves put on the same line the towns of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and recognized that the town of Metz was not German.

All this is extremely simple and clear. What happened several centuries later is equally clear.

When, in 1871, on February 16th, the deputies of Alsace-Lorraine learned that their provinces would be given up to Germany, they assembled, and in a historical document which was signed by all of them—there were 36—they protested in the following terms:

"Alsace and Lorraine cannot be alienated. To-day, before the whole world, they proclaim that they want to remain French. Europe cannot allow or ratify the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine. Europe cannot allow a people to be seized like a flock of sheep. Europe cannot remain deaf to the protest of a whole population. Therefore, we declare in the name of our population, in the name of our children and of our descendants, that we are considering any treaty which gives us up to a foreign power as a treaty null and void, and we will eternally revindicate the right of disposing of ourselves and of remaining French."

And, three years later, in January, 1874, when for the first time Alsace and Lorraine had to elect deputies, they reiterated the same protest. They elected 15 new deputies; some were Protestants, some were Catholics, one of them was the Bishop of Strassburg, but they unanimously signed a declaration which was read at the Tribune of the German Reichstag. The declaration was the following:

"In the name of all the people of Alsace-Lorraine, we protest against the abuse of force of which our country is a victim. . . . Citizens having a soul and an intelligence are not mere goods that may be sold, or with which you may trade.

"The contract which annexed us to Germany is null and void. A contract is only valid when the two contractants had an entire freedom to sign it. France was not free when she signed such a contract. Therefore our electors want us to say that we consider ourselves as not bound by such a treaty, and they want us to affirm once more our right of disposing of ourselves."

I beg to call the attention of the reader to two sentences of this protestation:

"Europe cannot allow a people to be seized like a flock of sheep," wrote the deputies of 1871. "People are not mere goods which may be sold or with which you may trade," proclaimed the deputies of 1874. Now you will find, nearly word for word, the same thought expressed in the message of President Wilson to Congress, when he wrote: "No right exists anywhere to hand peoples about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property."

That right does not exist, and it is because that right was outrageously violated in 1871 that France wants Alsace-Lorraine to come back to her. It is because, in 1871, Right has been wronged that to-day Right must be reinstated.

Some people have spoken of a referendum. Why a referendum? Was there any referendum in 1871? And how could there be a referendum? How could you include in this referendum the hundreds of thousands of Alsatians who have fled from German domination? How could you exclude from this referendum the hundreds of thousands of Germans who have come to Alsace?

The referendum was rendered in 1871. It was rendered again in 1874 by the deputies who protested in the Reichstag in Berlin. It

was rendered twenty years ago by the census which was taken by the Germans themselves in Alsace. According to that census, in 1895, notwithstanding the fact that the teaching of French was prohibited in the public schools, there were 160,000 people in Alsace speaking French. And five years later, in 1900, according to another census, there were 200,000 people in Alsace speaking French. And of these 200,000 people, there were more than 52,000 children.

The referendum was also rendered by Alsatians who, before this war, engaged themselves in the French Army, and became officers. According to the official statistics of the French War Department, there were in 1914 in the French Army 20 generals, 145 superior officers, and 400 ordinary officers of Alsatian origin. On the other side, in the German Army in 1914, there were 4 officers of Alsatian origin.

And finally the referendum was rendered only one year before the present war, in 1913, when Herr von Jagow, at the Tribune of the Reichstag, made the following extraordinary declaration: "We Germans are obliged in Alsace to behave ourselves as if we were in an enemy's country. . . ." What better referendum could you wish than such an admission by a German statesman?

Moreover, the question of Alsace-Lorraine is not only a French question, but also an international question. It is not only France who has sworn to herself to recover Alsace-Lorraine—it is all the Allies who have sworn to France that she should recover it.

All the statesmen who have spoken since the beginning of the war in the name of the Allied Powers have attested that this war is not only a struggle for the liberty of nations and the respect due to nationalities, but also an effort toward definite peace. These words only appeared fit for stirring up the enthusiasm of the crowds, and fortifying their will of sacrifice, because they gave expression to their feelings and prayers. If they are forgotten by those who uttered them, they will be remembered by those who heard and treasured them.

In September, 1914, Winston Churchill said: "We want this war to remodel the map of Europe according to the principle of nationalities, and the real wish of the people living in the contested territories. After so much bloodshed we wish for a peace which will free races, and restore the integrity of nations. . . . *Let us* have done with the armaments, the fear of strain, intrigues, and the perpetual threat of the horrible present crisis. Let us make the regulation of European conflicts just and natural." The French Republic, of one mind with the Allies, proclaimed through its authorized representatives that this war is a war of deliverance. "France," said the President of the Council, "will not lay down arms before having shattered Prussian militarism, so as to be able to rebuild on a basis of justice a regenerated Europe." And the President of the Chamber continued: "The French are not only defending their soil, their homes, the tombs of their ancestors, their sacred memories, their ideal works of art and faith and all the graceful, just, and beautiful things their genius has lavished forth: they are defending, too, the respect of treaties, the independence of Europe, and human freedom. We want to know if all the effort of conscience during centuries will lead to its slavery, if millions of men are to be taken, given up, herded at the other side of a frontier and condemned to fight for their conquerors and masters against their country, their families, and their brothers. . . The world wishes to live at last, Europe to breathe, and the nations mean to dispose freely of themselves."

These engagements will be kept. But they will have been kept only when Alsace-Lorraine—the Belgium of 1871, as Rabbi Stephen Wise has called it—has been returned to France. Then, and only then, will there be real peace. Then, and only then, will the "Testament" of Paul Deroulède have been executed:

When our war victorious is o'er,
And our country has won back its rank,
Then with the evils war brings in its train
Will disappear the hatred the conqueror trails.

Then our great France, full of love without spite
Sowing fresh springing-corn 'neath her new-born laurels,
Will welcome Work, father of Fortune,
And sing Peace, mother of lengthy deeds.

Then will come Peace, calm, serene and awful
Crushing down arms, but upholding intellect;
For we shall stand out as just-hearted conquerors,
Only taking back what was robbed from us.

And our nation, weary of mournings,
Will soothe the living while praising the dead,
And nevermore will we hear the name of battle,
And our children shall learn to unlearn hate.

THE PROFESSIONAL MAN'S INVESTMENTS

Every month the WORLD'S WORK *prints an article on investments and the lessons to be learned therefrom*

DR. ROBERT T. MORRIS is one of those in the medical profession who has learned much by experience of the ways of the "get-rich-quick" promoter. He is in good company in this, for doctors, ministers, teachers, and professional men generally are considered by such fake promoters as among the best prospects for stock-selling swindles. It is easier to find doctors who have lost money in fraudulent or ill-advised financial schemes than it is to find those who have not. And few of the former have learned the investment lesson to be drawn from their sad experiences as well as Dr. Morris has. He summarizes his investment training in very definite terms.

Professional men frequently invest in new enterprises at a distance although they are too busy to visit them personally or to study conditions in the field of their investment. These enterprises are classified by Dr. Morris in two ways: Enterprises conducted by business men who are playing a sharp game; and those conducted by honest men who really plan and hope to win.

"The only difference between these two classes of enterprise," he says, "is that in the first case the money is lost quickly, and in the second case there is long-drawn-out anxiety, with introduction of complicated emotions before the money is finally lost. On that ground, investment with dishonest schemers is preferable for doctors on the whole because the money is lost sooner and the worry quickly over. My own investment experiences have been with both classes of enterprise. I bought stock in a new mining company which was recommended very highly to me. The first year I received a 7 per cent. dividend, which, I am fully convinced, was paid for no other reason than to have stockholders like myself talk about it. After that dividend nothing more was paid, and the stock has since gone down until it is off the list. The earnings never justified the payment of any dividend. I also bought shares in a company that planned to build a sanatorium in the South for consumptives. The location chosen was excellent for the purpose, and I knew one of the doctors identified with the proposition. He was an authority on this disease and a man of high reputation. He must have been misled in regard to the nature of the scheme in order to get him in and make use of his name, for after a short time I got notice that taxes were due on the property and that I must pay an assessment on my stock by a certain date or the stock would be forfeited. Nothing had been said about the stock being assessable when I bought it. The notice was purposely sent so late that I could not make the payment. I took the matter up with a good lawyer, but we decided the best plan was to drop it and consider the money in the stock as lost.

"At another time a former patient got me to buy lots on Long Island. The proposition looked good as an investment. A great many went into it but the expected growth of the neighboring town never reached the development where the lots were located. Every one waited to sell out at a profit and no one built. I still own the land for the good reason that it cannot be sold. Since then I have invested considerable money in real estate which is valuable to-day, but it is all property which I have chosen myself and which I can keep watch of. On everything that has been brought to me by others I have lost. I lost money in the stock of a pecan-growing proposition, although I know a good deal about that business. I took the advice of personal friends in regard to this investment. One such proposition investigated by a friend of mine for the Government was found to have set out trees and raised $200,000 by sale of stock and to have done absolutely nothing more.

"You can see why I no longer put money in new enterprises but confine my investments to listed stocks and bonds, and to real estate about which I have personal knowledge. I have learned by experience, and I shall be glad if others can profit by my horrible example."

Germany's

I. THE GERMAN SPY

Characteristics of Von Bernstorff, Von Papen, and Boy-Ed — The Night of the
the Traps Were Laid by Which They Were Un

By JOHN R. RATHOM,

MR. RATHOM, in the series of articles of which this is the first, makes exposures of some of the German plots in America—describes the channels of communication he established in many parts of the United States, the wireless codes and the messages the codes deciphered, the weaknesses of Teutonic agents that were studied and utilized, the loyal Americans who helped outwit the most acute diplomats and secret service men of the Central Empires. What he found was evidence of more than a series of isolated plots, more than a group of activities inspired by the fever of war. Instead, the evidence of these activities showed that they spread out into a most far-reaching network, of perfect pattern, woven patiently by one central hand through years long before the war in Europe began—the systematic, secret war of the Kaiser on the American democracy, a war conceived in the cool calculations of peace, using diplomats, men of learning, professional men, and the leaders of our business life in an orderly plot to undermine our ideals, to control our commerce, and finally to conquer our nation by force of arms. The story Mr. Rathom has to tell has all the action and adventure of romance, but it has besides a message for the most serious contemplation of the American people—the message that this machinery of internal disruption is still in operation, that the agents of the Kaiser still ply their trade of death in the United States, that this deadly peril is still in our midst. It is the patriotic desire to warn the people of the Nation of this continuing peril that has prompted Mr. Rathom to tell this story of experiences in unmasking the German plots.—THE EDITORS.

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TO PROPERLY understand the story of German intrigue in this country it is necessary to realize that the work of propaganda opened up through the German Embassy in Washington at the beginning of the European war was not conceived in a night, and did not spring full-grown out of the emergency then created.

The United States, the only great nation in the world without any political secret service or espionage system, with no knowledge of secret diplomacy, no machinery with which to guard its military, naval, or governmental secrets, the ranks of employees in every government office freely open at all times to men and women of every nationality, and containing within its borders the most polyglot population ever brought together under a civilized form of government, had been for thirty years before the outbreak of the European war a fertile field for German propaganda.

Germany's sources of information with regard to every condition about which she desired to secure information in this country were practically limitless; a large number of willing and subservient Germans, working without hindrance or any suggestion of espionage, had been enabled during a long period of years to lay before the German Foreign Office

Plots Exposed

SYSTEM FROM THE INSIDE

Lusitania Sinking—A Wireless Episode—How the Plots Were First Detected, How earthed, and the Men Who Did the Work

EDITOR
OF THE PROVIDENCE "JOURNAL"

THE ADVERTISEMENT THAT INFLAMED AMERICA

It appeared in the New York *World* and the New York *Times* of May 1, 1915, having been inserted by the German Embassy at Washington by the direction of the Government at Berlin, as the documents appearing on pages 396, 397, and 398 prove. Of course the advertisement referred to the *Lusitania*, which was sunk six days later. Notice the "cleverness" of the German Embassy officials in dating the advertisement "April 22, 1915" for insertion in the newspapers of May 1st

LINE
Steamships
GLASGOW
May 1, Noon
Pier 64, N. R.
May 7, 5 p.m.
Liverpool.
W 14th St.
24 State St., N. Y.

All-the-Way
by-Water
LINE. Steamships
Lve. Pier 19,
5 P. M. Tues.,
CITY BEAUTI-
Tourist and N. Y
CORPORATION.

LINE.
Route
from Paris.
& MARSEILLES
Anna..June 5
Marseilles
Aug. 3
17 State St., N. Y.

LIANO
DAYS.
June 25
$65 & $90 up.
B'way, N. Y.

LORIDA
South.
Fifth Ave., N. Y.

ADVERTISEMENT.

NOTICE!

TRAVELLERS intending to embark on the Atlantic voyage are reminded that a state of war exists between Germany and her allies and Great Britain and her allies; that the zone of war includes the waters adjacent to the British Isles; that, in accordance with formal notice given by the Imperial German Government, vessels flying the flag of Great Britain, or of any of her allies, are liable to destruction in those waters and that travellers sailing in the war zone on ships of Great Britain or her allies do so at their own risk.

IMPERIAL GERMAN EMBASSY
WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL 22, 1915.

NEW ENGLAN
HEATO
Stockbridge, M
in the Be
WILL OPE
This Modern Hote
Delightfully Located,
Havill, will be at the
47th St., New York, fr
10th. Information reg
be promptly attended
Marblehe
THE RO
Hotel de Lux
Faces all
BOOKLETS
EARI
STOCKBRI
RED LI
NOW
MICH
Mount

very complete information which might be useful to the Fatherland in any future emergency on this continent. Even in the ranks of our army and navy, there were hundreds of men, citizens only in name and owing their first allegiance to Germany, keen and eager to do at any time whatever Prussia called on them to do. The secrets of our mills and factories, the methods and scope of our great banking interests, the operation of our railroads and our shipping—all of these facts had been for years the very alphabet of Germany's knowledge of our daily life, a knowledge secured not by outside spies working under immense difficulties, as would have been the case in any country of Europe, but from the very heart of our economic and social movement by an organization of men actually engaged in the work itself.

Thus it was that when the German Foreign Office, through the Embassy in Washington, began what appeared to be the easy task of moulding American sentiment to its will, all the necessary machinery was ready at hand.

This condition, coupled with the firm belief on the part of Germany that the millions of her subjects who had become citizens of the United States would not hesitate for a moment in any choice that might be laid before them between adherence to the fortunes of Germany

FROM- Berlin. Foreign Office.
TO Botschaft. Washington -
669. (44-W) - Welt nineteen-fifteen yarne 175 29 1 stop 175 1 2 stop durch 622 2 4 stop 19 7 18 stop LIX 11 3 4 5 6.

Transatlantic Passenger Steamers. 175

TRANSATLANTIC PASSENGER STEAMERS.

Includes only regular passenger lines from New York. Owing to the European war this list is liable to change.

Steamships.	Built. Year.	Built. Place.	Builders.	Gross Tonnage.	Indicated Horse Power.	Dimensions in Feet. Length.	Breadth.	Depth.
NEW YORK, PLYMOUTH, CHERBOURG AND SOUTHAMPTON, Pier 60 W. 23rd St., N. R. — AMERICAN LINE. (Office, 9 Broadway.) — ESTABLISHED 1892.								
St. Louis	1895	Philadelphia	Wm. Cramp & Sons	11629	17500	554	63	42
St. Paul	1895	Philadelphia	Wm. Cramp & Sons	11629	17500	554	63	42
Philadelphia	1889	Glasgow	J. & G. Thomson	10796	16000	560	63.2	42
New York	1888	Glasgow	J. & G. Thomson	10798	16000	560	63.2	42
NEW YORK AND GLASGOW, Pier foot W. 24th St. — ANCHOR LINE. (Office, 17 Broadway.) — ESTABLISHED 1852.								
Cameronia	1911	Glasgow	D. & W. Henderson	16063	11000	535	62	36
Columbia	1901	Glasgow	D. & W. Henderson	8292	8400	500	56	36
Caledonia	1904	Glasgow	D. & W. Henderson	9223	10300	515	58	36
California	1907	Glasgow	D. & W. Henderson	8861	7000	490	55	36
NEW YORK AND LONDON, Pier foot W. 17th St. — ATLANTIC TRANSPORT LINE. (Office, 9 Broadway.) — ESTABLISHED 1892.								
Minneapolis	1901	Belfast	Harland & Wolff	13543	9500	615.6	65.5	42.3
Minnehaha	1901	Belfast	Harland & Wolff	13545	9500	615.6	65.5	42.3
Minnetonka	1902	Belfast	Harland & Wolff	13440	9500	615.6	65.5	42.3
Minnewaska	1900	Belfast	Harland & Wolff	14317	9500	616	66	44
Minnekahda	1915	Belfast	Harland & Wolff	..	...	620	66	..
NEW YORK, QUEENSTOWN, FISHGUARD AND LIVERPOOL, Piers 53, 54, 56 N. R. — CUNARD LINE. (Office, 21 State Street.) — ESTABLISHED 1840.								
Caronia	1906	Glasgow	J. Brown & Co.	20000	21000	650	72.6	61.9
Carmania	1905	Glasgow	J. Brown & Co.	20000	21000	650	72.6	61.9
Mauretania	1907	Newcastle	Swan & Hunter	32000	70000	790	88	60.6
Lusitania	1907	Glasgow	J. Brown & Co.	32000	70000	790	88	60.6
Aquitania	1914	Glasgow	J. Brown & Co.	47000	60000	901	97	60.6
Transylvania (Building)		.....	.....	..	..	..	..	..
NEW YORK, MEDITERRANEAN-ADRIATIC SERVICE, Pier 61 W. 14th St. — CUNARD LINE. (Office, 21 State Street.) — ESTABLISHED 1904.								
Carpathia	1903	Newcastle	Swan & Hunter	13000	..	540	64.5	49
Franconia	1911	Newcastle	Swan & Hunter	18150	..	625	72	40
Ivernia	1910	Newcastle	Swan & Hunter	14278	..	562	64	41½
Laconia	1912	Newcastle	Swan & Hunter	18150	..	625	72	40
Saxonia	1904	Glasgow	J. Brown & Co.	14000	..	480	60	36

PROOF THAT THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT AT BERLIN—

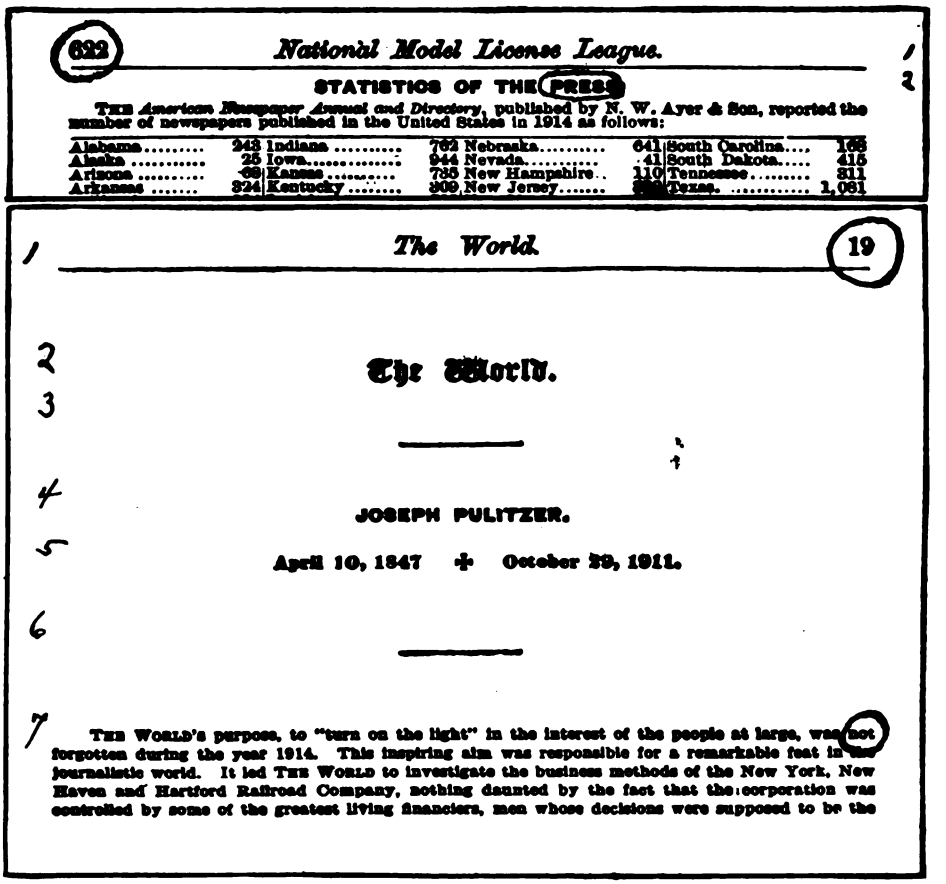
The cipher message at the top, which came through from Nauen to Sayville at 2 A. M. April 29, 1915, and was caught by the Providence *Journal's* wireless operators, created great interest in the *Journal* office because it followed none of the known codes and, in form, was unlike any other message that had been received at Sayville up to that time. It was interesting also because static conditions were unfavorable that morning, and the fact that four attempts were made before it was successfully put through showed that it was of more than ordinary importance. Every attempt to decipher it failed until somebody with a line on the internal activities of the German—

or to the land of their adoption, seemed in the minds of the men responsible for her foreign policy to make it certain that in whatever channel they desired to direct American sentiment their will would be practically law.

For nearly a generation German influence on American school boards had been insidiously shaping public sentiment here through our school books and histories. Exchange professors, liberally sprinkled with Imperial decorations, had maintained and increased a constant propaganda of reverence for Germany and German institutions through many of the educational centres of the United States. And the great German commercial houses which had secured a foothold in this country, and which were virtually outposts of the German Foreign Office, had gained strong positions in many vitally important elements in our commercial life.

It was, therefore, on known ground that Ambassador von Bernstorff and his associates began their work of intensive cultivation of Prussianized doctrines in this country. With every path apparently wide open to their feet, they proceeded, at first without any thought of serious opposition, to mould the United States to their will, to stultify our national ideals, and so drug our national conscience that, regardless of what might happen in Europe, we would stand by, a disinterested spectator, except for the growth of a keen desire to see Germany triumphant.

It is well, to begin with, to know something of the personality of the men into whose hands was entrusted this new and crowning movement which was to lead to a glorious success for German diplomatic methods. For purposes of this analysis it is not necessary to dwell on the personality or character of Ambassador Dumba, the representative of Austria in this country, or any of his fellow-officials representing that Government in this country. None of them, from the day war began, was ever anything but a puppet in the hands of German Embassy officials; they had no will of their own, and they had been directly ordered through their Foreign Office to put



622 *National Model License League.*

STATISTICS OF THE PRESS

THE *American Newspaper Annual and Directory*, published by N. W. Ayer & Son, reported the number of newspapers published in the United States in 1914 as follows:

Alabama	243	Indiana	762	Nebraska	641	South Carolina	168
Alaska	25	Iowa	944	Nevada	41	South Dakota	415
Arizona	68	Kansas	785	New Hampshire	110	Tennessee	311
Arkansas	324	Kentucky	309	New Jersey	[illegible]	Texas	1,061

The World. 19

The World.

JOSEPH PULITZER.

April 10, 1847 ✠ October 29, 1911.

THE WORLD'S purpose, to "turn on the light" in the interest of the people at large, was not forgotten during the year 1914. This inspiring aim was responsible for a remarkable feat in the journalistic world. It led THE WORLD to investigate the business methods of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company, nothing daunted by the fact that the corporation was controlled by some of the greatest living financiers, men whose decisions were supposed to be the

—DIRECTED THE PRINTING OF THE "LUSITANIA" ADVERTISEMENT

—Embassy remembered that on the morning of April 29th Prince Hatzfeldt had been hunting for a New York *World Almanac*. The first two words of the message, "Welt 1915," supplied the clue and, following the numbers as representing page, line, and word in the *World Almanac*, the *Journal* men decoded the message as follows: "Warn *Lusitania* passenger(s) through press not voyage across the Atlantic." The German Embassy printed the warning as an advertisement in the newspapers two days later. (See a facsimile of the advertisement on page 395 and the page from *World Almanac* for 1915 on page 398, in connection with the facsimile pages reproduced above)

themselves entirely in the hands of Von Bernstorff and his associates.

The German Ambassador had been for years a social lion in Washington, and this rôle was particularly congenial to him. He liked the attention of wealthy people which came to him as a perquisite of his position, and the social influence which it let him wield. His personal vanity was great, and his subordinates often played upon it as an easy road to favor and advancement. He, in turn, was not above using his social connections as part of the machinery to spread German propaganda in this country, and in this work he found easy victims in some of the people of Washington who were flattered at the attentions showered upon them by the distinguished representative of a great European Power. Social weaknesses were played upon by both sides. Capt. Franz von Papen, the German military attaché, was another member of the Embassy staff to whom social triumphs were more than ordinarily fascinating. Capt. Karl Boy-Ed, the naval attaché, a man of infinitely greater mentality than either of the other two, cared little for social life at Washington, though he was well liked in social circles there.

When the propaganda of the Embassy began to meet with opposition, and it gradually dawned upon the minds of these men that the task before them was filled with pitfalls and difficulties, it was interesting to note the change in their attitude. Ambassador von Bernstorff took up the rôle of martyr. He posed, and succeeded in having his pose believed in by a large part of the American public, as a creature of unfortunate circumstances, crushed between the upper and nether mill-stones, and powerless to prevent the growing insolence of his Foreign Office, as displayed against the United States.

Returning to the Embassy from a visit to Secretary Lansing on April 10, 1916, after the attack on the steamship *Sussex* by a German submarine, he said to Prince Hatzfeldt, in the presence of Baron von Schoen, First Secretary of the Embassy, Haniel von Haim-

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LIX

"LIX II 3 4 5 6"

Translated meaning "Page LIX, eleventh line, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth words." For further explanation see pages 396 and 397

hausen, Counselor, and another man employed in the Embassy, "I told the Secretary of State to-day that the poor Ambassador was crushed to earth by the lack of understanding of the American people shown by my Government in Berlin; that accursed Foreign Office which puts such burdens on me!" This declaration was received by the group with hearty laughter, in which the Ambassador joined.

During this period a good many people were trusting in his sincerity and believed Von Bernstorff to be in a cruel personal position, calling, as far as he was concerned, for nothing but sympathy; a man forced by his Government to do and say things to which he himself was entirely opposed.

As a matter of fact many of the messages alleged to have come from his Government to him, and to have been received and transmitted by him in despair to our Government, were actually prepared under his personal direction, sent to Berlin by cable through Swedish channels, and then forwarded back to him by wireless from Nauen.

Bernstorff and Von Papen had no scruples about adding to their material wealth by means of knowledge secured by reason of their official connection with their Government. Working through a well-known New York stock broker, whose personal affiliation with the Embassy was common talk in Washington and New York, Von Bernstorff repeatedly purchased and sold blocks of stock of various industries.

Von Papen's methods of enriching himself did not stop at these outside activities. His manner of accounting, or rather lack of accounting, for many large sums of money supposed to have been spent on propaganda work brought about, more than once, a very rigid scrutiny of his financial condition and his agents' receipts. One of his common lapses in this direction was the giving of elaborate parties at Washington clubs to satisfy his own social desires, and the inclusion of the bills for these parties in his official accounts as being necessary for the progress of his propaganda work. One of the bills so rendered showed that a golf club luncheon had cost him nineteen dollars per plate for eleven people. The note accompanying this bill declared that the outlay was "far more than justified in the results secured." As his ten guests on this particular occasion were all Washington people, none of whom by the most extreme stretch of the imagination could be able to render him any diplomatic service whatever, this particular

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COUNT JOHANN HEINRICH VON BERNSTORFF

In diplomatic full dress as Ambassador to the United States. In intellect a second-rate man, but obsessed of an enormous personal vanity, his chief success was in society, where he used the prestige of his position to win sympathy for the German cause. On the evening of the day the *Lusitania* was sunk he gave a dinner in the apartments of a friend in New York and drank a toast to the commander of the U-boat that destroyed that ship

© Paul Thompson

CAPTAIN VON PAPEN

The German military attaché at Washington, Bernstorff's favorite subordinate, who conceived the plot to stop the Providence *Journal's* exposures by blowing up its editor with a bomb placed in his office. The bomb was exploded and almost achieved its purpose, though fortunately Mr. Rathom escaped with only minor injuries and some slight—

account was disallowed and he was compelled to pay the money out of his own pocket, or rather out of the pockets of certain rich and gullible German-Americans in New York City, who more than once tided the gallant captain over his financial rocks.

To both Von Bernstorff and Von Papen the sanctity of human life, as their work became more vicious, was a matter entirely out of their calculations. The Ambassador who had received all courtesies from our Government, the recipient of unusual honors from many of our universities, indebted to hundreds of Americans for exceptional and continuous hospitality, never once lifted his voice

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CAPTAIN VON PAPEN IN MILITARY UNIFORM

—burns. Von Papen's loose methods of handling and accounting for German Government funds entrusted to him for use in propaganda led to several investigations by his fellow-officials at the Embassy. Since his return to Germany, after he was driven from the United States, he has twice been decorated by the Kaiser, and promoted to a colonelcy

to his Foreign Office in opposition to any order for the carrying out of propagandist activities in this country which involved the loss of hundreds of innocent lives.

Time after time he, with Von Papen and Baron von Schoen, gleefully celebrated the destruction of munitions plants in this country. When word came that the *Lusitania* was sunk, and Bernstorff's press agents reported him as being "overcome with grief and regret" in a fashionable New York hotel, he was at that moment actually giving a supper party elsewhere in New York, and during this supper party the destruction of the *Lusitania* was hailed as a glorious triumph for German naval prowess. During the evening Von Papen, touching glasses with his chief, made the remark:

"This is the end of the mistress of the seas."

Capt. Boy-Ed, who was not at this function, alone among the entire group of Embassy officials persisted in declaring that the sinking of the *Lusitania* was a blunder of the worst kind.

On another occasion when, at a conference at 11 Broadway, the offices of the Hamburg-American Steamship Co., the question as to what should be done to silence the Providence *Journal* came up, Von Papen and Koenig, known as the "chief of the Secret Service" of the Hamburg-American Line, at once declared that the *Journal* office should be blown up. Boy-Ed declined to accept this point of view, and refused to have a hand in such proceedings, earnestly advising against it.

It is interesting to note, in connection with the mental attitude of these two Embassy officials with regard to crimes of this character, that while Von Papen since his return to Germany has been twice decorated by the Emperor, and has been advanced in rank to a colonelcy, Capt. Boy-Ed has remained a captain and has received no such honors at the hands of his Government.

In this connection I present here the translation of a letter, not hitherto published, sent by Capt. Boy-Ed to Adolf Pavenstadt, of 112 West 59th St., New York, from German General Headquarters in Berlin under date of March 5, 1916. Mr. Pavenstadt's address,

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CAPTAIN KARL BOY-ED

The son of a Turkish father and a German mother, who, as German naval attaché at Washington, plotted with Huerta to embroil the United States in war with Mexico, directed the placing of bombs on American ships trading with our Allies, and finally was forced out of the country with Von Papen as *persona non grata* to the American Government. An abler man than either Bernstorff or Papen, he was the most efficient of the three in the work of—

on this letter, is likewise the address of the German Club (Deutscher Verein):

DEAR MR. PAVENSTADT:

In order not to appear rude any longer, I do not want to let another Sunday pass without sending you a line to show you that I have certainly not forgotten you, in spite of all the commotion, turmoil and work.

I sincerely hope that I shall soon have more leisure for my private affairs than I have now. That will probably be the case if I am left in my present appointment, which is *very* interesting and very agreeable (being independent and greatly esteemed). Unfortunately, however, that is not a certainty. At least the sword of Damocles seems to be hanging over me, and, if it falls, I should again be transferred to another very busy and exacting appointment (in Berlin). Such a change would be most unwelcome to me, at least for the present, as I am rather upset on account of my nervous complaints. Above all, I am also sleeping wretchedly. In other respects, however, I am very well, as I said before, and it is grand to be in the thick of it amidst all the knowledge, decisions and plans.

Papen has been for some time on the West front as battalion commander in a Guards regiment. It was a pity he brought so many useless papers, cheques, etc., with him. I hope that his bad luck has not inconvenienced you too. His superiors do not appear to have taken the matter tragically, as he was awarded a second order.

Everybody here is full of confidence, though nobody ventures to say how long the business will last.

Kindest regards to all our common acquaintances, especially Messrs. Rath, Siedenburg, Neuhoft, Fleischmann, Baron Schröder and yourself, from

Your faithful and very grateful friend,

KARL BOY-ED.

While Von Bernstorff directed everything that was done in connection with the blowing up of factories, the placing of bombs in freight ships, the poisoning of mules on transports, and all the other movements aimed to terrorize the United States and to paralyze traffic with the Allies, he invariably kept himself away from any conferences concerning details of these plots, and the most elaborate precautions were always taken, whenever it was possible, to get him out of the way at the time when such outrages were scheduled.

© Paul Thompson

CAPTAIN BOY-ED IN CIVILIAN CLOTHES

—spreading German propaganda in this country. Nevertheless, though he had frequently been hampered in his work by the Providence *Journal*, he stood out against the plot (afterward executed) to blow up the *Journal* office in Providence, and he always declared that the sinking of the *Lusitania* was at the best an unpardonable blunder

On two occasions when munitions plants were blown up he had gone to Lenox, the summer home of Ambassador Dumba, on the preceding day. His constant declaration to both Von Papen and Boy-Ed was that he must never be bothered with details concerning these plots, and that, after talking over the general scheme, the carrying out of all such work should be conducted without any reference whatever to him until the matter under way was concluded.

Bernstorff's idea that in order to make Americans believe whatever he wished them to believe it was necessary only to state his case—the training of the German state-made mind

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THE AUSTRIAN AMBASSADOR, WITH MRS. DUMBA

Dr. Dumba was the only business man who ever represented the Austro-Hungarian Empire at Washington, and during his office there was the only official not of the aristocratic class in either the German or Austrian embassies. This social inferiority made him deferential toward Von Bernstorff and aided the German Ambassador in making the Austrian diplomatic agents in this country the mere errand-boys of German intrigue

BARON ERICH ZWEIDINEK (LEFT) WITH AMBASSADOR VON BERNSTORFF
Zweidinek was the brains of the Austrian Embassy, and in reality its head, as Ambassador Dumba was only a commoner and deferred to the superior rank of even some of his own subordinates

—was not shaken for a long while after the beginning of the European war. At the end of February, 1915, Ambassador von Bernstorff spent several days with Capt. von Papen and a lawyer, busily engaged in concocting a scheme of false affidavits in order to attempt to make Secretary of State Bryan believe that immense quantities of dum-dum bullets were being shipped from American factories to the British War Office. There was never any ground for this accusation, which originated in the German Embassy. The day before the Ambassador went to Mr. Bryan with his alleged evidence, he actually rehearsed his approaching visit to the Secretary of State in his own library, with one of his secretaries posing as Mr. Bryan. He said to this man at the conclusion of an impassioned plea which lasted about five minutes —"Am I impressive enough? Is my statement forceful enough?" to which the man replied, "Most forceful, Your Excellency."

"If it appears that way to you," said the Ambassador, "we will have no trouble with the big mouthed (*grossmäulichen*) gentleman."

A question that has been repeatedly asked ever since we entered into a state of war with Germany is: "How was it possible, with the precautions naturally taken by the Teutonic Governments and their agents, to get inside facts, from the German Embassy and from many of the offices of the German and Austrian Consuls-General throughout the United States?"

The answer, given here for the first time, is simple enough. While the entire story of the methods used in getting inside the Teutonic lines in this country cannot be told at this moment, it is sufficient for present purposes to say that from the beginning of the European war, and for some months prior to that time, the *Journal* was able to bring to its aid the services of many Bohemians and Southern

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ZWEIDINEK (AT THE EXTREME LEFT) AND THE SECRETARIES OF CHAN

These men, with Dr. Dumba, the Ambassador, were all involved in the work of obtaining fraudulent passports. The method was this: Austrian laborers (chiefly longshoremen) who had become naturalized American citizens were instructed to apply for passports to Austria. When obtained, these passports were bought by the Austrian officials and turned over to the Germans, who erased the names and substituted the names of German reserve officers and soldiers, who were thus enabled to return to Germany by way of Austria. In the

Slavs from every part of the United States. It was largely through the self-sacrificing activities and the remarkable mental equipment of many of these men that we were enabled from day to day to receive and tabulate information from the very heart of the German and Austrian propagandist system in the United States—both the embassies and many of the Teutonic consular offices throughout the country.

These men (and women as well) not only took grave risks in this work — for they were braving German vengeance — but gave up their time, and in many cases their own funds, without a dollar of compensation from the *Journal* or anybody else, in order to give to us the facts which would prove to the American people the manner in which they were being tricked and fooled by Ambassador Bernstorff and his fellow-diplomats.

A large number of the men engaged in this work were lawyers and doctors. A great many of them were laborers in factories, some were publishers of Croatian and Bohemian newspapers, and the list included several hundred students in colleges and high schools. Every one of the men among them of age was an American citizen. It is impossible to pay too high a tribute to their energy and faithfulness, and before the conclusion of this series of articles, when the final possibility of revenge against them, particularly by hired assassins of the Austrian Government, has been eliminated, the readers of the World's Work will be given a more intimate knowledge of the personality and history of some of the men who were particularly helpful.

It became apparent to both the German and Austrian Ambassadors, after these men had been at work for a few months, that the stories printed by the Providence *Journal* must have had their sources in some dangerous leaks. Count von Bernstorff between May 1915 and December 1915 discharged one of the employees of the German Embassy on suspicion of having been involved in these leaks, and this man was immediately approached through friendly channels, with

-CELLERY OF THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMBASSY AT WASHINGTON © Harris & Ewing

group above, from left to right, are: Baron Erich Zweidinek, counselor and chargé d'affaires and, after the recall of Dr. Dumba, in charge of the Embassy; Prince Alfred zu Hohenlohe-Schillingsfurst, attaché; Baron Stephen Hedry de Hedri et de Genere Aba, chamberlain to his Imperial and Apostolic Majesty; second secretary Consul General von Grivicic; K. Schwenda, Josef Schoedel, Frank J. Sobotka, and Charles Pollak, all secretaries of chancellery

the result that he has been on the payroll of the Providence *Journal* Company ever since his discharge. The right man was never discovered by the Ambassador, nor, until the day he left for Halifax, did he have the slightest inkling as to who this man was.

Four months of listening in on the Sayville and Tuckerton wireless stations through one of the best equipped and highest powered stations on the North American continent, from the day the European war began, had also brought to us an immense mass of information concerning the propagandist activities, not only of German and Austrian aliens in this country, but also of hundreds of American citizens of German and Austrian birth. From many of these latter we were able to secure a great quantity of material particularly when, as we were frequently able to do, we started many of them in active recrimination against one another.

On Sunday, May 2, 1915, several months after the Providence *Journal* had begun its series of exposures of German propaganda, which at that time very few people in the United States believed to be true, I received a telephone message at a New York hotel, where I was staying, from the steward of the German Club at 112 Central Park, South. After stating who he was, he said that two gentlemen, one of whom was Captain Karl Boy-Ed, were very anxious to have a chat with me, and asked me if I would see a representative of Captain Boy-Ed's, and accompany him to the clubhouse at eleven o'clock that morning. I replied that I would, and half an hour later a man who was afterward identified as Dr. Fuehr, one of Von Bernstorff's New York spies, came to my rooms, stating that he was from Captain Boy-Ed, and had a car at the door.

I went with him to the German Club and there, for the first time, met Captain Boy-Ed, who received me in a large private room. He said he had one or two important matters to talk with me about, and that while he realized the Providence Journal was antagonistic to

PRINCE VON HATZFELDT (IN CENTRE OF GROUP)

One of the most insolent of the members of the German Embassy staff, who, while accepting the official and private hospitality of this country, was actively engaged in conspiracies to kill American citizens on land and sea and was gleefully writing to friends in Germany that "the American people are so stupid"

him and to the German cause, he felt that he wanted to state frankly what was in his mind, and try to establish better relations with us. He said that his people were not at all satisfied with the way in which the German side of the case was being presented through American newspapers, and he wanted to ask whether I believed from my experience that the fault lay with the character and method of presentation of the material itself, or whether the majority of the large papers were so biased against Germany that they would not print the matter submitted. I told him that, regardless of the sentiments of American newspapers, they were naturally and rightfully antagonistic to any movement that looked like a propaganda attempt to use their columns in any way, and that in my judgment the material with which newspaper offices had been flooded by the German Publicity Bureau was on its face so false and malicious that no decent newspaper could handle it. He said he felt that criticism of this kind was somewhat just, which led him up to what he stated was the first of the matters about which he wanted to talk with me. He then asked if I would undertake the supervision of a German news bureau, having headquarters in New York and with branch offices in Chicago, Denver, and San Francisco, which would issue regularly to the press semi-official statements from the Overseas News Agency, and also regular translations of news stories and articles appearing in the German newspapers.

He said he would be prepared to pay $10,000 a month for the maintenance of these bureaus, which ought to be run by skilled American newspaper men having a large and friendly relationship among other newspaper men, and he would be glad to pay $2,000 a month for my personal services, with a bonus of $10,000 at the end of six months, and would also agree

THE GERMAN EMBASSY AT WASHINGTON

The official and personal residence of Von Bernstorff, who took pains always to be out of it and present at some other public place or social affair when any of the plots against American ships or munition factories were perpetrated, after the fashion set by his Emperor in being on his yacht in the North Sea when the war he had planned broke upon Europe

that I was not to be known personally in the matter at all, and that I would be permitted to so arrange the installation and work of the Bureau that nobody could suspect my connection with it.

I told him that it was absolutely impossible for me to undertake any such work or to suggest to him the name of any man who might undertake it.

After a few moments he said he was sorry, but that he had been instructed to lay the proposition before me, and had done so. He

DR. JOSEPH GORIÇAR

One-time Austrian consul-general in San Francisco, who gave the Providence *Journal* valuable information in connection with the unearthing of German plots, especially by utilizing his wide acquaintance among Jugo Slavs residing in the United States

then said that there was another and vastly more important matter which he wanted to take up with me. "I know that you have an appointment at the White House with the President during the coming week, and in connection with that appointment I want to place a matter before you which comes from the Ambassador, who is now upstairs in the club. He does not feel that it would be wise to see you personally."

The following is, of course, not a stenographic report of the statement he then proceeded to make, but is very close to being stenographically correct:

"We want you, when you see the President, to lay before him the suggestion that he reconsider his attitude regarding the embargo on arms. We want you to suggest to him that if either he or Mr. Bryan will go so far as to publicly declare to their fellow-citizens that, while there is no breach of neutrality in the making of arms, they would beg manufacturers not to indulge in the practice any further, he will very materially hasten the coming of peace by reason of our desire to meet him more than half way."

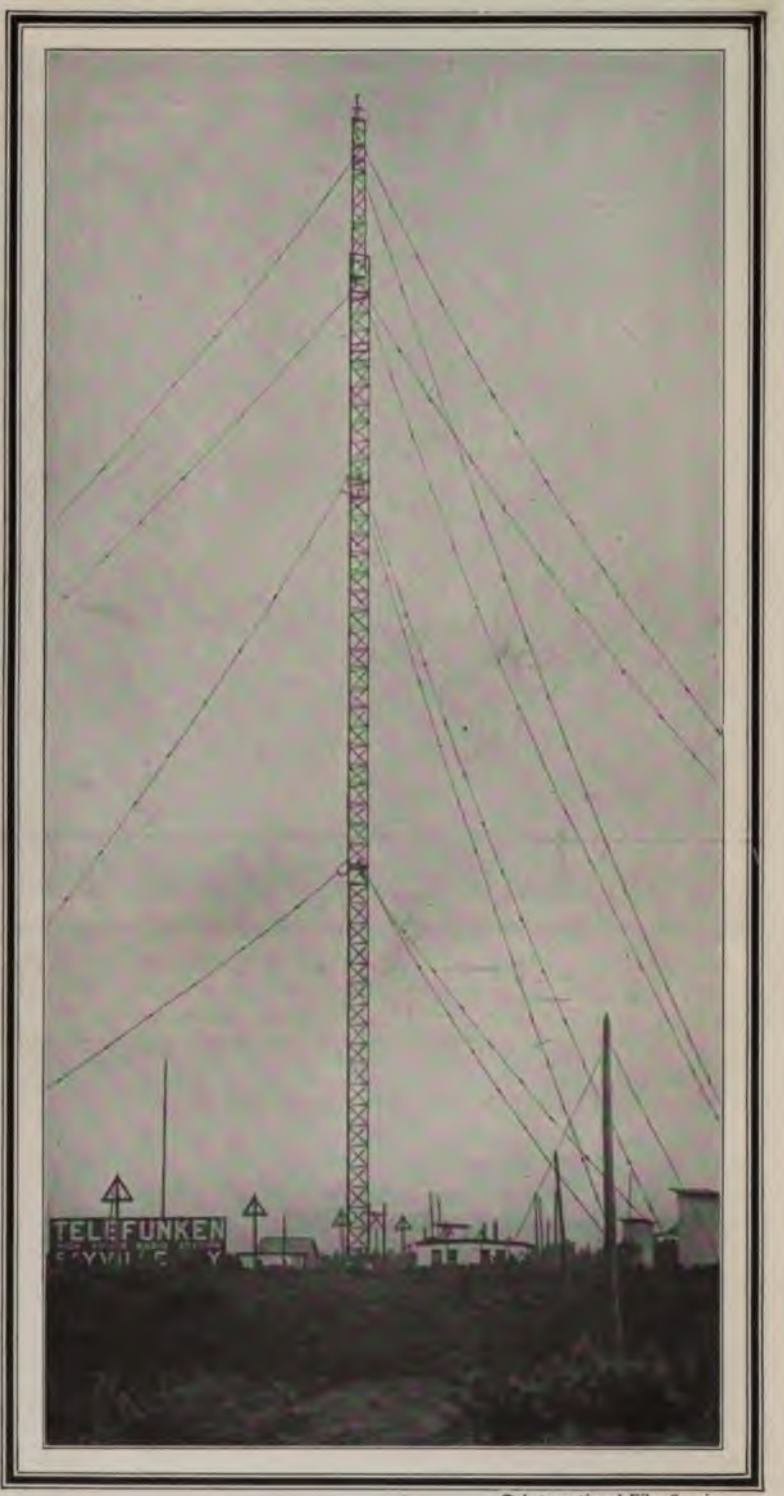
I said that I did not understand his meaning, and wanted some further light on his proposi-

tion. Captain Boy-Ed then continued:

"If the President will make this plea to American manufacturers, and if it results in the stopping of traffic in war munitions from this country, the German Government will set in motion at once the preliminary machinery for peace negotiations. The only basis for any present negotiations will be the stoppage of the arms and ammunition traffic between this country and our enemy. You can tell the President that this proposal is based on that proposition, and that if the embargo is carried through effectively Germany will begin negotiations immediately, and will agree to withdraw from Belgium and from the occupied portion of France. We will not consider the payment of one dollar in indemnity, nor will we consider giving up any part of Alsace-Lorraine. Germany will agree to rebuild, in as good a condition as they were before the war, all public buildings destroyed in Belgian towns and that is all. We have a specific reason for wanting these facts laid before Mr. Wilson from outside sources. What do you think of it?"

I told Captain Boy-Ed that I thought he must be crazy, and suggested that if the German Embassy or the German Government had any proposition to make to the President of the United States they had their regular diplomatic channels through which to make it.

Captain Boy-Ed replied that the German Government could not directly or indirectly put itself in any position of making the first move, but if the President or



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THE WIRELESS STATION USED BY THE GERMAN PLOTTERS

At Sayville, L. I. It was equipped with the German Telefunken apparatus and was owned by the Atlantic Communication Company, before the United States Government took it over after it had been proven that it was being used to send military information to Germany in violation of our neutrality

FRED C. PERRY
CHARLES R. STARK
ARTHUR W. TALBOT
EDMUND H. KIRBY
(MANAGING EDITOR)
HERBERT M. FORD
JAMES C. GARRISON

These six members of the staff of the Providence *Journal* have done yeoman service for the *Journal*, since the beginning of the European war, in uncovering German plots. All of them have been in constant touch with the work, and time after time have done their share in baffling the best brains of the German Secret Service in this country

Secretary of State could be induced to approach the German Ambassador or the German Foreign Office with a question based on the lines suggested, his Government would at once acquiesce and "go more than half way." He added: "You don't realize what a tremendous influence we can bring to bear on Mr. Bryan, for example, through his church affiliations, and through many of our good friends who are close to the Administration. Anyway, we want you to make the suggestion to the President when you see him this week. You will find a great many forces moving along in that direction before the week is over."

I asked Captain Boy-Ed how he knew I was going to see the President.

He replied: "We know whatever we wish to know."

I told him that if I did see the President I would tell him what he said.

Captain Boy-Ed broke in at once with the exclamation: "No, you must not say where this proposal came from! All I want you to do is to throw out a suggestion as to how such an act on his part will be received by our Government. Tell him you have inside information. I forbid you to suggest to him that you have ever seen or talked with me."

I told Captain Boy-Ed that I would put the whole subject before the President, and would state exactly what the proposition was, and from whom it came.

This ended the conversation and I left the club.

On Wednesday, May 5th, the entire matter was laid before the President. On the same day the German propagandists all over the United States began a fresh campaign for an embargo on arms. The announcement was also made, on the same date, of the beginning of a campaign to finance a new German paper in New York to fight against further munitions shipments, and the Germans on that date also began an endless-chain petition to the President, urging an extra session of Congress to act on an embargo on the shipment of arms.

The suggestions put out by Captain Boy-Ed were directly in line with four or five other attempts, made by the Germans in this country through other channels, to keep the Administration believing that Germany was anxiously seeking some basis for peace.

Careful examination of our wireless reports showed a constant and suspicious connection between many large commercial and shipping houses in the United States, and the German Foreign Office. Further investigation disclosed the fact that the code numbers and combinations of letters being used by the German Embassy in its messages to Berlin were in many cases duplicated by messages sent out from the Atlantic Communication Company (the ostensible owner of Sayville), the Siemens & Halske Co. of New York, the Hamburg-American Line and North German Lloyd Line, and many other concerns. Starting with this knowledge, it soon developed that the great strength of the German propaganda system in this country, and its control of so many avenues of information about matters which it should have been of vital importance for our Government to conceal, were largely due to the fact that these great commercial houses were nothing more than outposts of the German Foreign Office, heavily subsidized and acting directly under the orders of their home offices in Germany, which in turn took their orders from Foreign Office officials.

One of the first discoveries made by the *Journal* was the existence of a chart drawn to resemble a family tree, the trunk of which bore the label of the Foreign Office. Spreading from this trunk were three branches, and at the bottom of each branch the words, "Telefunken Co." The first branch to the left was labeled, "Gesellschaft Fur Drahtlose Telegraphie, Berlin"; the second bore the words "Siemens & Halske, Siemens-Schuckert-Werke, Berlin," and the third, "Allgemeine Elektrizitats, Gesellschaft, Berlin." Spreading from each of these three branches were limbs bearing the following names:

From No. 1: Atlantic Communication Co. (Sayville), New York. Australasian Wireless Co., Ltd., Sydney (Australia); Telefunken East Asiatic Wireless Telegraph Co., Ltd., Shanghai; Maintz & Co. (of Amsterdam, Holland), Batavia (Java); Germann & Co. (of Hamburg), Manila; B. Grimm & Co., Bangkok; Paetzold & Eppinger, Havana; Spiegelthal, La Guayra; Kruger & Co., Guayaquil; Brahm & Co., Lima; E. Quicke, Montevideo; R. Schulbach, Thiemer & Co. (of Hamburg), Central America; Sesto Sesti, Rome; A. D. Zacharion & Cie., Athens; J. K. Dimitrijevic, Belgrade.

From No. 2: Siemens Bros. & Co., Ltd., London; Siemens & Halske, Vienna; Siemens & Halske, Petrograd; Siemens & Halske (K. G. Frank), New York; Siemens-Schuckert-Werke, Sofia; Siemens-Schuckert-Werke, Constantinople; Siemens-Schuckert-Werke (Dansk Aktsielskab), Kopenhagen; Siemens-Schuckert-Werke (Denki Kabushiki Kaishe), Tokyo; Siemens-Schuckert-Werke (Companhia Brazileira de Electricidade), Rio de Janeiro; Siemens-Schuckert, Ltd., Buenos Aires; Siemens-Schuckert, Ltd., Valparaiso.

From No. 3: A. E. G. Union Electrique, Brussels; Allgemeine Elektrizitats Gesellschaft, Basel; A. E. G. Elecktriska Aktiebolaget, Stockholm; A. E. G. Electricitats Aktieselskabet, Christiania; A. E. G. Thomson-Houston Iberica, Madrid; A. E. G. Compania Mexicana, Mexico; A. E. G. Electrical Company of South Africa, Johannesburg.

This tremendous network of great electrical concerns, all of them in turn having subagencies, and all being directly connected with radio and telegraphic communication of every description, was continuously at the service of the German Government. Thanks to heavy government subsidies these concerns were able to underbid, and did underbid, their competitors in the price of installation of radio plants throughout the American continent, and in many cases, before the construction of such plants, we discovered that they had successfully imposed their will on various Central and South American governments by insisting on selecting their own locations for the construction of these plants.

The most interesting discovery made in this

connection by our representatives was that during the time while the United States Government was planning a series of wireless stations throughout the Philippine Islands, the Gesellschaft Fur Drahtlose Telegraphie in Berlin, a branch of the great Telefunken system, sent to its branch in New York City and to its office in Manila (represented by the firm of Germann & Co. of Hamburg) a long communication setting forth that the wireless stations to be constructed by the United States Government in the Philippines must be bid for at such a low price by their agents that there would be no possibility of their losing the contracts.

The letter adds: "We have worked out this project on the basis of confidential advices from the Foreign Office, and beg you to treat the estimates and lists and data as confidential, and particularly the map accompanying this." A former manager of the Atlantic Communication Company notified us that the definite understanding with reference to this matter was as follows: "Our superior knowledge of radio must be set forth in arguments to convince United States radio officials that the stations should be where we have designated them on this map, regardless of their own desires in the matter, so as to make it certain that if Germany comes into control of the Philippine Islands the radio stations shall be in the most advantageous positions for the work of our Government."

The map accompanying this remarkable communication was a blueprint which contained locations of 54 named stations, and a letter with the prices, in marks, which the Manila agents of the corporation were to quote for the work to be performed at each station. This blueprint and letter will be reproduced later in this series of articles.

The Hamburg-American Line and the North German Lloyd Line, in addition to being under the direct supervision of Captain Boy-Ed (who practically had charge of the movements of all the ships of both concerns), made regular reports through their home offices to the Foreign Office in Berlin. Among these reports were accounts of disbursements, not only for the legitimate outlay of a steamship company, but also for the upkeep of two large bodies of secret service men who took charge of all fraudulent passport work for the German Government, and who, between the outbreak of the European war and the time of our own entry into the war, shipped on Swedish and Dutch vessels a large number of German reservist officers, and also of German army officers, from this country. The latter, through bribery, were allowed to escape from Siberia after having been captured by the Russians, and were brought through Japan or China into the United States, held in boarding houses in New York and shipped with false passports to Europe as opportunity offered.

Both of these steamship lines from the outbreak of the war continually made up false manifests for their vessels, and carried on a regular trade in transferring coal, oil, rubber, and many other commodities (supposed to be destined for the South American trade) into raiders and other vessels of the German navy. The Austro-Amerikana Steamship Co. of New York also had its secret service working along similar lines.

These great corporations were used also for other purposes by the German and Austrian governments and the embassies in Washington. A plot to blow up the Welland Canal was worked out in the Hamburg-American offices by Paul Koenig, chief of the secret service of that company. In an attempt to fool the American Government, hundreds of wireless messages, ostensibly relating to steamship matters, but really secret government codes, were sent continually to Nauen and Elivese signed by these steamship and electrical concerns under orders from Von Bernstorff, in whose office such messages originated.

The great majority of the men working in these establishments were German and Austrian aliens, but they invariably included, usually among their general managers or directors, several who had acquired American citizenship solely to permit them to conduct their propaganda work with more freedom.

The Atlantic Communication Company, caught red-handed in a great number of deliberate violations of neutrality during its operation of the Sayville wireless plant, and filled with dangerous German spies, is still, at this writing, carrying on business in New York City, with offices at 47 West Street.

The firm of Siemens & Halske, another spy outpost of the German Foreign Office, rabidly pro-German, and working solely for German interests, still conducts its business in New York City, at 90 West Street.

Members of both of these firms have been permitted to acquire American citizenship.

The Hamburg-American Line and North

Block Island Wireless.

PUBLISHED BY THE PROVIDENCE JOURNAL CO.

One of Two Daily Newspapers in the World Whose News Dispatches Come by Wireless Telegraph.

VOLUME I. NO. 45. BLOCK ISLAND, R. I., AUGUST 29, 1903. FIVE CENTS.

GREAT BRITAIN WILL NOT OBJECT.

To Action of This Country in Connection With Murder of Official.

London, Aug. 28.—The foreign office informed the Associated Press that Great Britain will not, and it is not likely that other powers will raise objections to summary action by United States in connection with the assassination of Vice-Consul Magelssen at what procedure Washington may deem advisable.

SIR THOMAS HAS ENOUGH.

Will Not Challenge Again Unless England Produces a Herreshoff.

New York, Aug. 28.—Sir Thomas Lipton says Herreshoff is a wizard and that American brain and development in yachting has beaten Great Britain. He is having no hopes of winning a single race. He is greatly disappointed and says he will not challenge again unless England should produce a Herreshoff

ATTACK ON NOVENKA.

Insurgents Made a Successful Advance and Killed 200 Soldiers.

Salonica, Aug. 29.—About 2,000 insurgents near Modena concentrated in the mountains of Novikovo Tuesday night. The insurgents attacked Novenka and killed 200 soldiers.

FIVE SCALDED TO DEATH

By Bursting of Main Steam Pipe Aboard the Neckar.

Bremen, Aug. 28.—Steamer Neckar, bound for Baltimore, burst her main steam pipe while in the North Sea and nine persons were scalded. Five of the seven stokers died The ship returned to Bremen

SQUADRON ON THE WAY.

Admiral Cotton's Fleet Has Been Ordered to Beirut.

Washington. Aug.28.—Acting Secretary

CLOSING QUOTATIONS.

New York Stocks.

Amalgamated Copper,	49 3-4
American Sugar Refining,	116 3-4
Atchison,	63 1-8
Brooklyn Rapid Transit,	45 3-4
Canadian Pacific,	136 3-4
Erie,	30 3-8
Illinois Central,	133 5-8
Louisville and Nashville,	105
Manhattan Elevated,	134 1-2
Missouri Pacific,	94 1-2
New York Central,	121 3-4
Norfolk and Western,	63
Pennsylvania,	134 5-8
Reading,	55 3-4
St. Paul,	162
Southern Pacific,	65 3-8
Southern Railway,	32 1-8
Union Pacific,	75 1-8
United States Steel,	30 7-8

Cotton Market.

August,	12.20
September,	11.20
October,	10.49
November,	10.30
December,	10.18
January,	10.17
March,	10.15

Grain and Provisions.

WHEAT.

September,	81
December,	83 1-8
May,	86

CORN.

August,	59 3-4
September,	59 3-4
December,	59 3-4
May,	60 7-8

OATS.

August,	36
September,	35
December,	36 1-8
May,	37 7-8

PORK.

September,	12.50
October,	12.70
May,	13.02

LARD.

September,	6.82
October,	7.00

BASEBALL.

National League.

New York, 12; Boston, 6.
St. Louis, 12; Pittsburg, 4

New England League.

REPORT CONTRADICTED.

The Assassination of American Vice Consul Said to be Incorrect.

Constantinople, Aug. 28.—The report that Vice Consul Magelssen was assassinated is said to be incorrect. An unknown individual fired at him and the bullet passed close to but did not hit him. The error arose from a mistake in the cipher telegram.

ISLAND FLASHES.

John J. Nester of Boston has received rights for the location of a fish warehouse at Old Harbor.

A party of eleven from the Central House went to Newport yesterday to spend the day. They had a very enjoyable time riding about the cliffs.

Margie Campbell and Clara Kirwin of Providence, both children of 12 years, are to give the balcony scene from Romeo and Juliet at the Surf Hotel Saturday evening.

Mrs M. A. McGough of Providence gave a reception at the Manisses Thursday evening, where she entertained many guests. Mrs. McGough was assisted by Miss Jennie Reynolds of Paterson, N. J.

The Misses Cummings leave for home to-morrow afternoon. Miss Helen will remain in Providence and Miss Margaret Cummings will return to New York to resume her duties as head of a large hospital.

Mrs. Charles Noyes of Norwich yesterday afternoon gave a whist party at the Adrian. Among her guests were Mrs. Browning of Toledo, Mrs. Crane and Mrs. Jenkins of New York and Miss Gertrude Jackson of Brooklyn.

Dr. Charles W. Higgins of Providence was called here yesterday to attend Mrs. Burdick who has been spending the summer at her cottage on High street. If the weather is suitable to-day Dr. Higgins will accompany the patient to her home in Providence.

The carrying of the mail is to be done by the New Shoreham on and after to-day. The Danielson will discontinue her trips after Labor Day and up to that time

We sell more shoes to people who are fussy about their feet than all the other dealers in the State. All the sizes ever made are found here.

F. E. Ballou Co.

Cor. Eddy and Weybosset Sts., Providence

"Rhode Island's Recognized Largest Leading Shoe Store."

The Rhode Island Women's Shopping Mecca.

BOSTON STORE

FALLON, HANSLIAN & TROSP COMPANY

BOSTON STORE

Westminster, Union and Fulton streets.

WHEN IN TOWN VISIT

Our Enlarged Tea Room

Elaborated and in summer dress—nice and cool—fresh new matting on floor. More ropes, tables and waitresses.

The daintiest, most home-like service and food in any Providence restaurant.

Third Floor, Front.

Clicquot Club Ginger Ale & Sarsaparilla

Especially for family use. Unsurpassed in quality. All first-class grocers keep it.

Brownell & Field Co.

Wholesale Agents.

R. Burnham is going in the Earl and Nettie to act as referee in a fish catching contest and if Gardiner wins, "Tal" is to give him the whale he shot with his dynamite gun. In honor of the presence of

AN EARLY WIRELESS EXPERIMENT OF THE PROVIDENCE "JOURNAL"

The *Journal's* experience with wireless telegraphy was one of the principal reasons for their success in their work with the German wireless messages

German Lloyd Line have been eliminated from the commercial life of the United States within the last few months, but they have numerous subsidiary steamship lines which are still carrying on business in this country.

Truly, Ambassador von Bernstorff was not underestimating the boundless credulity of a democracy when he said once in his Embassy, in a burst of pardonable pride in his ability to make the American people believe what he wanted them to believe: *"In dem Lande der unbegrenzten Möglichkeiten ist alles möglich!"*—"In this land of unlimited possibilities everything is possible!"

Mr. Rathom's series of articles will be continued in the WORLD'S WORK *for March*

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LIEUT. GEN. JAN C. SMUTS

GENERAL SMUTS, the conqueror of German West Africa, is the living embodiment of Great Britain's claim to be the dispenser of liberal and just government. Less than sixteen years ago he was in arms against Great Britain. Since then he has held almost every cabinet position in the government of the Union of South Africa. At various times he has been State Attorney for the Transvaal, Acting Assistant Commandant General, Minister of the Interior, Minister of Finance, and he has repeatedly taken General Botha's place as Premier in the latter's absence.

General Smuts is a Boer, born in Cape Colony in the year 1870, when Germany last launched her attack on France. He was educated at Victoria College at Stellenbosch in South Africa and afterward he went to England to Christ College, Cambridge, where he achieved distinction in his law studies.

He was State Attorney under President Kruger when he was twenty-eight years old, and in this position he accompanied his chief to the meeting with the British Commissioners at Bloemfontein which resulted in war. He served with distinction during the struggle, but his services in the reconstruction of his country and the evolution of a responsible government showed perhaps even greater ability than did his military career.

In this war he succeeded General Smith-Dorrien in command of the East African Expedition in March, 1916. Within a year he had driven the German forces from British territory, reduced their numbers by two thirds, and confined them in the southern and southwestern part of the former German colony. And that was no mean accomplishment, for the German commander of East Africa showed himself a man of particular ability and determination.

On March 20, 1917, General Smuts attended the first meeting of the Imperial War Council as Member for South Africa, a soldier statesman peculiarly representing the idea of the spread of democracy.

LT. GEN. SIR WM. BIRDWOOD

LIEUTENANT GENERAL BIRDWOOD is the commander of the famous Anzac Corps. From the day in April, 1915, when the Anzacs landed on the beaches above Gaba Tepe until the withdrawal in January, 1916, General Birdwood was the inspiration of the fighting of his men on the Peninsula. Whatever may be said of the planning and support of the Gallipoli expedition, no one has ever questioned the quality of the fighting. Finally General Birdwood became commander of the Dardanelles army and in that capacity carried out the brilliant and successful withdrawal from Gallipoli.

The Anzacs under Birdwood got to France in time for the Battle of the Somme, and their fighting there was of the same fierce kind as it had been at Gallipoli. The capture of Pozières and Mouquet Farm was an Australian achievement, and Flers fell to the New Zealanders. Since then, both in the German retreat and in the later stages of the Battle of Arras, especially against the Hindenburg line at Bullecourt, they have shown the same fury and steadiness in attack. General Birdwood is an old regular army officer, and in spite of the fact that he is a rather young general—being 53—he has seen a good deal of service.

He joined the army in 1883, after training at the British military school at Sandhurst. In 1891 he served in the Hazara Expedition, the Isazai Expedition in 1892, and the Tirah Campaign in 1897–1898, campaigns and expeditions of which we never hear but on which from time to time men lose their lives trying to keep order on the turbulent borders of the British Empire even when the world is at peace. Again, in 1909, General Birdwood commanded a brigade on the Indian Frontier. In the South Africa War General Birdwood was badly wounded and was five times mentioned in despatches.

In the present war the high points of his record are Gallipoli, the Somme, and the Battle of Arras.

From a drawing by Francis Dodd

LIEUTENANT GENERAL JAN C. SMUTS

The conqueror of Germany's colonies in West Africa. A Boer, fifteen years ago in the South African War he was fighting the forces of the country he is now serving

From a drawing by Francis Dodd

LIEUTENANT GENERAL SIR WILLIAM BIRDWOOD

Commander of the famous "Anzac" Corps and of the Dardanelles Army, in which capacity he directed the brilliant and successful withdrawal from Gallipoli. He was later in the Battle of the Somme and participated in the Battle of Arras

GEN. PHILLIPE PETAIN

GENERAL PETAIN, who by a decree of April 30, 1917, was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the French armies on the western front, has had one of the most remarkable of military careers.

Although Petain had been a renowned professor at the School of War, where he was noteworthy for his insistence on the importance of artillery in battle, he was, at the opening of the war, a simple colonel. He was commander of a brigade at the extreme right of the 5th Army at Charleroi and he received, during the retreat, the brunt of terrific attacks by an enemy far superior in numbers. He manœuvred with such ability and fought with such stubbornness that his brigade retired in perfect order and without too large losses. He was immediately called to the command of a division, and although he still wore the uniform of a colonel, at the Marne he commanded a whole division. He had there an opportunity to apply his theories on fire and artillery, and it was to him, and to the excellency of his artillery preparations, that the famous ridge of Saint Bon was captured.

A few weeks later the colonel was commanding an army corps and in May, 1915, during the first offensive in Artois, his army corps, in one day, captured all the German organizations of Carency and Ablain-St. Nazaire and took 10,000 prisoners and 30 guns.

After that extraordinary success, General Petain received the command of an army, and in February, 1916, when the Germans began to launch their terrific attacks on Verdun, he was the man chosen by Joffre and Castelnau to take the command and stop the German armies.

One night, when the battle was raging, General Balfourrier was called on the 'phone and heard the voice of General Petain, who merely told him:

"I am General Petain. I just want to give you notice that I take the command of the place."

"All right," replied Balfourrier, "if it's you, everything will be all right."

Since he has been made Commander-in-Chief of all the armies General Petain has not had a single reverse and has won many successes. More important than military success, perhaps, is the moral success achieved by him. According to all testimony, the morale of the French Army has never been better, nor the fighting spirit and the resolution of the French *poilu* been higher. This is, for the greater part, due to the Commander-in-Chief.

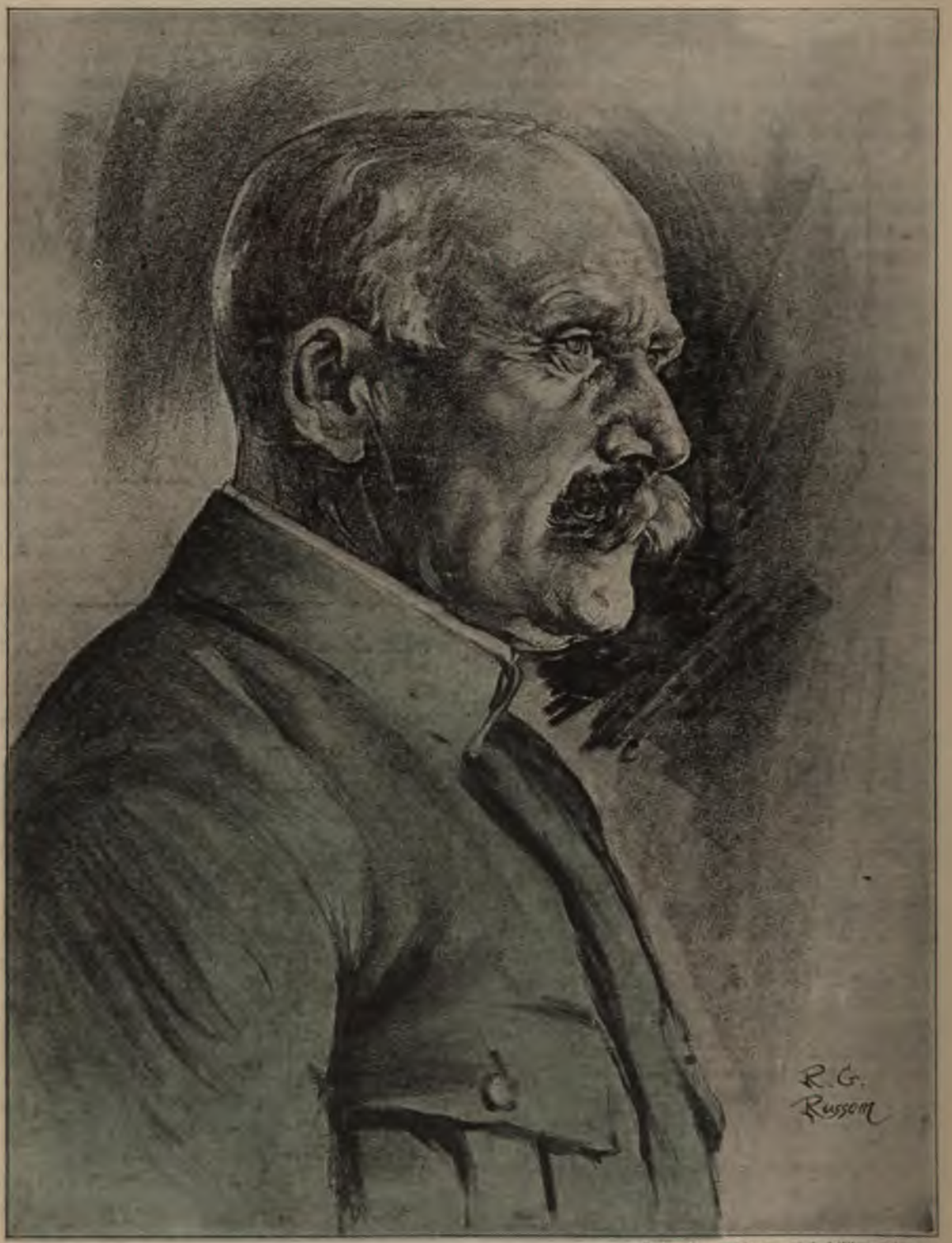
GEN. M. L. A. GUILLAUMAT

GENERAL GUILLAUMAT, who has been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Allied armies on the Saloniki front, has had one of the most brilliant careers before and during this war.

General Guillaumat was born in 1863 and commanded the French troops in China in 1899, during the uprising of the Boxers. At the opening of the war he was at the head of a division. He took a brilliant part in the Battle of the Marne and in the campaign in Argonne. But it was especially in 1916, during the Battle of the Somme, that he came to the foreground. General Guillaumat was then Commander of the First Army Corps which conquered, after terrific struggles, Maurepas, Fregicourt, and the famous fortified village of Combles, capturing 4,000 prisoners, 33 guns, and 70 machine guns. He was then cited in an Army Order in the following terms: "Commander of an Army Corps of the greatest valor. Has distinguished himself by the methodical precision of his preparations and by the vigor of his attacks. Has obtained in a difficult sector a most important and remarkable success."

A few weeks later, General Guillaumat and his First Army Corps were sent before Verdun and there played an important and decisive part in the fights of October and December, 1916, when the forts of Douaumont and Vaux were recaptured by the French. So decisive and so important was the rôle played by General Guillaumat that at the end of 1916, when General Nivelle relinquished the command of Verdun, General Guillaumat was chosen to succeed him.

The history of General Guillaumat in 1917 has been the history of Verdun. In two short sharp strokes in August, he was able to complete the liberation of the surroundings of Verdun and to recapture in a few days all the fortified positions which the Germans had taken in five months of battles.



Drawn from a photograph in L'Illustration

GENERAL PHILLIPE PETAIN

Commander-in-Chief of the French Armies on the Western front. His record in this war also includes command of a brigade at Charleroi, of a division at the Battle of the Marne, of an army corps during the first offensive in the Artois, and Commander-in-Chief at Verdun

Drawn from a painting in L'Illustration

GENERAL M. L. A. GUILLAUMAT

Recently appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Allied forces in the Saloniki theatre, succeeding General Sarrail. General Guillaumat's record in the present war also includes the Battle of the Marne, the Battle of the Somme (in which he especially distinguished himself as commander of the First Army Corps), and the defense of Verdun

A NATIONAL HARBOR FOR PEACE AND WAR FOR THE FLEETS OF SEA AND AIR

BY

LINDON W. BATES

[*Mr. Bates is one of the most distinguished of American engineers, and his achievements in improving the port of Antwerp by deepening the River Scheldt, in straightening and making navigable the Volga and Ganges rivers, and in restoring Galveston after the great storm are evidences of his peculiar qualifications to discuss the national problem of a better port at New York.* —THE EDITORS.]

IN THE hollow of a hand of rugged fingers —the eastern and northern projections of Staten Island, the western juttings of Kings and Manhattan, and the Weehawken-Bayonne peninsula—is the harbor through which America's chief contributions to the war are passing. It is the busiest water-way on the globe to-day, the port of the greatest city, the export centre of the entire continent. Men and materials in unprecedented quantity are leaving from it for the fateful Allied fronts; with them is going the world's destiny, the hope of liberty for mankind.

Like living tendons the continental trunk-lines lead to the clasping fingers that enclose this New York inner bay. These railroads discharge their war-bound freights into and through it. In times of peace they gather and bear away from it import cargoes from every ocean.

The ordinary peace commerce that passes into and from the Upper Bay through the Narrows—the channel between the northern and eastern ends of Staten Island and the western projection of Long Island just north of Gravesend Bay—is stupendous.

New York is really a national, continental harbor. It is first in the net registered tonnage of vessels entering and leaving. Between 45 and 50 per cent. of the total foreign commerce of the United States passes through it annually. It is the principal focus of an incomparable system of 300,000 miles of railroad. Thirteen lines from all parts of the continent converge here.

The war commerce is not alone enormous but imperative to the life of the peoples standing with us for the preservation and redemption of civilization. It is to the vital interest of all that the terminal and transportation facilities of the premier seaport of the Western Hemisphere shall be made adequate and perfect.

Because of the conformation of New York's Upper Bay, and of the unsystematic growth of its water-front, it lacks the easily accessible, ample, well-equipped terminal facilities which its magnitude demands, and which lesser ports—notably those of Antwerp and Hamburg—possess.

To-day in an attempted solution of the country's internal conditions, the mismanagements of haste, unpreparedness and economic dislocations, the National Government has taken over control of the entire railroad system. In the investigation of internal and external pressures it has to revise the control of New York Harbor. Domination, more or less complete and experimental, of every business and everybody's business is close at hand. The situation here has impelled the intervention of the nation as a palliative.

France, stricken and at bay, has done more for her seaports since the outset of the war than for a generation. She learns in her hour of trial that her sea gates are her supreme dependence.

Through the long years we, too, have neglected and postponed. Now is the time here in New York for action. Decisions can be taken to-day with the least prejudice, debate, and delay, and decisions can be quickest transmuted into actualities.

The developed part of New York Harbor is the Upper or Inner Bay, and the North and East Rivers. On their New Jersey, Staten Island, Brooklyn, and Manhattan frontages are the piers of some one hundred steamship lines which are engaged in foreign trade throughout

MR. BATES'S PLAN FOR ENLARGED PORT FACILITIES FOR NEW YORK

By which several miles of modern ocean terminals could be added to the water front and connected directly with New York City and with five trunk-line railroads, besides providing terminal facilities for aerial transportation

the world. A score of other lines engaged in the Long Island Sound, the Atlantic and Gulf ports and the Pacific Coast carrying-trades also have terminals there. The water approaches to these piers, through the Narrows and the North and East rivers are not easily navigated, and the Upper Bay anchorages are full. Ship-lanes to the piers are continually crossed by ferry-boats, and the whole bay is dotted with cautiously moving steamers. No proper belt-line serves the Manhattan or Brooklyn piers. Few have adequate loading and transfer facilities. Lack of space fixes the metes and bounds, preventing comprehensive expansion and improvement, and making an increased choking inevitable, yet the business of the port must increase. Vested interests stand, forbidding, on the verges of all fronts.

Realizing how greatly and immediately the provision of adequate water-front facilities would enhance not only our general trade and commerce, but also our immediate war efficiency in the shipment of troops and supplies, an investigating survey of the entire harbor has been made. From it has been restated a project first planned by the writer in 1906 for the establishment of a union seaport terminal outside the Narrows, where rail-borne and sea-borne commerce may meet with a minimum cost in labor and delay, and where eventually a sky-borne commerce also may find loading and transfer facilities. This project proposes, first, the purchase by the authorities (through negotiation or condemnation if necessary) of the six-mile stretch of low land, fronting the Lower Bay on the south shore of Staten Island, between the Narrows and west of Great Kills.

Second, the paralleling of this zone with a ship channel 1,200 feet wide inside a United States Government pier-line, and the branching from this northward of a pier system with slips half a mile long and 400 feet wide, of the most modern construction and equal to docking the largest vessels.

Third, the building of a seaport junction railroad connecting the terminal site with the trunk railway lines, leading west and north and south.

The project, if carried out, would provide for ocean terminal warehouse facilities for barge lines, for grain and other produce intended for trans-shipment to foreign and coastwise ports, and for adequate dockage for ocean steamships, particularly for those carrying full cargoes of grain and coarse freights, both in and outward bound. It means the creation of twenty-five miles of deep-water front, with direct rail connections; a general terminal system readily accessible to both rail and water carriers at all seasons and under varying tidal and ice conditions; a land and water commercial-terminal and harbor for transatlantic and domestic air-borne passengers, mails, and goods.

Its operations will effect the prompt and efficient transfer and warehousing of freights, which will release cars, ships and canal barges quickly after their arrival in the port. It will relieve—indeed will entirely prevent—the congestion which now causes reduced earnings, delays, and serious interruptions to both freight and passenger traffic, and the dislocation of hundreds of established businesses which serve war needs. It will insure a uniformity of cost and service to both the carrier and the patron, by removing the competitive waste caused by the varyingly imperfect physical development of the numerous separate railroad terminals. It will leave these terminals free to the evolution of facilities sorely needed exclusively in the handling of increasing domestic traffic. It will not lessen their office—only relieve it and increase rail and ship earnings by reducing harbor delays. It will permit a distinctive classification of export and coastwise freights while these latter are still in rail transit, abolishing the time and labor-waste of this process when done in the cluttered and expensive operating zones adjacent to the inner harbor. It will undoubtedly attract extensive manufactories, always seeking direct water facilities. These will bring their attendant business and their industrial and residential populations.

There can be no question that the improvement has innately all these betterments or that the proposed site is the one most fitted for securing them. The United States is a nation of 100 million people, increasing at the rate of 10 per cent. each decade. Its internal commerce surpasses that of all Europe. Its export and import trade is constantly augmenting. The business of the country, external and domestic, centres principally around the harbor of New York. In 1916 foreign cargoes in and out of this one harbor aggregated 17,567,580 tons. No less than in time of peace, the nation's business now, during the war, centres around this projected harbor.

The eastern coastline of the United States

affords no other site its equal. No other shows such availability for improvement to the navigable depths which the increasing size of modern vessels demands. No other site has such commanding relation to the valleys of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi.

No other seaboard location has its strategic situation for the handling of air-borne commerce. There is no doubt whatever in thinking minds that the war's cessation will open a widening era of aerial transportation. The Alps, the Caucasus, the Mediterranean, all have been flown across. Turin to London is a six-hour flight. Single Italian airplanes are carrying twenty-five persons each. French Corsican mails are airplane carried. Sicily's posts from Rome come in by air. Valuable light materials of battle are air-transported every day in Europe, and an aerial ambulance is in service. Multimotored planes which can lift a motor-car will soon turn from carrying bombs to carrying express freights. Half a dozen plans are under way already for the conquest of the transatlantic air-routes when the war ends. Designers in this country are preparing for the production in quantity of small business machines. Plans for a daily London-Paris express passenger air service are perfected and await only the return of peace.

The man-carrying airplane has already proved a ready means of swift transport. Freight and passenger carrying airplanes are in process of practical development. As the family motor car and the motor truck followed the dangerous first racing automobiles, so the aerial transport-car for passengers and for freight will come into efficient use behind the war-used airplanes of the moment.

Commerce is to be no longer, therefore, a matter of ships and railways only, seeking union at deep water. From now on it includes the airplane seeking union with both ship and railway in a land-and-deep-water harbor. This triple union is impossible elsewhere on the Atlantic seaboard to the intensive and extensive efficiency inviting in New York harbor.

The site proposed on Staten Island is, of the whole 771 miles of New York's harbor frontage, the one best fitted, by location, conformation and value, for the projected development. The map of Manhattan shows the pre-emption of the entire present waterfront. There is not a gap on the North River, the East River, or the Harlem River large enough for a comprehensive terminal construction, with its corollaries of warehouses, industrial plants and concentrated populations. The Bronx frontage of the Hudson and Harlem is too shallow for large ships and is already in railroad control and use. The Long Island Sound waterfront is too remote from the main harbor and is physically unsuited for utilization as a deep-sea haven. The Queens frontages on the Sound and on Jamaica Bay are not easily accessible for the largest and most serviceable vessels. The Brooklyn, Jamaica-Bay frontage lacks an adequate deep-water entrance. The Brooklyn, East-River, and Bay-Ridge deep-water frontages are practically all utilized and are assessed at high values. The Government's location of the bulk-head and pier-head lines precludes the impressment of Gravesend Bay as an ocean, coast-wise and rail terminal and an industrial centre. Every available foot of the Jersey shore from Weehawken to Bayonne is occupied by the dispositions of the West Shore, the Erie, Lackawanna, Lehigh Valley, Pennsylvania, Jersey Central, Baltimore and Ohio railroads and by navigation companies. The Staten Island frontage from Fort Schuyler and the Narrows, to St. George and around to Port Richmond is also practically all utilized. Manufacturing plants costing many millions are located on both sides of the straits separating Staten Island from New Jersey. Yet, nevertheless, the channel there is shallow, crooked and not negotiable for large ships.

The six-mile stretch of Staten Island's Lower Bay frontage, the proposed site for the Union Seaport project is, however, practically unoccupied. It is readily accessible for deep-sea vessels. No hazards of bridges, difficult currents, islands, ferry lanes or ice molest its approaches. It is quickly accessible from the city by ferry and by a new subway and is readily reached from the Jersey mainland. Its assessed valuation is such that the purchase of the 4,000 acres needed can be made at a very reasonable cost for such an area in the metropolitan district of New York. This acreage, more valuable in possible utility, is assessed at much lower figures than land equally distant from Manhattan in the Bronx and Queens. The potentialities of this waterfront have been claimed by and tacitly accorded to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad but the day has come when National needs are paramount.

The long, sheltered, Staten Island beach of the Lower Bay extends from the Fort Schuyler Reservation on the east to Tottenville on the west. Back of the beach stretches a belt of salt meadow about the level of high tide. The belt is nearly a mile wide in places. North of and adjacent to it are the Baltimore and Ohio Railway tracks encompassing the south, east, and north shores of Staten Island. Flanking the belt is an avenue at the base of the Dongan Hills—the most sightly residential ridge that fronts salt water in the whole Bay of New York. The district is within an average of forty to fifty minutes from the Battery. It is reached by municipal ferries, trolley and railway, with low fares in each case. The zone is served by the Staten Island railway and by several electric lines. It is capable of easy connection with the Jersey mainland, and its extremest end is only one hour distant from New York by the Staten Island Rapid Transit line and the municipal ferries. It is far more accessible than localities equally distant in the upper Bronx.

Despite its proximity to the business centre of New York, this zone has escaped an artificial inflation of values. It presents a possible utility not only for establishing a waterfront terminal, but for ample industrial and manufacturing sites and desirable residential districts. It can be purchased or otherwise secured from the present owners mainly in large tracts.

Once the land is acquired at a reasonable and not an artificial price, the terminal development can begin at once. It is planned, during the making of the South Breakwater and of the 1,200 foot wide ship-channel, to build at the first stage only two slips, giving two miles of water-front and to extend the number of slips progressively until the system comprises twenty five miles of deep-water front. The cost of the dredging and docking construction will not be great as the material to be excavated is favorable. Within a few months after the acquisition of the land the plant needed for the whole work can have been acquired; two slips of sufficient size to dock fourteen large liners, can have been built; and a terminal site for factories and warehouses, many city blocks in area, and directly accessible to deep water can have been prepared. With this and the construction of a junction railroad line, the terminal could be opened to all users and the construction of the eighteen remaining slips could proceed.

These piers should be the latest word in dockage. Their building and equipment should be carried out scientifically. Along the Manhattan waterfronts there are scores of decrepit piers. The whole inner harbor frontage is irregular. The piers have been built at different times, of different sizes, on frontages of different physical advantages, with the view to handling different classes of freight and passenger traffic in relation to competitive railway companies. It would be a work of as many years to remedy matters as it would take months on the Lower Bay for a perfect creation.

Freight will be handled at these new outer harbor piers in the most efficient and economical manner known. Railway lines will parallel the docks and traveling cranes will operate from them; the whole system will work like one great mechanism and all classes of vessels seeking quickest dispatch will naturally be directed to it. Practically every ship now makes the port of New York through the Narrows. It must steam or be towed among a multitude of barges, ferries, tugs and other craft going in every direction, to a point near its pier, and then warp into the dock with the assistance of one or several tugs. To make the proposed Lower Bay terminal, a ship will go under her own power through a currentless channel to a designated slip. Hours will be saved, tug charges would be eliminated and many hazards escaped. Under these advantages, new commerce would inevitably come to this exterior harbor. Some probably would be diverted from Philadelphia and Boston. Many lessees of city piers would in time move to it. Freight at present kept away from New York by high rates in favor of Boston, Philadelphia, or Baltimore would eventually come here because the operation of the new exterior terminal will give basis for a differential claim. The wheat, meats, steel, and other products of the West which now pass through the inner harbor terminals will inevitably be diverted to this new one, where cheaper docks and economy of handling will prevail—the former because in competition with the holders of more highly assessed waterfront locations the owners of the new terminal site will have an unapproachable advantage.

With the building of the slips for shipping would go the installation also of modern grain elevators and storage warehouse facilities

introducing modern labor-saving appliances. At the same time, sites for manufactories and industrial plants of every nature would be laid out, all with direct and simple water access. Land on the waterfront of New York and Brooklyn is among the most valuable properties in the world. The obtaining of it for industrial sites is impossible to any except the largest and most affluent concerns. It is already practically all utilized. With the establishment of the proposed new terminal, industrial sites adjacent to it will take on a utility and availability as great as those adjacent to the Brooklyn and Manhattan water fronts. These sites will be accessible to ocean highways and to railway trunk lines. Raw materials can be shipped to them without the transfer costs and delays of passage through the inner harbor. Already, where rail and barge transportation is alone available, many factories are established on the shallow water frontage near Arthur Kill and in Newark. Scores of manufactories will rapidly be drawn to this new area of easy transportation-access, and will take up the sites. Private warehouses, elevators for coal storage and shipyards will find this newly opened zone unequalled in the region of New York. The twenty slips or basins would be excavated partly into the land. Wharves, factories, and warehouses would inevitably and quickly line them.

Behind these industrial sites, between the slip system and the Dongan Hills, there would be left some 3,500 acres of land. This area would in time be built into residences and business blocks. The industrial importance of the terminal and its adjacent plants would quickly stimulate the growth of a residence centre, independent of rapid transit to Manhattan much as Newark is independent.

Staten Island at present is joined to the Jersey mainland by a Baltimore and Ohio railroad bridge over Arthur Kill. Five great trunk systems, however, in approaching Jersey City on the Jersey mainland pass close to the northwest point of Staten Island. An integral feature of the projected terminal development is the connection of the newly created harbor with these five lines by means of an easily-built, fifteen-mile junction railroad. This railroad will connect, at one end, the spur lines and ship side tracks at the terminal site with these strategically important trunk lines on the other. It will also give added passenger-transportation facilities to the residents of the zone, making their access to the Jersey trading centres much more convenient.

This junction branch, using either a new bridge or the existing Baltimore and Ohio bridge, would connect with the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western, the Reading, the Central Railroad of New Jersey, the Pennsylvania, and the New York and Long Branch systems. As the governing link between a modern, extensive ocean port and the territories tributary to these five systems, this fifteen mile stretch of rail mostly in New Jersey will, over night, become one of the keys to the commerce of New York.

A new bridge or a tunnel can be made across the Kill von Kull, near Bayonne, which would give a shorter inner belt line, and would offer possibilities of a junction with the National Docks Railway Branch of the Lehigh Valley system, which already has connection and interchange with all railroads reaching New York harbor from the Jersey Shore, excepting the Baltimore and Ohio.

It would further make the best of all war harbors, and the best rendezvous for the port protecting vessels of the navy—the patrol and pilot service.

With the building of the piers and the providing of their accessary facilities would come the laying out and the completion of the first aerial land-and-deep-water harbor in the world. It would have roadways and water hangars, and landing and departure fields for the reception of aerial mail, passenger and freight carriers. Its approach from either land or water would be without the hazards to air navigation which customarily surround a city. A long flight in from sea above the Lower Bay encounters none of the topographical or floating risks that a flight to landings in the inner harbor would encounter. Were a seaplane forced to descend before reaching its sheltered area in the projected terminal, it could do so with safety in the Outer Bay. Approach to the new terminal by air from inland would also be without the dangers incident to passing over city buildings—dangers which must attend attempted flights to any air harbor in the upper port.

The best location for the Aerial Station would naturally be at the Western end of the pier system at the Great Kills.

This site has the double advantage of being isolated enough from other modes of travel

to safeguard the arrival and departure of the planes and at the same time in sufficient proximity to the present and proposed railroad systems, to facilitate easy land transport.

It is well sheltered from the elements and the addition of protecting arms of land for the hydroplane bay, will make it practically ideal for its purpose.

It is proposed to make this site from the soil dredged from the ship channel.

With the ever increasing efficiency of the aero, provisions for the quick disposal of freight, mail and passengers will have to be met, so in equipping the aerial station the following elements are considered:

1. Large plain for air machines with convenient landing and starting space.

2. Sheltered bay for hydroplanes with easy access to the outside. In connection with these, a number of land and water hangars with their particular dependencies, such as machine shops, instrument shops, and repair shops.

3. Quartermaster's department with storehouses to take care of raw materials, finished products, and outgoing provisions for the planes, in easy connection with railroad and starting grounds.

4. Sufficient number of sheds with yards for the quick disposal of incoming and outgoing freight. In connection with these a building for arranging and forwarding mail and parcel post.

5. A power plant with wireless station.

6. Administration building and custom house.

7. Grand terminal station with facilities for the care of arriving and departing passengers, in connection with the pier system and aerial station, and for the final disposal of mail and freight.

8. Any other units necessary to the efficiency of the station.

While primarily utilitarian, the foregoing elements of an air harbor can be arranged to form a monumental and beautiful mass both in plan and elevation. In this advantageous location it can be developed into a crowning feature of the greatest port in the world.

The initial investment required for carrying out the union project will be, it is estimated, $6,500,000. The total outlay in the complete development of the first stage of the ship terminal will be some $15,000,000. This would include the purchase price of the land. Its capital value to the Government, or to such civic *entrepreneurs* as may undertake the development, will be based on similar estimates, from $35,000,000 to $40,000,000.

The work of the first six months including the building of the two slips and the laying of the fifteen miles of the junction railway, the acquisition of a plant for carrying out the remaining work, contingencies and administration would require approximately $3,000,000. The completion of the development would require an investment in the finishing of the south breakwater of 32,000 feet; an investment in the building of approximately 140,000 feet of docks; an investment in dredging and filling some 25 million cubic yards; and an investment in the terminal railway, including all its branches and spurs, stations, street improvements, warehouses and so forth.

They will be safe investments, safe intrinsically and safe potentially. The intrinsic safety lies in the ownership of the land, 4,000 acres fronting salt water, ready of access, within the metropolitan area of New York, and less than an hour's distance from the Battery. The purchase would be at reasonable and fair prices, not at inflated values which the utility has yet to live up to. It is land the value of which cannot decrease. It does not even depend on the future of the project, on the increase of shipping, or the coming industrial plants and residents. It is inherent in its own location and in its proximity to the business centre of New York.

Potentially, the safety of the investment lies in the income from the properties acquired, and the improvements made. This income would be fourfold; pier rentals, factory and warehouse rentals, residence and business rentals, and junction railway earnings. These four classes of income would be permanent, would take care of all depreciations and would leave very substantial profits to the owners and developers of the zone, whether these were private interests, the city, the State or the Nation. The realized project would bestow incalculable advantages upon all.

THE WAR AND THE NEUTRAL NATIONS

The Rulers Who Have Kept Their Countries Out of the European Conflict and Some Incidental Causes and Results of Their Neutrality

KING HAAKON VII, OF NORWAY

Rulers of the northern neutrals, whose rich people have made fortunes selling sup-

KING GUSTAF V, OF SWEDEN

plies to both of the belligerent groups of Great Powers while their poorer classes—

KING CHRISTIAN X, OF DENMARK

—have suffered more and more for lack of food and fuel

← QUEEN MAUD, OF NORWAY

A daughter of the late King Edward VII of England, who, like all the queens of the small neutral nations, has had a strong influence in turning the sentiment of her country toward the belligerent land of her birth

QUEEN VICTORIA, OF SWEDEN →

A daughter of the Grand Duke of Baden, one of the many European queens of German blood, who, like the former Queen Sophie of Greece, has helped to hold the ruling power of her country to a course of action favorable to Germany

THE WATERFRONT AT STOCKHOLM

Piled with American food and American goods, imported in unprecedented quantities, to be resold to Germany. Our embargo largely stopped this source of German war supplies

© Underwood & Underwood

A FOOD RIOT IN SWEDEN

While rich Swedish speculators transshipped American food to Germany and heedless Swedish farmers sold their crops to Germany, Swedish laborers were starving

© Underwood & Underwood

MALMÖ, SWEDEN

On the Sound, separating Sweden and Denmark, which lies between the Cattegat and the Baltic Sea. German submarines have sunk many ships of all the Scandinavian neutrals in these waters

GOTHENBURG, SWEDEN

The Swedish port on the strait which separates the Skagerrack and the Cattegat, and consequently at the heart of the conflict between the British Navy and German submarines to stop Scandinavian trade going to Germany and Great Britain

WHERE GERMANY GETS IRON ORE

The mines at Kiruna, Sweden. Under old treaties, Sweden has been bound to sell to Germany a certain amount of her production of iron ore, and this supply has been invaluable to the Teutons in this war

PACKING BUTTER IN DENMARK

Germany has suffered greatly from lack of fats for food, and has brought every kind of pressûre to bear on Denmark and Holland to force them to sell her butter and cheese which they produce in large quantities

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AMERICAN GOODS FOR GERMANY

At Copenhagen, chief port of Denmark. The Danes imported 33,000 pounds of American bacon in 1914 and 29 million pounds in 1915. They imported no American linseed oil cake in 1914, and 157 million pounds of it in 1916. Germany got the excess

© Underwood

TO PROTECT DANISH NEUTRALITY

Danish soldiers traveling by street car to a mobilization point. They would be helpless to prevent the violation of neutrality by either group of belligerents and hence their parade is a useless show, probably to sustain the courage of their own people. Germany has found it more convenient to use Denmark than to subjugate it

© Underwood

THE DUTCH-BELGIAN FRONTIER

The soldiers of Holland have been kept busy interning escaped prisoners of both sides who have taken refuge in Holland, and caring for Belgian civilians fleeing from German oppression of their own land

PRINCE HENRY AND KING GUSTAF

The German consort of the Queen of Holland welcomed by the King of Sweden, whose wife is a German, at Stockholm on the occasion of Prince Henry's visit to Sweden since the European war began

DUTCH FODDER FOR GERMANY

Holland has supplied hay for German cattle, which were turned into food for German soldiers, and obtained thousands of tons of concentrated fodder from America on the plea of domestic needs which went the same way into German hands until our embargo became effective

THE DUTCH-GERMAN FRONTIER

Where the Dutch sentries have been expected to suppress unauthorized export of war supplies to Germany as well as to be ready to meet the constant menace of a German occupation of Holland

OUR EMBARGO AGAINST HOLLAND

Some of the scores of loaded Dutch ships held idle for months in the Hudson River at New York because the Dutch Government would not give satisfactory guaranties that their cargoes of wheat, fats, and fodder would not be resold to Germany

LAUNCHING A CONCRETE SHIP

In Norway. The ship is launched keel up and automatically rights itself. Shipping has long been one of the two chief industries of the Norwegians. The British Government made financial arrangements to control much of their tonnage, and has supplied materials to hasten the construction of new vessels to replace the many sunk by submarines

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NORSE ROYALTY IN HOLLAND

One of the many interchanges of visits and meetings for conferences between the rulers of the European neutrals, in an effort to arrive at an agreement for common action to maintain their peaceful position between the two belligerent alliances. (In the carriage, the King of Norway and the Queen of Holland)

A FISHING STATION IN NORWAY

At Svolvaer, Lofoten Islands. Fishing is the other of the two chief industries of the Norwegians. The British Government has bought or restricted the fish catch of Norway, to provide additional food for the British Isles but chiefly to keep this food away from the Germans

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WHERE GERMANY HAS ATTEMPTED "COMMERCIAL PENETRATION"

German capital recently acquired control of some of the chief railroads of Switzerland (this aërial line is on the Wetterhorn, Grindelwald) as it had already acquired control of Swiss banks, newspapers, dye-works, and other industries

WOUNDED BRITISH SOLDIERS AT CHÂTEAU D'OEX SWITZERLAND

Thousands of wounded soldiers of all the armies are supported in health resorts in the Alps by their Governments. Once they arrive they are, of course, interned for the duration of the war or until they are exchanged. The interchange of ideas between Teutonic and Entente soldiers plays a part in the propaganda of both alliances

A SWISS CLEARING HOUSE OF PROPAGANDA

Germany first realized and used to the utmost the opportunity to get its ideas into enemy countries by means of letters to foreign visitors to Switzerland. The United States and its Allies are now using the same base for propaganda, President Wilson having recently appointed Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse, of New York, to direct this kind of work for us in Switzerland

THE LITTLE NEUTRAL UNAFRAID

Switzerland is the only small European neutral able to protect its neutrality by force, not only because its mountains are easy to defend but because it was a trained nation in arms, fully equipped and munitioned, when the war began

SPAIN IN REVOLUTION

Spain is badly governed, its people are poor and ignorant, and its industrial life depends on coal from England. The military class is pro-German: the people are anti-Government. Hardships incidental to its neutral position have made suppressed revolution chronic

THE BOURBON KING AND THE ENGLISH QUEEN OF SPAIN

Alphonso is a grand-nephew of the late Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria-Hungary. His wife is a niece of the King of England. With few exceptions all the royal families of Europe are related to one another by blood or marriage

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A PRO-ALLY MEETING IN MADRID ↑

In nearly every European neutral country, the war-sympathies of the people almost invariably oppose the sympathies of their rulers and the aristocracy. The sentiment against royalty, caste, and economic privilege explains this phenomenon

A POINT OF GERMAN ← PROPAGANDA

Gibraltar, the impregnable British fortress at the western gate to the Mediterranean, used to belong to Spain, and the German propaganda tries to excite the Spanish desire for its recovery

CARTAGENA, FROM AN AIRPLANE →

And a Spanish squadron assembled to welcome President Poincaré of France

Two upper photographs © Underwood & Underwood

WHAT IT MEANS TO BE A SMALL NEUTRAL

Many Difficulties Beset the Neutral Nations. Despite the Huge Amounts of Gold They Have Accumulated They Feel the Handicap of the War

BY

EDWIN BJÖRKMAN

"WE HAVE nothing but money over here now," said a Norwegian friend to me when I passed through Christiania in July last year.

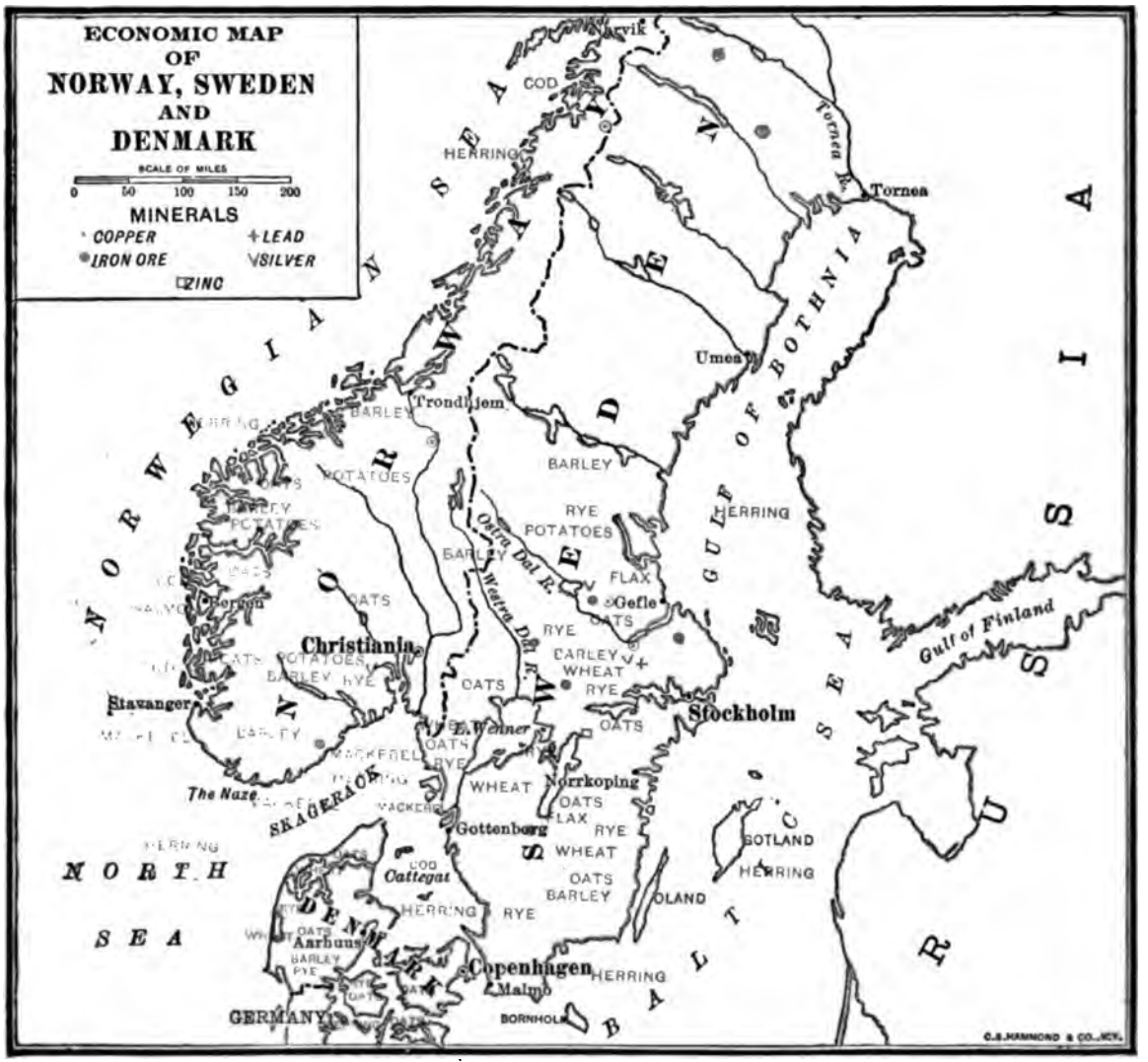
Those words give the crux of the peculiar situation which the war has created in the small northern countries. To them the war has come carrying fortune in one hand and famine in the other. They have never been richer in the one thing supposed to be capable of procuring everything else. They have probably never been so poor in all those things that, under normal circumstances, make money worth having.

The war, however, has brought them more than this supreme lesson in the real nature of wealth. It has taught them—in a most painful and, therefore, most convincing way—that, while neutrality may be a sacred duty both to oneself and others, it has evils and trials of its own, secondary only to those of belligerency. It has over and over again placed them between the devil and the deep, deep sea. It has forced them to turn the smitten cheek to the smiter, and to hide their clenched fists in their pockets. It has made them doubt whether right can exist without might. It has brought them some fortitude and patience, but much more dissension and corruption. It has put a new edge on their old strifes, and it has turned most of their old hopes and faiths into so many worthless rags.

America is no longer a neutral—thank Heaven! It was a very big neutral before it became a belligerent, and it lived very far away from the heart of the maelstrom that is now trying to submerge the whole world. America has never known and can never know what it means to be a small neutral surrounded on every side by the great contending Powers. In trying to tell what such a situation implies I shall use Sweden as an illustration—not because it is more important than other countries in the same bad fix, but because I have spent some nineteen months within its borders during the war, and because what I saw then and there is typical of what I glimpsed during shorter stays in Norway and Denmark. I may add right here that, since August, 1914, I have spent about eight months in England; and comparisons thus placed in my way make me believe that, leaving loss of life aside, the existence of the average man is rather less trying in war-scarred Blighty than on the "peaceful" Scandinavian peninsula.

When the alarum bells sounded in August, 1914, Sweden suffered a shock that it has not yet quite outlived. The Swedish people had been told that any European outbreak on a large scale would give Russia its long-cherished chance to seize the upper part of the peninsula, where the northernmost railroad in the world leads from the Finnish border to the ice-free port of Narvik on the Norwegian coast. They had been told this so long and so loudly that they believed it like a gospel. As the churches rang out their call of duty, sad-faced women hustled about to get their men folks ready, and the men ran with burning eyes and close-pressed lips to the appointed meeting places. There was no division of opinion in those early days. Every one thought that their country's "hour of destiny" had struck, and every one prepared to meet it with such courage as he could muster, though most of them felt rather helpless and hopeless in the face of the expected ordeal. Practically the same things happened and the same feelings were experienced in Denmark, with the single difference that everybody was looking toward another aggressor.

I speak of these things chiefly because I think that the tremendous relief following the disappearance of that first unwarranted fear helps to account for certain things that hap-



THE SCANDINAVIAN NEUTRALS

A battleground of economic pressure, political propaganda, and commercial intrigue. The Germans strive for iron ore from Sweden, fish from Norway, and dairy products from Denmark. They use Sweden as a friendly link in their communication with the outside world. The German influence in Sweden is more successful than in Norway or Denmark, though the Norwegians calmly accept the sinking of their ships by German submarines. The chief strategic advantage which the Scandinavian countries could confer on either side is the control of the entrance to the Baltic, although Sweden could exert a military pressure on Finland. Norway could afford useful naval bases for the Allies. Denmark, on the other hand, could hardly defend herself from Allied attack by sea or German attack by land

pened afterward. Both Sweden and Denmark seemed a little drunk with the joy of their first escape, and under its influence they became somewhat inclined to think that they might be permitted to carry on business as usual, regardless of the world-war raging at their very doorsteps. Suddenly they saw Opportunity with her cornucopia beckoning to them, and for a while they forgot almost everything else. That roseate dream, out of which they were awakened by the British and German blockade declarations, forms the background against which their subsequent experiences must be seen in order to be properly appreciated. Even in those early days, however, there were simple minds that sensed the real danger. I heard of a peasant conscript who rose out of the trench he was digging on one of the islands in the northern part of the Stockholm archipelago, wiped the sweat off his brow, and yelled to his fellow diggers:

Automobile tires are scarce in Denmark and consequently have skyrocketed in price. A single tire sold for $540 there last October

"Why the deuce are we slaving away here? The Germans won't come this way!"

Exportation was the national motto in those days. Germany and Russia were ready to buy anything at any price. Forebodings of impending scarcity seemed in particular to have driven the Germans into a sort of shopping mania. The Grand Hotel at Stockholm and the Palace Hotel at Copenhagen were packed with people who appeared to have no other purpose in life than to spend money. The most fabulous stories are told about the bargains struck and the profits made. I know of one big steamer at Stockholm which put in a load that would have made Noah's Ark seem utterly lacking in variety. It contained everything from old breech-loaders to baby bottles, from cod-liver oil to Japanese sunshades. Every last fragment within its bulging sides was paid for in cash, and then, in the end, it never got away at all. The Stockholmians laughed Homerically, prodded each other's ribs like old vikings, and shouted with each "skål" they drank: "And those Germans used to speak of us as 'die dummen Schweden'—the stupid Swedes!"

Those days were too good to last long. The vanguard of irresponsible speculators had to give way to properly authorized agents. The German thrift began to assert itself. The English blockade began to take on tangible forms. Opportunity was still abroad with a well-filled horn of plenty, but she had to be snared and wooed. Exportation, which had been a joke until then, turned gradually into a menace. The country was swiftly and systematically stripped of all its stored-up supplies. Quick fortunes were made at the expense of the future. No thought was taken of to-morrow. The Government talked loudly of the obligations of neutrality, of international safeguards, of the freedom of the high seas, and so on. The upper classes, who were making all the gains, raged at the slightest attempt at interference on the part of the Allies. But the workmen, who were already beginning to feel the pinch of rising prices, asked more and more insistently whether, after all, the policy pursued might not be unwise and dangerous. I recall the question put to me by a shopkeeper in a small country town, who knew nothing whatever about my sympathies or opinions: "Why should the English and the Americans go on sending us things, if we have not got sense enough to keep them for ourselves?"

When at last the combined pressure of the people from within and the Allied Governments from without forced the Swedish authorities to realize that nothing but radical measures would help, it was too late. The country had been set in the wrong direction. Distrust had been created abroad. Shipping was becoming more and more hazardous. Prices were getting out of bounds. Shortages were discovered in one commodity after another. Export prohibitions could not preserve what had already been sent away. Maximum prices and rationings availed little when there was nothing to which they could be applied. Confiscation itself failed to bring relief because the supplies thus gathered often fell short of one tenth of the country's normal needs. The wolf was no longer at the door—he was inside the house!

There you have the history of one small neutral during the war—told from within, so to speak. I have chosen this manner of telling it, because I wish to make the fullest possible allowance for any responsibility incurred by the suffering nation itself. The simple truth of the matter is that responsibility does not count: Norway and Denmark, with different governments and different policies, are at this moment little if any better off than Sweden. Having granted the worst, however, I can with a clear conscience produce some ameliorating circumstances which also

Gasolene, likewise, is difficult to obtain, and the price of it is prohibitive—last October, it was $2 a gallon

are valuable chiefly because they are typical.

First of all should be borne in mind the precarious position occupied by Sweden and her sister nations between the anvil and the hammer—between the conflicting needs and wills of the two belligerent groups. This position is splendidly illustrated by an incident which occurred in a Norwegian coast town, where one of the Allied Powers has a consul gifted with more zeal than discretion. One night he attended a concert given by the local Philharmonic Society. Hardly had the orchestra got under way, when a terrific whistling broke in upon its harmonies and made it stop. A puzzled and scared member of the society made his way to the consul, who proved to be the disturber.

The scarcity and consequent abnormal prices of motoring necessities—tires and gasolene, for example—have necessarily affected the use of pleasure cars. Recently there were only 17 taxicabs operating in Stockholm

"You are playing German music," the little man replied irately to the request for an explanation.

"It was Halvorsen's 'The Entrance of the Boyars'—a Russian theme treated by a Norwegian composer," protested the other man.

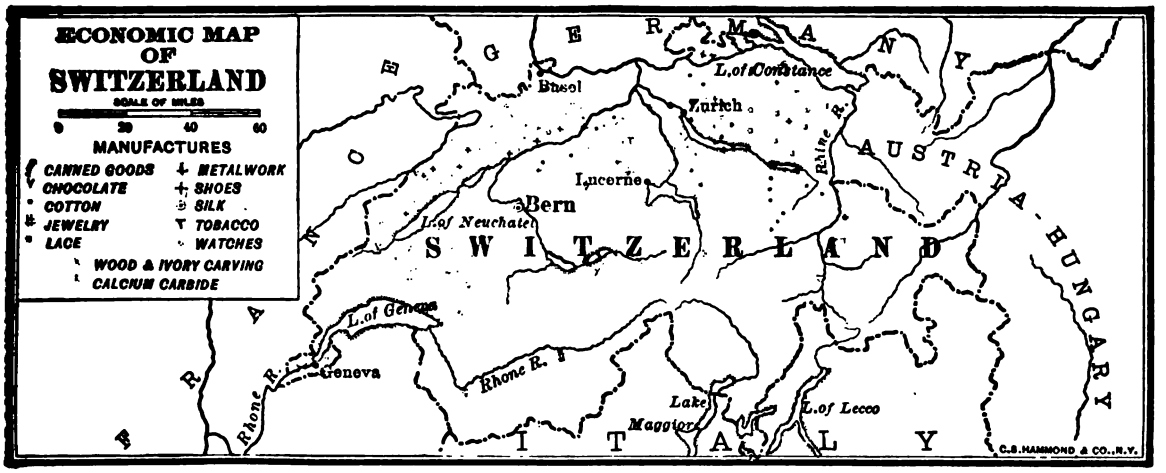
"All right," said the consul, "then you can go on."

Compromises and conciliations have been a necessity at every turn. Often arrangements with one group have been concluded with the tacit understanding of the other. Thus it has been perfectly agreed on both sides that Denmark was to send one half of her butter to Germany and the other half to England. In the same way Norway has had to give three eighths of her fish to Germany and the remaining five eighths to England. The opposed governments agreed, but when the public on either side found out that something was going to the enemy, there was generally a row and trouble for the Danes and the Norwegians in regard to the supplies wanted by them in return.

Sweden used to export 20,000 tons of butter annually, most of it to England and France. To be able to do so, she manufactured 30,000 tons of margarine for home consumption. She also used to export about 10,000 tons of pork annually, mostly to England. From England she used to take some 5,000,000 tons of coal and coke per year, this representing her direst need next to grain. When England *became unwilling* or unable to let Sweden have any more coal, Sweden had to turn to Germany, who promptly demanded butter and pork in compensation. In 1916 Sweden got more than 4,000,000 tons of coal and coke from Germany, who in return got most of Sweden's export of 14,000 tons of pork and 13,000 tons of butter, while England got next to nothing. Then England stopped all Swedish imports of oils and fats needed for the manufacture of margarine. This manufacture was brought to an end, and last year Sweden was unable to export a single ton of butter. In fact, she had to make a special arrangement for importation of butter from Denmark.

Another illustration. Russia refused to release a number of Swedish vessels tied up in her harbors at the beginning of the war. There was nothing to do about this until England began to bring out a large number of her vessels that had been lying in Swedish and Finnish ports, using the Kogrund Channel which runs through Swedish territorial waters at the southwestern corner of Scania. The passing of those vessels formed a constant temptation to the German guardboats, many of which refused to respect the territorial rights of Sweden, thus endangering her neutrality. So the Swedish Government mined the channel in question and closed it to all foreign ships, peaceful or warlike. The idea was to kill two birds with one stone: to stop German violations of Swedish rights, and to get the Swedish vessels out of Russian ports. Unfortunately the Swedish Government was not happy in its choice of methods. It said "by your leave" to the more dangerous neighbor in the south, while practically telling the Allies that it was none of their business what Sweden did with her own waters. Then England began to hold up Swedish shipping, and in the end Sweden had to open up the Kogrund Channel again—but not until she had said "by your leave" to Germany once more and paid for the desired permission by the exportation of 10,000 horses. Don't you see, too, how the exigencies of the war have turned the foreign policy of a small neutral country into a piece of knitting, where every stitch hangs together with all the rest so that you cannot tell where responsibility begins or ends?

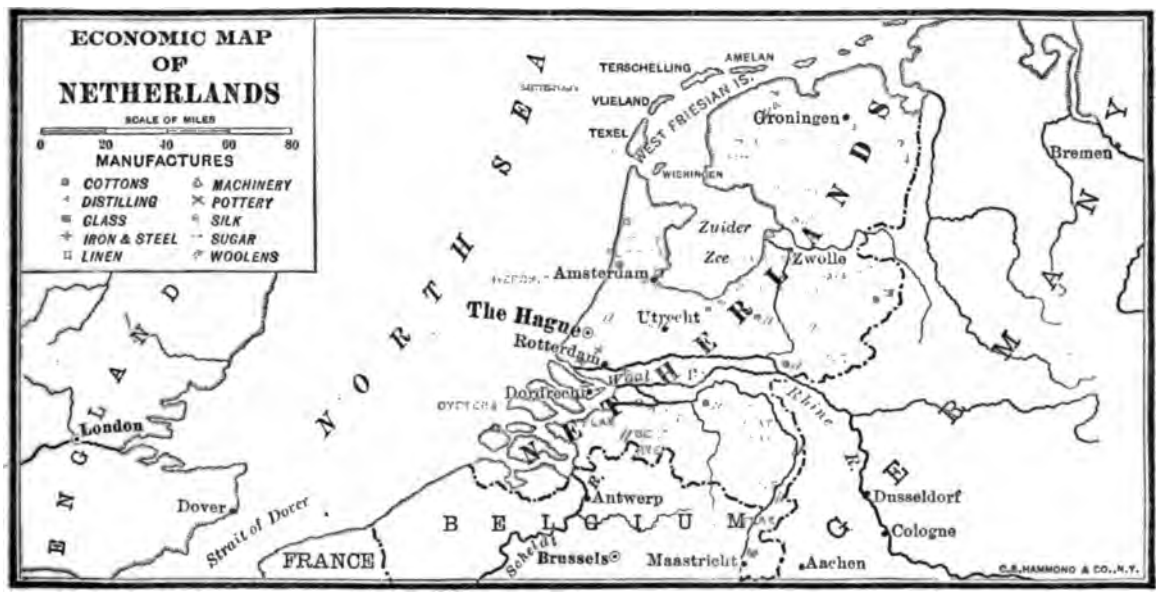
Amelioration may also be sought in the



THE KEYSTONE NEUTRAL—SWITZERLAND

With the strength of high mountains and a good army holding a strategic position in the middle of the battle line that stretches from Nieuport on the English channel to Venice on the Adriatic. Because of this position and because part of its population is German [the larger part] and part French, Switzerland is the most active centre of propaganda and intrigue. German peace drives against the Allies and Allied drives against autocracy in Germany are launched from Switzerland, and the country is rife with the spies of all countries

fact that, when Sweden, in the past, has been trying her worst, she has done more harm to herself than to the Allies. Thus, for instance, her entire export of grain and malt during the first three years of the war amounted to 10,695 tons, while her own consumption during the same period aggregated about 9,000,000 tons. She has sent iron ore to Germany, millions of tons annually, but she was bound by a double obligation—by contract and by treaty. And while, in 1917, the ore exportation to Germany sank to 3,500,000 tons, as against 5,120,000



BELGIUM'S NEXT DOOR NEIGHBOR

Holland lives by the sea and therefore cannot break with England, and she lives next to Germany and therefore cannot break with the Germans, especially with the horrors of Belgium staring at her from across only an electrified and guarded boundary line. She is, however, subject to propaganda and pressure from both sides, Germany trying to get foodstuffs either grown in Holland or imported, and the Allies trying to prevent this commerce with Germany. The Dutch privations are hard, but small compared with those of Belgium or Serbia or France or England, and her liberty is almost as surely gone if Germany wins as is Belgium's—so for this reason, in spite of German efforts, the majority of Hollanders are pro-Ally

in 1915, her exportation to England rose in the same year to about 1,200,000, as against 730,000 tons in 1915.

Finally, it must not be overlooked that Sweden as a nation has been held responsible for many actions to which she was no party. Germany's "peaceful penetration" accounts for many things. It made it possible for German subjects during the first part of the war to do many things which the Swedish Government could not stop without special legislation. In 1915 the German head of a firm at the little Swedish city of Landskrona on the Sound chartered three German steamers to ship 40,000 bags of wheat flour and 6,000 bags of jute to Stockholm. Everything was done with the most careful observation of all legal requirements. But hardly had the three steamers left the Sound and Swedish territorial waters than they made straight for the nearest German port. The guilty shipper was prosecuted, but nothing could be done beyond imposing a fine on him.

Large quantities of American pork and cotton passed through Sweden to Germany during the first two years of the war, but I don't think America should insist too much on Swedish responsibility in this matter, as our own citizens seem to have had something to do with the traffic in question. Several large American export firms have branches at Stockholm. In almost every case these were originally offshoots of branches previously established at Hamburg. Consequently they were managed by Germans when the war broke out. They were incorporated under Swedish laws and bore Swedish names. While posing as Swedish firms and operating with American capital, their policies were invariably "made in Germany." I know of one big New York firm that discharged every employee from its Stockholm branch as soon as the situation over there was brought home to them by their own appearance on the British black-list. The discharged German manager promptly started a firm of his own, giving it a name practically duplicating the old one, and the American sent over to take charge in his place had a tough job convincing the English of the difference between the two concerns. This kind of game went on until America came into the war herself.

	1916	1915	GAIN PER CENT.
Deposits in private banks	$699,289,000	$455,592,000	29
Net profits of banking companies	24,610,440	13,228,480	86
Earnings of private railways	33,039,096	26,504,193	25
Catch of Bohuslän fisheries	10,017,840	5,360,000	87
Sweden's total exports*	352,785,000*	204,896,000*	72
Sweden's imports*	306,191,000*	197,000,000*	55
Favorable balance of trade*	46,594,000*	7,896,000*	490
Exports to United States	24,610,440	13,228,480	86
Transactions Stockholm Stock Exchange	162,140,000	13,668,000	1086
Paid up capital of new companies	53,792,000	25,261,000	113

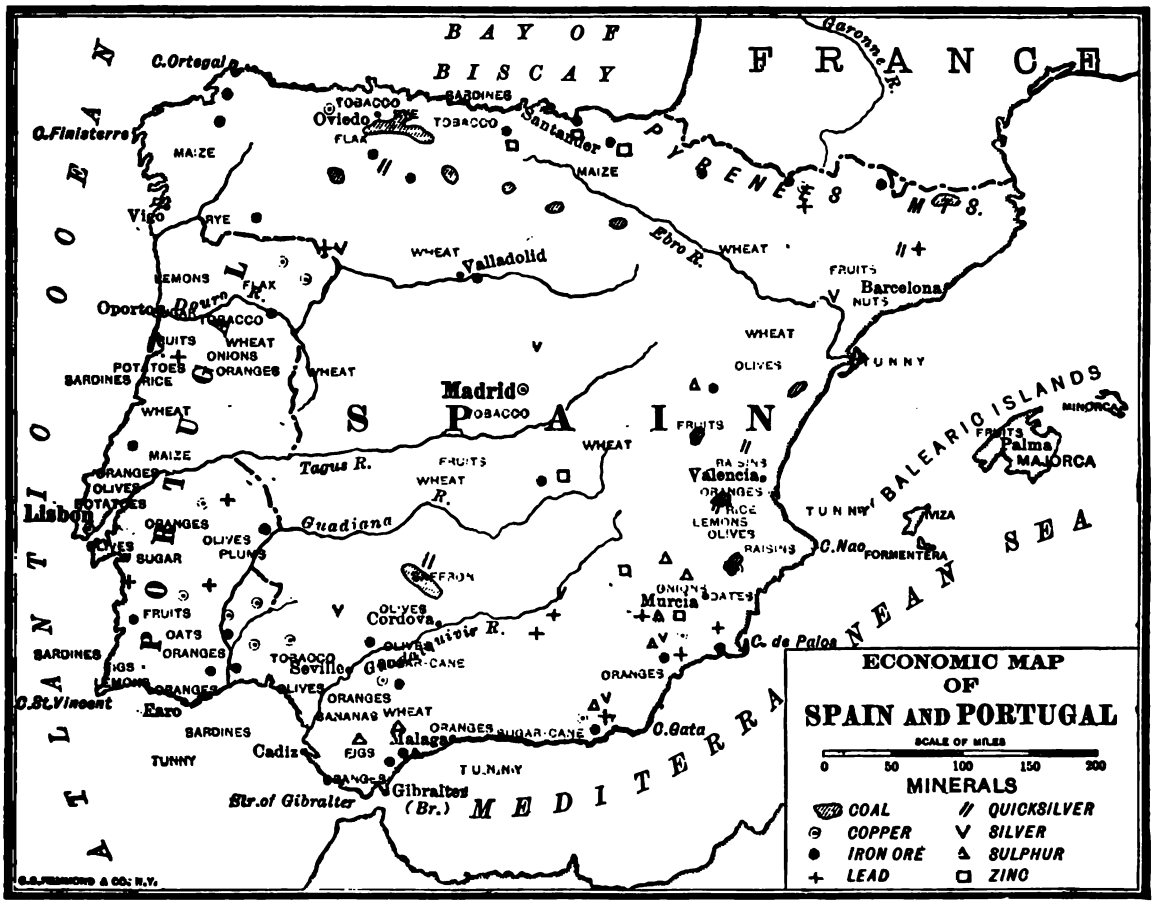
*Figures of 1915 and 1914

SWEDEN'S DOLLAR PROSPERITY

As indicated by the figures for 1915 and 1916 in the ten items listed in the table. An interesting commentary on Scandinavia's "prosperity," however, is contained in the remark of a Norwegian that "we have nothing but money over here now," and a column of "exchange" advertisements in a Gothenberg daily newspaper that deals exclusively with such staple commodities as kerosene, candles, oatmeal, coke, soap, potatoes, etc., these staples being offered in exchange, one for another. Money is not offered in a single instance, the implication being that each of these staples is considered so precious that no one hopes to get it except in exchange for something else of equal value

In the spring of 1916 ordinary low-grade walking shoes in Sweden had increased in price to $11 a pair. They are now $25 a pair

Let us now leave the question of responsibility aside and turn instead to the conditions produced in Sweden by all the various elements set in motion by the war. These conditions may be summed up by saying that life has been rendered more simple by the elimination of luxuries, but that it has been more than proportionately complicated by the difficulty of obtaining necessities. And it is with necessities that we are concerned here. Last February I wrote to my wife from Stockholm:



SPAIN'S INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES THAT HELP THE ALLIES

Although the clerical party and part of the army are pro-German or pro-Austrian, the bulk of the population, in the rising tide of liberalism, is pro-Ally and the country sends ore and other supplies to France. The German propaganda and espionage is conducted in Spain much as it was here, for the purpose of stopping supplies to the Allies, stirring up prejudice against them, and finding out military information. Spain's geographical position forbids any direct aid to Germany

In many ways we are living under war conditions. It is not only the constantly rising prices one has to contemplate, but the actual lack of many necessities. We have bread cards and sugar cards and coffee cards, etc. You cannot get a single piece of bread in a restaurant without first having a coupon clipped off your bread card—just as in Berlin. Butter is so scarce that at times we have to go without for breakfast, and we are always using what they call "war butter"—that is, an abominable mixture of butter and flour. Coal is getting very scarce. The darkening of the streets already has begun and is likely to become more pronounced shortly.

Since then things have grown infinitely worse. Prices have risen out of reach, of course. Last spring the maximum price of coffee was fixed at 55 cents a pound, but to get decent coffee—when you could get it at all—one had to pay 75 cents. By last fall coffee was practically not to be had—and no one who has not lived through a Swedish winter can tell what discomfort that implies! Some months ago the custom house officials at Malmö announced the sale at auction of *five pounds* of coffee seized from smugglers. The place was overcrowded, and the precious stuff sold at $1.56 a pound. That was in the south. A little later the custom house officials of Haparanda in the extreme north put on sale about 2,600 pounds of coffee that had been smuggled into Finland half a year before and then smuggled back into Sweden. The average price obtained was $1.90 a pound, and some parties went as high as $2.70.

Coal is now $100 per ton; tea, $8 a pound; chocolate, $3 a pound; ham, $1 a pound. Woolen underclothing has increased more than 200 per cent. in price since the beginning of

the war. Ordinary low-grade walking shoes used to be $11 a pair last spring. They are now $25. Lighting is an essential in a country where the midwinter day cannot be reckoned at more than four hours. Kerosene is practically unobtainable. So the people have had to go back to candles. The increasing demand is indicated by the following prices: August, 1914, 15 cents a pound; January, 1917, 34 cents a pound; October, 1917, 58 cents a pound. Last September the Government ordered the national candle stock inventoried and seized. It was found that the whole country had only 500,000 pounds on hand, with no additional production in sight; and the annual consumption under *normal* conditions aggregates about five million pounds. Recently candles have been stolen from the churches—a crime never before heard of in Sweden—and most of the churches were forced to forego the celebration of early mass on Christmas Day, which has long been one of the nation's most cherished institutions.

Sweden before the war used to import about 5 million tons of coal and coke per year. This supply, of course, has stopped. One result is that coal in Sweden now sells at $100 a ton, and is difficult to obtain. In Denmark, also, the coal shortage is acute. In Copenhagen's finest department store clerks wear big straw slippers and woolen blankets because there is not coal enough to keep the place properly heated

A very striking illustration of the state of affairs over there is furnished by an October issue of a Gothenburg daily. There is a whole column of "exchange" advertisements on the back page—you know the kind: when a man wants to swap a typewriting machine for a bronze Buddha, and so on. But these advertisements deal exclusively with staple necessities, which have probably never before been mentioned in such a manner. The articles offered in exchange are: coffee, sugar, butter, fire wood, pork, kerosene, candles, oatmeal, coke, soap, potatoes. The articles wanted are: kerosene, candles, sugar, coffee, rubbers, butter, milk, fruit, potatoes, alcohol, tea, and wheat flour. Money is not offered in a single case. You notice, I hope, that the articles are practically identical in both columns. This means that each one of them is regarded as so precious that no one hopes to be able to get it except in exchange for something else of equal value.

Grain is the main problem, however. The nation's store of it was confiscated by the *Government in 1916*. Bread cards have been *used for nearly two years*. The ration allotted to each individual is 50 ounces per week of both rye and wheat—which, they tell me, is 25 per cent. below the ration allowed in Germany. The baking of bread from pure wheat has long been prohibited. In the very best restaurants nothing but "war bread," made of mixed wheat and rye, has been seen since the middle of 1916. In the northern part of Sweden they have begun to experiment with bread made of 38 per cent. rye, 12 per cent. potato, and 50 per cent. reindeer moss. A normal crop will provide Sweden with two thirds of her normal consumption. The crop of 1917 was 50 per cent. below normal. In other words, it gave the country just one third of what it will need until the crop of 1918 has been harvested. This means that, to escape actual starvation, Sweden must try to find about 12 million bushels of wheat and rye somewhere during this winter.

If we turn to Denmark for a moment, we find coal shortage the principal trouble. Last spring I attended a performance of the opera "Aida" at Copenhagen. It began at 6.30 and closed at 9:45 P. M. in order to save lighting. The restaurants then closed at 11 P. M. sharp for the same reason. This season, I understand, the theatres will not be permitted to play more than three times a week—if at all. All shops are closing at 5 P. M. In Copenhagen's biggest and finest department store, Illum's, you find the clerks wearing big straw slippers and woolen blankets because there is not coal enough to keep the place properly heated.

In Sweden the railroad engines have long been using wood—which does not improve the speed of the trains. Express trains are a thing of the past. First-class carriages exist no longer. Sleeping berths have to be obtained weeks in advance. Every train is overcrowded in the most discomfortable manner. It is quite common to see passengers standing up through an entire day's journey. After dark there is just enough light on board to enable the conductors to see the tickets. The number of trains has been greatly reduced, while at the same time the traffic demands have become multiplied by the influx of for-

eigners. There are now 17 taxicabs operating in Stockholm. A single automobile tire brought $540 in October last year, and gasolene was then $2 a gallon. In Denmark it was estimated as early as last spring that traffic conditions had been reduced to what they used to be in 1881.

Every other branch of human activity is affected in the same way by the shortage of material. Many industries have already come to a standstill in Sweden. Up to little more than a year ago every shoe factory in Sweden was running overtime to manufacture military shoes for the German and Austrian armies. Then the English stopped the bark needed by the tanneries, and when the tanneries had to stop on that account, the shoe factories had to close down for lack of hides. Now the minimum home consumption cannot be met. Last fall the Swedish Government issued two regulations to ease matters up; one putting the maximum height of ladies' boots at seven inches, and the other one forbidding the use of hides weighing more than 35 pounds for any purpose but sole leather.

Tea in Sweden is $8 a pound. Coffee is practically unobtainable. Woolen clothing has increased more than 200 per cent. in price since the beginning of the war. Chocolate sells for $3 a pound; ham for $1 a pound

The lack of lubricating oils is a menace to every factory in the country. Recently men were found traveling through the rural districts where they bought up all the butter they could lay their hands on at prices way above those fixed by the Government. Their object was to mix the butter with tallow and then to sell it under the name of "purified tallow" for lubricating purposes. One of the largest concerns in Sweden, which owns iron and copper mines, iron works, steel furnaces, paper mills, and I don't know what, has had a complete plant for the manufacture of sulphuric acid ready for nearly a year without being able to put it into operation. The reason is that the machinery requires a strong asbestos flooring, and although the concern in question has severed every connection with Germany, it has so far been unable to obtain the few tons of asbestos required. The point of it is that, in a war like this one, a nation must be looked upon as a unit, and the good behavior of individuals or separate firms cannot save them from the responsibility incurred by the nation as a whole.

From what I have told above it may be seen that the whole life of Sweden has been upset and rendered more or less precarious and uncomfortable. As a by-product corruption has appeared on a large scale. Swedish honesty has been proverbial. It is still an element to be counted with, and I believe the people intend to have a housecleaning that will bring it back to its old perfection. In the meantime, however, it has suffered like everything else in the country. Trickeries and swindles of a heretofore unknown kind have been unearthed everywhere. Last year a man named Lundström, a relative by marriage of former Prime Minister Swartz, started to create a corner in wool. On the strength of it he collected $12,500,000, mostly from members of the aristocracy and the higher bureaucracy. A son of Swartz was his associate. The bubble was kept going by faked telegrams from Copenhagen about enormous purchases of wool. When it burst at last, all the money was gone, and Mr. Lundström had the tact to eliminate himself by the means of a revolver.

At a much earlier period a large Stockholm firm applied to the proper authorities for a license to export a certain number of bags of coffee to Russia. The head of that firm is one of the leading lights of the Conservative party in Stockholm, a pro-German reactionary of the purest water, but this did not prevent him from doing business with the "hereditary enemy" to the eastward. The size of a coffee bag is the same the world over, I think, and as a rule it is used as a reliable measure of quantity. But when the man in question had obtained his license, he arranged for special bags holding more than double the usual amount, and thus he was able to export 90,000 pounds instead of the 40,000 for which the authorities supposed themselves to have issued a permit. He was prosecuted, but under the letter of the law he could not be found guilty.

Thefts of metal have become epidemic throughout the three Scandinavian countries. German vessels have been smuggling liquor into Stockholm and selling it to workmen at 75 cents a bottle in silver or bills, but asking only 25 cents for the same quantity when pay-

ment was made in copper coins or in copper under any other form. German agents have been traversing the rural districts of Sweden, offering temptations of every kind for various illegal operations. Finnish political agents have visited regimental camps and barracks to buy revolvers and cartridges from the men at ridiculous prices. Swedish and Norwegian sailors have been bribed into furnishing information that has enabled German bomb plotters to sink not only British but also Scandinavian vessels, and some of the men thus led astray are now serving long terms in jail. I could go on indefinitely with similar stories, but I have told enough to indicate what is going on—and I can assure you that the mass of the Swedish people regard things of this kind as hardly less trying than actual distress.

The length of the midwinter day in Sweden is approximately four hours. Lighting, therefore, is an essential. Kerosene is practically unobtainable, so the people have had to depend largely upon candles. In August, 1914, candles were 15 cents a pound, in January, 1917, 34 cents a pound, and last October, 58 cents a pound

A special chapter might be written about the loss in lives and ships suffered by the Scandinavian merchant marines through German brutality on the high seas, but this aspect of the general situation is so well known over here that I need hardly dwell on it. There is now a movement afoot among the sailors and longshoremen both in Sweden and Norway to declare a boycott against all German-owned vessels as well as against every vessel performing any service whatever for Germany. The governments have so far been able to check this movement which, they feel, would involve their countries in immediate war with Germany, but it seems unlikely that the wrath of the large seafaring populations in the two countries can be kept down indefinitely.

The picture I have painted is one of black on black. Are there no bright spots, no silver linings, to record? Yes, a few. I have already mentioned the principal one in the opening sentence of this article. Thanks to high prices and higher freight rates, money has been made on an unprecedented scale in all the Scandinavian countries. One of the largest private banks at Stockholm, operating with a capital of 53 million *kronor*, cleared a net gain of 25 million ($6,750,000) during 1916. A well known Swedish ship owner having a large business in this country and South America is credited with having earned 20,000,000 *kronor* in one year. A business man with a seat in the Upper House of the Riksdag is said to have pocketed 30,000,000 *kronor* ($7,100,000) as the result of a single deal, in which several Allied Governments were deeply interested. These are sample cases merely. The large influx of money is also proved by the high value of the Swedish *krona* everywhere, and by the prohibition against the importation of gold issued at one time by the Swedish Government.

The riches thus acquired have been squandered by a fool here and there. As a rule they have been applied systematically and practically to make the three countries financially independent. Always poor hitherto, they have had to operate with foreign capital—this being one reason why Germany was able to get the hold on them it had at the outbreak of the war. But that is a matter of the past. Even Swedes of decided pro-German sympathies have proved themselves anxious to see their country freed from such dependence. The buying up of Swedish securities abroad, and mostly in Germany, has been going on steadily for more than two years, and the same is true in regard to Norway. The stock of the Norwegian Hydro, probably the largest concern in that country, is now said to rest exclusively in Norwegian hands. Sweden's largest mining concern, the Grängesberg Company, of which the state owns one half, has already acquired the large block of shares held by Sir Ernest Cassel in England, and is now negotiating for the $12,000,000 worth of stock held by Senator Possehl of Luebeck. The same company has just bought back the large and rich Strassa and Strypa ore fields in middle Sweden, which were acquired by an Austrian syndicate only five years ago—which, by the by, furnishes another indication of how badly off the Central Powers are financially. Quite recently the Grängesberg Company ordered eighteen new freight steamers, aggregating 115,000 tons, from various Swedish shipyards, the Swedish Government having appropriated $750,000 to be used as loans for the extension and improvement of Swedish shipbuilding.

These are not the only items on the credit side. Increasing shortage has cut down indulgence, which at one time threatened to become a national menace. Wine, which flowed so freely during the first years of the war, has become extremely scarce. The consumption of liquor in every form has been cut down by regulations, and is now being cut down still more by the prohibition of manufacture. No *brännvin* (white Swedish whisky) can be produced this winter except as a by-product at paper mills, etc. Beer is already unobtainable in many districts. National prohibition seems imminent, and while this undoubtedly implies a certain amount of genuine hardship in a climate like that of Sweden, it is nevertheless something for which the best minds in the nation have long been striving. Distress, on the other hand, has not yet reached the fatal point, and so it is quite in keeping with the eternal fitness of things to find the mortality rate of Sweden reduced from 15.7 to 12.6 per 1,000.

Without wishing for a moment to underestimate these compensations, I must insist that they will signify very little in the end, if the conditions now menacing the very existence of the three little northern neutrals should continue to develop in the wrong direction. The same will be the case, if, by our own action or that of anybody else, those countries should be thrown into the seething caldron of the war on the wrong side—or *prematurely* on the right side. As long as Germany still has the power of striking hard at any one of them, we must do our best to keep them out of reach of "the mailed fist," and to do so we must help according to our best ability to keep them out of starvation. If, at the same time, we will pay proper attention to the spiritual side of the situation, so to speak, we shall do still better by them.

In the minds of those small nations the war has fostered a great deal of skepticism and pessimism. They have learned their complete helplessness in a world all armed. They have begun to fear that right will never more be able to hold its own against might in the councils of the nations. They have come to look upon all the belligerents with distrust and upon the future with a feeling akin to despair. What they need is reassurance of the very kind contained in President Wilson's speech to Congress on December 4th last year (1917). They want peace, universal peace, enduring peace, but they believe that it can be had only on the basis of a justice so perfect that it deals fairly even with the enemy.

IS QUEBEC IN A MOOD FOR CIVIL WAR?

The French-Canadian's Attitude Now That Conscription Has Been Endorsed at a General Election

[*The author of this article is one of the best informed publicists in Canada and is peculiarly fitted to discuss the French-Canadian question by reason of his long residence in Montreal.*—THE EDITORS]

THE same influences that led the French Canadians of Quebec to vote almost *en bloc* against the new Union Government and its conscription policy assure their peaceful acceptance of that policy now that it is the law of the land, enforced by an administration with a strong popular mandate.

Quebec is queer, by present-day standards. It is in the new world but not of it. Its ideas, ideals, and modes of thought are almost medieval—peasant France before Voltaire. Insulated from the rest of Canada and from the great currents of the world by his language, his naïve indifference to affairs which touch him not tangibly, and by the jealous guardianship of a too maternal Church, the French-Canadian dwells in a peaceful backwater of time, quite content. He breeds large families, is a devout Catholic, and is reared so devotedly in the discipline of the Church that secular law finds in him an instinctively obedient subject. Sharp and intimate must be the impulse that shall stir him from his peaceful round.

To impel a whole people voluntarily into war requires some great passionate motive. Germany had the carefully fostered passion of hate and of conquest. France had "La

Patrie," invaded and despoiled. England had the honor of her plighted word and the ways of her narrow seas to guard. The heart of English Canada thrilled irresistibly to the call of the blood.

But French-Canadians have no sacrificial sense of loyalty to England, though grateful to the British flag for generous treatment of an alien folk brought under its folds in the old wars. They have no more devotion to modern France than twentieth century New Englanders have for England. They are Canadians only—fond of describing themselves as the only Canadians—after three centuries of rootage in the soil, and they have not the vision to see that this war threatens Canada.

Canadians! Yes, but in a narrower sense than the ocean-to-ocean Dominion. Their conception does not reach to the West and with Ontario they have an ancient feud, recently embittered by legislation restricting the use of the French language in Ontario schools. When they say "Canada" they see little past the Ottawa River on the west and Chaleur Bay to the eastward. Within those limits lies their real national ideal.

Obviously there is slim foundation here for enthusiasm toward a war far overseas involving world politics—a war whose news filters slowly to them, often through antagonistic media.

For Canadian naïveté furnishes fertile ground for mischievous seed sown by demagogues, bigots, and civil counselors of various sorts, helped not a little by men of their own type, but different creeds, in other provinces.

For instance, Henri Bourassa, the apostle of a nationalism which is really a clerical provincialism, has preached openly all through the war a gospel daringly close to sedition. This is simply another war of rival imperialisms, he says. Britain is as much to blame as Germany. Canada had no business to go into this Old World fight, anyway—she was not consulted about the policies that led up to it—but having gone in, she has no right to ruin herself.

"They say we are slackers," said Mr. Bourassa recently to an interviewer. "Well, I have told many of my intimate friends in France that we are doing more for a war in Europe than Europe would do for a war on this continent. Quebec has sent 20,000 men *out of 2,000,000* population; that would be *equivalent to 400,000 men* out of France's 40,000,000. Does any one suppose that if Quebec were at war with the rest of Canada, or if Canada were at war with the United States, France would send 400,000 men over to help us?"

And he supplements these plausible arguments—which no American paper would be permitted to print—with a consistent sequence of accusation and argument regarding the ill-treatment of the French in Ontario. Why go overseas to fight Prussianism when we have Prussianism next door? he asks. And in a recent letter to the editor of *Le Croix* in Paris, he argued in effect that the protection of French-Canadian rights and French-Canadian Catholicism against English and Protestant encroachment was just as important as the defense of France against Prussian invasion.

To counteract this propaganda there has been no effective effort. Apart from Bourassa's paper and its echoes the French press is weak. The English papers have little French circulation outside the cities. Most of the French in the country districts read no newspapers and receive most of their information through their parish priests, the majority of whom are of Nationalist sympathy. And the politicians who could reach the people are either Nationalist or afraid or—like Blondin and Sevigny who left the Nationalists in 1911 to join the Borden Government and fell dismally in the last election—distrusted and devoid of influence.

Is it any wonder that this people felt little interest in the war and resented and resisted a policy that would drag them individually from their comfortable home places and thrust them into it?

But will they not rebel, now that this repugnant policy is forced upon them?

If the old Government had enforced it in the fashion desired by some of their supporters, there would probably have been trouble. But not now. The sting of injustice that rankled in the operation of a new and radical law by a Government which had outlived its elected term of authority is gone, together with the suspicion that conscription was designed to penalize Quebec. None can question now the authority of the new ministry's mandate, and the early execution of the Military Service Act has shown that Quebec, being mainly rural, will benefit more than any other province by the exemption of farmers. Civil war, even

more than international war, demands a strongly passionate motive, and pacific Quebec has in the present situation no food for passion. For resentment, for pique, for sullen determination to bide the time they may have grounds, but not for the red flame of war and sacrifice. Quebec will keep the peace.

The occasionally whispered fear to the contrary is based upon the incendiary utterances of some young French fanatics last summer, which were followed by a couple of dynamite outrages, notably the partial destruction of the summer home of Lord Atholstan, proprietor of the Montreal *Star*. But these developments provide one of the strongest guarantees against violence now. They not only shocked public opinion throughout Canada but brought home to the agitating leaders themselves the possible harvest from their sowing. The swift and salutary punishment of the criminals—two of them professional desperadoes rather than politicians—clinched the lesson so that no more will be needed.

And all this, one must remember, was in the earlier stages of the conscription campaign, when the law was in the hands of a Government which had outlived its allotted span of power, which contained some ministers more or less discredited, and with which the public in general were discontented. There is no doubt that the old Conservative administration would have been soundly beaten on conscription or any other issue, had Sir Wilfrid Laurier been able to hold his party together. Anti-conscription sentiment, though noisiest in Quebec, was by no means confined to that province and would have defeated the measure had Sir Robert Borden not been able to win to its support the best of the Liberal leaders throughout Canada, enabling him to make his strong non-partisan appeal for Union. These Liberals were conscripted into the Union for the period of the war by their conscientious conviction that compulsory service was necessary if Canada was to maintain her war efficiency, by their knowledge that the United States Government was anxious that we should not embarrass its own draft policy, and by their belief that Laurier's proposed referendum would result in an adverse verdict—as a similar appeal has resulted in Australia.

So the Union was formed and, on its combined appeal of patriotism and non-partisan efficiency, swept the country with the exception of Quebec, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island—the two Maritime Provinces refusing to distinguish between the new Government and the old, and voting against Borden because of his former cabinet's delinquencies. As a matter of fact the chief complaint in Nova Scotia was, not that the Borden Government was doing too much in the war, as Quebec protested, but that it was inefficient and had not done enough. But, in the mass, the Union carried a big majority of the parliamentary seats and of the popular vote, even before the soldiers' ballots were counted. That settles, beyond cavil, the question of its authority to produce any legislation it can pass through Parliament.

Of course the plea is made, and with reason, that this election was not the same as a referendum. As Bourassa has pointed out in his *Le Devoir*.—"No line of demarcation has been traced between those who are in favor of the war to the finish and those who wish to limit the destructive effort. In repeating everywhere that the Liberal party is for war to the end, Mr. Laurier and his principal lieutenants have left no issue to those Canadians who think it more patriotic to save Canada from ruin and suicide than to bleed it white without profit to the Allies. In announcing everywhere that the sons of farmers will be exempted from military service and that the second-class conscripts will not be called up, the Government assured for itself the support of a large number of anti-conscriptionists."

But, though this is true, it finds small sympathy. Referenda are not a part of Canada's political system. Theoretically our governments are so directly responsible to the people and can so quickly be overthrown if they transgress the popular will, that these provisions for direct appeal are not required. Laurier held one once, on prohibition, because he did not wish to accept the responsibility of Yea or Nay, but nothing came of it. The English provinces voted in favor; Quebec voted contrary, and Laurier cannily pigeonholed the figures and kept on saying nothing. So there is no particular enthusiasm here for that item of political modernism. The big thing is, that the new Government has its draft on the legislative bank boldly endorsed by a majority five times as large as that of the last Government and can constitutionally forge ahead along the lines it has marked out. And in this course Quebec, peace-loving and

law-abiding, having filed its formal protest as a ground for future appeal, will quietly acquiesce.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the provincial premier, Sir Lomer Gouin—a man of solid, sound ability, more of the traditional English type of parliamentarian than of the French—have carefully refrained from comment on the outcome of the election, and both are pledged to constitutional acceptance of the popular verdict. The young firebrand orators who were preaching revolution a few months ago are dumb as death. Rumor has it that the price of their silence is present exemption. The anti-conscription press is apparently far more interested now in "the isolation of Quebec" than in the operation of the draft and *Le Devoir*, frightened of its own Frankenstein, is urging moderation upon the victors. "At the moment," it says, "two currents of opinion are exercising their influence on the Government and its triumphant majority. The most turbulent element of the Unionist party wants to drive the Government to measures of reprisals against Quebec, and, generally speaking, against all those who opposed unlimited participation in the war. Others, more reasonable and also more intelligent, understand that there is no advantage —indeed, a great disadvantage—from every standpoint, in exasperating a population naturally peaceful and loyal, but strongly attached to its traditions. We like to believe that the more solid heads of the cabinet, Messrs. Borden and Doherty, will not allow themselves to be carried along by the hot-heads of their party."

And in the meantime the Government is going ahead with the Conscription Act prudently and with equal justice. All the local exemption tribunals are chosen locally by a non-partisan central committee. The farmers, for the present, are practically all exempted. So are all engaged in useful national industry and those upon whom helpless dependants live. Married men are not included in the first call. Practically all who are taken now are those who should have been the very first to go under voluntary recruiting and for whom it is difficult to work up any sympathy. The whole procedure is working smoothly and quietly and promises so to continue. When the authorities start out after deserters there may be an occasional local flare-up, but even that is unlikely unless the Government changes its preliminary conciliatory methods.

A notable sign of the times is the tendency of Nationalist leaders to turn from discussion of present issues to preparation for the future, practically admitting the permanency of present policy while the war lasts. To quote Bourassa again—he is the brains, as well as the moving spirit of the party—"In spite of the outcome of the elections it may be said that there certainly exists in Canada—in all English-speaking Canada, even in Ontario, a good remnant of the old nationalistic sentiment. Once the war comes to an end this healthy, wholesome sentiment will come to the surface and react against the feverish delirium of Imperialism. When the national elements take up anew the fight against the powers of Imperializing jingoism and colonial parasitism, whether English or French—these same elements, I say, will find in the mass of the French Canadians their natural allies. English Canadians—those, of course, who are more Canadian than they are English—will find out that in this crisis, as in many another historic crisis, the 'traitors' and the 'cowards' were the faithful depositaries of the true traditions of the Canadian nation and the relentless fighters for the survival of the Canadian nation in its entirety."

There the situation rests and should rest. If it is disturbed Quebec will not be alone to blame.

"We've had this Quebec problem on our minds for fifty years," says the dominant section of Ontario, "It must be settled some time. Let's settle it now!" But it is a problem which must not and cannot be "settled" except by establishing conditions of mutual understanding under which it will settle itself. Quebec has constitutional and treaty rights of language, law, and religion, to the maintenance of which the honor of the Dominion is pledged. They cannot be disturbed. But the barrier thus created is slowly dissolving, and in spite of narrow provincialists and clerics, will continue to dissolve with the inevitable widening of educational currents. Between the ideals of Bourassa and those of the newly emigrated British-born there is a long journey, and it is not impossible that the Canadian of the next generation will find his Government on the road between.

LETTERS FROM AMERICANS OVERSEAS

From members of the Americans Abroad Club, who tell of their work and experiences in other lands

MISS Mary E. Gladwin, connected with the American Red Cross work in Greece, witnessed the destruction of Saloniki by fire, and her letter describing it, through the courtesy of a mutual friend is published herewith. She writes:

Saloniki, September 15, 1917.

How good of you to remember me in this far country! Thank you very much for the book which will give pleasure to many people in this land where reading material is very scarce, and for the kind little letter which did me no end of good. This is the first breathing space since the fire. Mr. Stewart, Mr. Frothingham, and Dr. Ryan have gone to the front for five days to look up the opportunities for increasing our work. It is the greatest comfort and help to have two intelligent American men to look over the ground, and to have some understanding of what we are trying to do.

On Saturday, August 18th, our man came to tell me that there was a big fire in Saloniki; he thought that it must be a big magazine. We are on one horn of the crescent shore, in the curve of which lies Saloniki on the hillside. From the long pier jutting out into the bay in front of us the fire seemed to be too far up in the Turkish quarter to endanger our magazine about which we are always anxious. Dr. Ryan, coming in shortly afterward, said he was anxious about the city and proposed that we should all go down as soon as we had had a hurried dinner, at which Colonel Picot, an old friend of Belgrade days now attached to the Prince Regent of Serbia, joined us. By this time it was dark and before starting we ran out on the pier for another look. We were far enough removed from the people affected to feel all the magnificence and awe of the spectacle. Great blocks of buildings blazing to the sky without check; the hillside with its crowded houses and the waterfront with its big hotels on one side and innumerable barges tied up on the other, splendidly illuminated. The fire seemed to have started near the farthest corner of the old wall and to have come down through the Turkish houses into the Jewish quarter to the Via Egnatia. We drove down as rapidly as possible. One could not imagine such a scene. An overcrowded narrow-streeted city, practically without fire-fighting apparatus, women and children fleeing with such belongings as could be quickly gathered up, the streets packed with motors, Greek Cavalry, French marines, the great English lorries doing splendid service, Italians, as usual, working might and main, Serbs, Russians, Jews, Turks, and an occasional American.

We went at once to the Olympos Palace Hotel, where Dr. Ryan had his office, and secured all his papers, although the wind was then blowing in the opposite direction and it seemed unlikely that the fire would reach that point. As soon as Dr. Ryan appeared he was surrounded by people asking for help. While the motor was away, removing a crippled girl and an old woman from a house which a little later was ablaze, we made our way through the crowd of soldiers, sailors, and refugees, up Venizelos Street. We saw the high wooden roof of the bazaar take fire; and, most awe-inspiring, through the arches we saw the flames creep to the tip of a tall minaret, a monstrous flaming candle against the sky. Back to the Olympos to wait for the motor. While it was gone on another errand, Colonel Picot and I stole away up a back street behind the blazing bazaar to the Via Egnatia. As we stood looking down the street all aflame, a peculiar thing happened. We were in front of a closely shuttered shop, apparently all dark within, when suddenly a thin sheet of flame blew across the front followed by clouds of smoke; holding each other by the hand like children, Colonel Picot and I ran down the side street. As we looked back, all in a moment, the building was like a furnace roaring to the sky. When we found Dr. Ryan, he had determined to take me home. The two men with great difficulty managed to get me through the crowd as far as the Splendid Palace Hotel where a Serbian officer seized the doctor by the arm, begging him to take the motor to save a great sum of money belonging to the Serbian government. As I stood against a post in front of the Splendid, it became apparent that the terrible Vardar wind which had been blowing at terrific speed all the evening had changed its direction. The fire quickly reached the waterfront, crossed the street and caught a barge on the other side. We were cut off from home and the poor frightened people had only one direction in which to flee, the fire in the rear and on one side, and the water in front cutting them off. Dr. Ryan was soon back with the money and as many people as the motor would hold. It was decided that Colonel Picot should try to get me home by boat.

The congestion was by this time beyond words, the people were struggling frantically with every kind of belonging, chiefly, it seemed, with rolls of bedding and big mirrors. After we had gone a

few steps, we met Mr. Buck and with much effort we arrived at the French Naval Station where Colonel Picot obtained a tug. The harbor was crowded with shipping, several barges had taken fire, and as we steamed across the bay we saw the Splendid burst into flame. A pillow caught in our rudder and delaying us for some time gave us an opportunity of seeing the whole waterfront afire at rather close quarters. The tug was too big to come to our pier so we were left at the White Tower steps. The little park was full of homeless ones who could go no further, and the street, the whole of the two miles home, was one struggling mass of people. Here and there old men, women, and children lay in the gutter or on the sidewalk so that it was difficult not to step on them. Shortly after we reached home two of our kind neighbors, English majors, who had come all the way by boat, came over with a message from Dr. Ryan and to warn me that if the wind changed again, as it was likely to do any minute, nothing would save our part of the town. In that event the fire, they said, would reach us in three hours. We remembered that there was a Franco-Serbian ambulance in the garage, Mr. Buck went for it while I packed all our food supplies, blankets, and cots and put them ready out in the hall. Every half hour I went down on the pier but fortunately the wind did not change.

Dr. Ryan reached home at daybreak, having been obliged to go thirty miles around Mt. Hortiach. He started out at once with Mr. Buck to see what temporary relief could be instituted. The city continued to burn all day Sunday and all of Sunday night. Beans, rice, tea from our store were brought out and cooking began at once. It is the kind of situation in which our Chief shines. He won golden opinions for his promptness and energy. For a week or two, we kept open house for Americans. There was hardly a restaurant left and many people with plenty of money went hungry. The lowest estimate of the number of homeless people is 60,000, the number is probably nearer 80,000.

It is most fortunate in all sorts of ways that we have the house. For one thing I could not have lived in an hotel in Salonica, which, in truth, was one of the chief reasons why Dr. Ryan took it, and then we were able to make room for Mr. Stewart and Mr. Frothingham. It would have been very difficult to have found any other place for them.

ATHLETICS AND CHINA

Mr. R. H. Ewing, writing from Hangchow, describes the introduction of athletics into Chinese life. The importance of this movement lies in the coöperation developed in team play—an element hitherto largely absent from Chinese life and one necessary to the development of a national spirit. With China in the World War, it may play a really great part in its history.

It has been said that the Chinese do not know how to play, and it is true in the sense we think of play. They have the play instinct, but the social, economic, and religious conditions have crushed it as footbinding has crushed the foot. The congested cities, narrow streets, and the necessity for the use of all vacant ground for food production have pushed the child into a six by twelve room where he has tried to satisfy his play instinct by shooting craps and playing dominoes. Then the religion has helped to keep him there by discouraging physical exercise that would arouse the emotions. The student has been kept in a long gown, his fingernails and hair allowed to grow very long, and his voice kept in a soft feminine tone. It might be said that the Chinese were in a half conscious state for many centuries.

A few years ago the Christian mission schools began the plan of hiring young American college men to teach western athletics to the Chinese. It was a big step in the growth of the eastern world. It had to be made in a patient, tactful way, because for the Chinese student to part with his long gown, fingernails, and queue, was worse than a sheep parting with her wool.

Track and field athletics were first introduced because of their simplicity and chance for individual fame. The Chinaman likes personal honor and if he fails to get it in a contest he has lost his face. The first organized sport introduced was soccer. At first he failed to see the big points of coöperation in the game. He wished to do all the work himself or not at all. At last basket ball was introduced in the simplest form. Team work had to be kept out until the player was not afraid to throw and catch the ball. He had never before used his hands to throw and catch in a scientific way.

Now a team is developed and no longer do they think in terms of one man. Each player is like a spoke in a wheel. All work for the good of the whole. They have learned coöperative activity in a game with fair play against the opponent.

When a student graduates from one of these schools he has learned a game of sports that will help him in the game of life. He has activity, courage, spirit of fair play and team work, bound up in a spirit of love for the game. He has a power that cannot be crushed by the corrupt, grafting forces that have been working in this vast empire for centuries.

Many of these students are holding positions in the government to-day. By reading the newspapers you can know what they are doing. A team, larger than a basket ball team, has started a game for the country against a band of selfish grafters. Sometimes their aim looks hopeless but if they keep up the game they will win out.

MAN AND HIS MACHINES

Some Beneficent and Labor-Saving Instruments and Devices of the Red Cross—a Miniature Range for Training American Airmen

© Brown Bros.

A DEVICE FOR FOLDING GAUZE

In appearance it is nothing so much as an inverted table. Iron rods are inserted through holes in each of the four upright posts and the gauze is folded over these. When the folding is finished, the rods are withdrawn, and the gauze is ready to be cut into strips for bandages

MECHANICAL DEVICES TO MAKE EASY THE— —ROAD TO RECOVERY OF WOUNDED MEN

(Left) An Electric Bullet Detector. A Carbon plate, placed in contact with the human body (it is here shown attached to the arm) forms the positive element of an electric circuit. A steel bullet or other metallic substance that may be lodged in the body forms the negative element. As the instrument with which the surgeon probes the wound comes in contact with the bullet, a distinct sound is audible to the surgeon through a head piece and receiver which he has adjusted to his ears. (Right) A plaster of Paris remover. The slightly curved base of highly polished metal to make gentle its operation, is inserted at the edge of the cast, the wheel of blades is started revolving and the cast is removed rapidly and almost painlessly. The device is operated by electricity

© Brown Bros.

AN AUTOMATIC SOCK-KNITTING MACHINE

It may be adjusted to knit socks of various sizes, and a fast operator can knit a pair of socks in thirty-one minutes. This speed, of course, would not be practicable for one operator over an extended length of time. The machine is operated by hand

WINDING BANDAGES BY ELECTRICITY

After it has been cut to the desired width by the machine to the right, the gauze is now ready to be wound into rolls. In winding, the gauze passes over a guiding reel immediately *before it is* wound on the top reel. This *insures even edges to the roll, and by feeding the gauze taut, the operator can turn out compactly wound rolls very rapidly*

AN ELECTRIC GAUZE CUTTER

So rapidly does this little machine go through the gauze that it is possible to cut an entire roll of 100 yards in about three minutes. It may also be used for cutting muslin, flannel, and various hospital garments

© Brown Bros.

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FOR KNITTING SWEATERS

Like the sock-knitting machine, it may be adjusted to knit sweaters of various sizes, and it knits four different kinds of stitches. A completed sweater may be turned out in one hour; a pair of wristlets in twenty minutes. This machine, also, is operated by hand, although an electric motor could be attached

DEVICES FOR CARRYING THE WOUNDED

A wheeled stretcher, drawn by a trained dog, used for removing French wounded from the field. The boys in the photograph are of the Society of Military Preparation in Paris

A cycle car field ambulance (above). The wounded soldier is placed on the stretcher in the front part of the machine. (Below) One of the sleds used by the British forces in Egypt for the transportation of wounded across the desert

© Underwood & Underwood

An ambulance trolley capable of carrying four wounded men. It may easily be pushed by two men, on tracks specially laid for it.

The photograph shows two "cars" of the "Barnton Tramway," used in the British Royal Army Medical Corps

© Committee on Public Information

TRAINING AMERICAN AIRMEN ON A MINIATURE RANGE

The Air Service cadets in the gallery at the top of the picture are simulating the conditions of an aërial observer looking down from an airplane 6,000 feet above the ground, on a part of the front line trenches actually reproduced in the map below. The instructor in the foreground is flashing various colored lights, representing different kinds of artillery fire, on the map in accordance with the schedule at his right, and at varying speeds as shown by the stop watch. The cadets must make full note on their own maps before them of the location of the shots and prepare the radio messages which they would send. These messages are checked with the actual schedule of the instructor, in order to test the cadet's accuracy and speed of observation and transmission. Men who are not quick and accurate enough to gather intelligence in the skies are eliminated at this stage of the training

The World's Work

ARTHUR W. PAGE, EDITOR

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MOTOR TRUCKS TO SOLVE THE FREIGHT PROBLEM

TERMS: $3.00 a year; single copies, 25 cents. For Foreign Postage add $1.00
Published monthly. Copyright, 1918, by DOUBLEDAY, PAGE & COMPANY.

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Entered at the Post Office at Garden City, N. Y., as second class mail matter.
Entered as second class matter at the Post Office Department, Canada.

Unsolicited manuscripts are welcomed by the editors and are carefully read. They cannot, however, be returned unless they are accompanied by proper amount of postage.

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The NEW COUNTRY LIFE — The GARDEN MAGAZINE

CHICAGO: Peoples Gas Bldg. — GARDEN CITY, N. Y. — NEW YORK: 120 W. 32nd Street.
BOSTON: Tremont Bldg. — LOS ANGELES: Van Nuys Bldg.

SENATOR GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN

Of Oregon, the chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, whose recent criticism of the War Department's conduct of the war aroused public sentiment to demand a broader vision in our military plans and a more practical organization to carry them out

THE
WORLD'S WORK

MARCH, 1918

VOLUME XXXV NUMBER 5

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

ON MONDAY, February 4, 1918, almost exactly a year from the date when Germany began active hostilities against us in her ruthless submarine warfare, came the announcement that our troops had taken over a sector of the Lorraine front. That marked the beginning of our active participation in the war on land.

Our chief enemy, the active German army, consists altogether of about 230 divisions of between twelve and fifteen thousand men apiece, or from 2,760,000 to 3,450,000 men. At least a half million of these must be left on the Eastern front to help Austria watch Russia. At the most not more than 3,000,000 can face the West.

Against these the British have about 2,000,000 first-class troops in France. The French have altogether about 2,700,000 men —probably at least 2,000,000 of the first class. Not counting our troops, which are as yet in negligible quantity in the line, the Allies outnumber the Germans at least 4 to 3, or perhaps somewhat less than this because of the Allied troops sent to Italy. But while the Allies have not a very large superiority of present numbers, they are better off in reserves. The British have men enough to force the fighting this year as they did last and to keep their ranks full with fresh men all the time. The French have not the reserves to be so continuously aggressive.

The Germans also lack reserves. The continuous British offensive pushed them hard last year. They took many divisions from other parts of their line to bolster up their front opposite Ypres. They had drawn men from the Cambrai front with almost fatal results. Any German offensive must be a desperate move based upon a false idea of the French strength, or upon domestic necessities.

On the other hand, we can expect the British to begin again in the spring their continued pressure, and the French from time to time to launch their sharp attacks, limited only by their lack of reserves.

Is there victory in this programme? Perhaps, but it is by no means sure. Our margin of advantage is not enough. All eyes look anxiously to the American Army to increase that margin and make victory speedy and certain. When our first full million, with reserves behind it, begins its push along with the British and French, that ought to be the beginning of the end. When is that to be?

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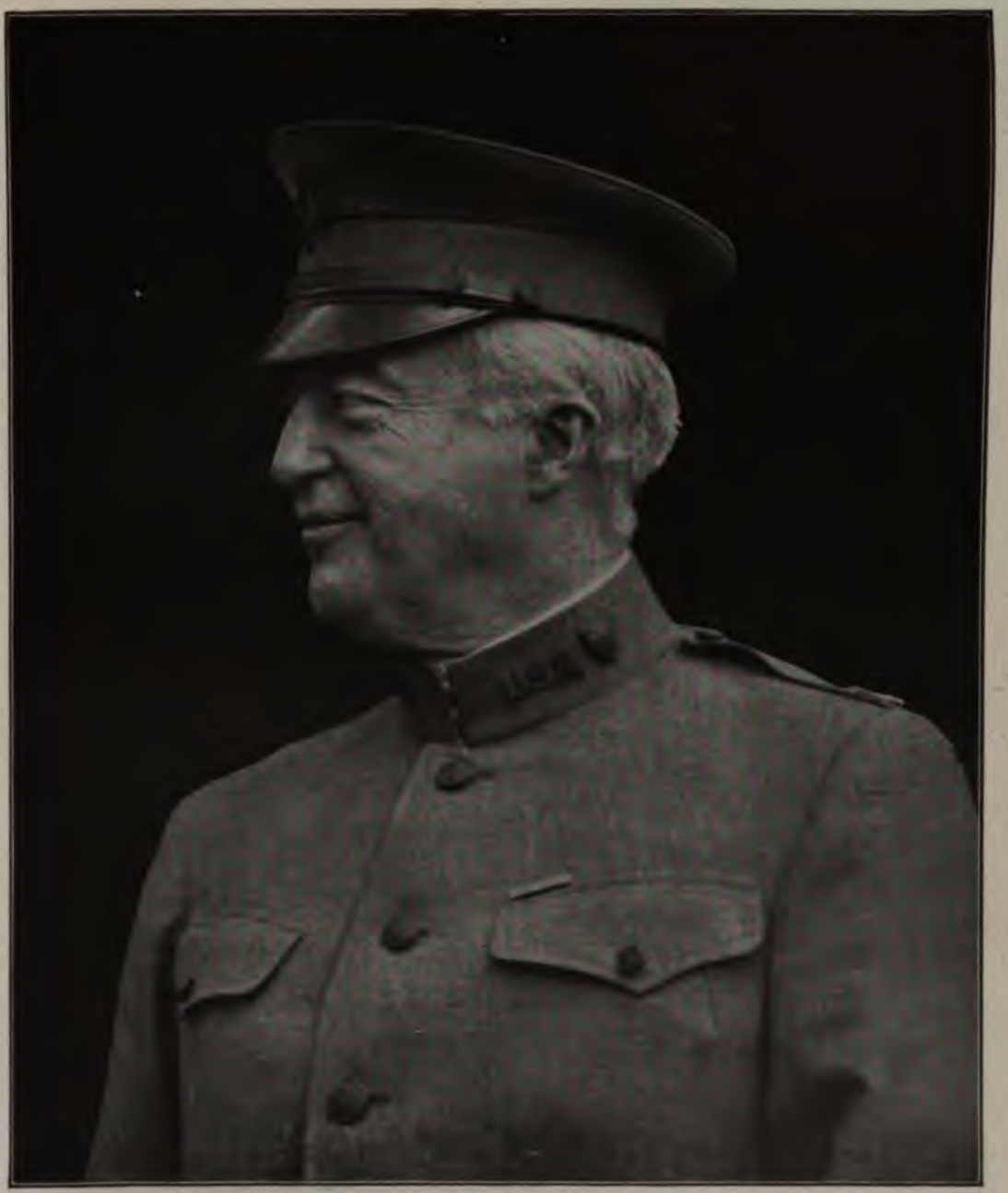
MR. DAVID R. FRANCIS

Who, as American Ambassador to Russia, has had the difficult task of caring for American interests at Petrograd during the critical period of the revolution and of the Bolshevik régime



THE LATE MAJOR AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

The former Congressman from Massachusetts, who for a long time before the war was one of the strongest Congressional advocates of military preparedness, and who put his theories into practice by resigning from Congress to become a colonel in the Reserve Corps. Later he submitted to a reduction in rank in order to hasten his going to France. He died recently of pneumonia at Camp Wheeler, Macon, Ga.

Photographed by Pirie MacDonald

MR. EDWARD R. STETTINIUS

Of J. P. Morgan & Company, who, shortly after Senator Chamberlain's recent criticism of the War Department, was appointed by Secretary Baker to be Surveyor General of Army purchases, bringing to the aid of the Government his experience in buying Great Britain's war supplies in this country

An Open Letter to President Wilson

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: This letter contains a digest of opinion of a great number of men who have had an opportunity both from near to and from a distance to study the workings of our war machine. The line of thought which it follows is very general among those who are close enough to our war activities to be well informed, and it is held by so many people of such different political and material attitudes and of such varying pasts that it seems worthy of attention.

In the first place, if you had opportunity to listen to the unguarded conversation of your fellow-countrymen you could hardly help feeling the quickening pulse of a justifiable pride in the extent to which you have lifted their ambitions for a just and a democratic world. Very many who have been by long habit somewhat cynical of improving standards of international morality have been caught and invigorated by your enthusiasm for human freedom and the possibilities of improving civilization. And, as a nation, having subscribed to the high doctrines which you have formulated, our endeavor to attain them will bring us to a higher level than we should otherwise even have striven for. The standards you have set are held very preciously by the American public.

Along with this feeling, and as universal among those who are where they can see the war machine, is the feeling that the vision which you have put into our war aims is lacking in our war conduct. Some blame you for this. Many others blame Mr. Baker. But those who have analyzed the situation most carefully blame the Council of National Defense. That body was created to make the comprehensive plan by which the whole strength of the Nation could be turned toward the conduct of war. Its function was to start all necessary war activities, foresee their possible conflicts with each other, and prevent friction. It was to look on our Nation as one huge machine for waging war and see that the various parts of this great machine turned rapidly and in unison. Once given its policy by you, it was to have the foresight and vision to direct the Nation's activity so that men, clothes, arms, food, ships, and countless other things would flow from the different departments of the Nation in its capacity as a war factory until an army of the proper size arrived on the battlefield at the proper time to win this war.

Mr. President, almost no one believes that the Council of National Defense has had this vision or has it now, or that it has a sufficiently comprehensive grasp of the raw material, labor, industry, and transportation possibilities of this country to create and guide a plan to make use of them to their utmost. The congestion on our railroads, the lack of bunker coal, the necessity for Dr. Garfield's sudden order suspending industry for specified days —these things as well as the shortages of clothing, rifles, and machine guns for the Army and the delays in our shipbuilding programme show that the Council of National Defense has failed in foresight and direction.

When the breakdowns in our war machinery came, you summoned new men to repair the damage and get the machine under way again, but in practically every case, Mr. President, the difficulty has been given to you to solve after it was in a serious condition, and not in time to prevent serious delay from arising. The Council of National Defense did not urge upon you the necessity for rectifying the railroad situation until the congestion approached a national calamity. It is doubtful if the Council had much to do with it then. The creation of the American-British committee to manage shipping with our Allies did not occur until we had gotten into such a bad condition that we were losing a considerable percentage of the carrying capacity of the vessels which were available. These are but instances of a general condition.

When, finally, these various problems are brought to you, you remedy them one by one, but you have not supplied the deficiency which has allowed them to occur and become acute. That deficiency is in the Council of National Defense. It has not functioned successfully as a War Cabinet with vision, foresight, and authority. There is little difference of opinion on this point. There is some difference of opinion about the reasons for its failure to measure up to its task. Many people believe that the cabinet members who make up this body are and must be so engrossed in the conduct of their various departments that they cannot free themselves sufficiently to create and guide the great war programme as a whole. As you know, many others do not be-

lieve in the capabilities of these six cabinet officers. Others, again, feel that, although capable along certain lines, these men have not a familiarity with our manufacturing and commercial practices to enable them to visualize the country's abilities and direct its activities.

The general belief is that the relief for this situation is in a body working directly under you and clothed with your authority, containing a combination of men acceptable to you who have knowledge of finance and government policy, and also men who, like Mr. Stettinius for example, are familiar with the industrial processes of the country. Senator Chamberlain was pointing in this direction with his War Council bill, but no one would haggle for any specific bill. If the Council of National Defense could be invigorated and relieved of other duties and perhaps reduced in numbers, it might serve. But its failure so far is against it.

There has been objection raised to this idea on the ground that it reflects upon your conduct of the war and Mr. Baker's. The desire for a war council or a reinvigorated Council of National Defense cannot reflect upon you unless the creation of the original Council of National Defense cast that same reflection. The desire for a new body, or at least a reformed one, is merely the desire to have accomplished what the present existing body fails to do. And certainly, Mr. President, no one expects you to foresee and direct and formulate our war aims, and at the same time keep a day-by-day grasp on all the activities of this country in such a way as to foresee and forestall difficulties and achieve coördination. It is obviously impossible. The only question is whether the machinery for doing that for you and under your direction could not be much improved. If this question is a reflection on Mr. Baker, it is in his capacity as Chairman of the Council of National Defense, for the fact that the War Department's activities, especially the priority orders, were chiefly responsible for the breakdown of transportation is more serious than are some of the shortages in war equipment.

Along with the feeling that the Council of National Defense has failed to foresee and prevent breakdowns and stoppages in our war machine is a growing conviction that your military advisers have hitherto failed to picture to you how large our military forces must be to provide for speedy and certain victory, and with this conviction is the fear that they have not yet based their programme upon victory at any particular time. Is it not true that our Allies are now making plans with us on the basis of what strength we can conveniently deliver? And is not the real problem to find out what strength is necessary to beat the German armies and then deliver that? Surely it is not impossible for us, who outnumber the German people three to two, to add enough to the French and British forces, which already outnumber the German armies, to force those armies into unconditional surrender. The fear that our military programme is not adequate for our duty in this war is not based upon the fact that the Council of National Defense or any other body in authority is not willing and eager to make every sacrifice to obtain victory, but on the fear that there is not a sufficiently clear conception of what armed forces are necessary to insure victory—and on a fear that there is not a sufficiently clear conception of how vital the element of time is in the conduct of this war. In 1917, we lost the aid of Russia's large army. That enabled the Germans to conduct their attack on Italy, which forced our Allies to withdraw from France about as many men as we now plan to get there by this summer. War is an uncertain thing. It is not safe to expect our Allies to await our coming at our convenience. It may take 2 million men in 1918 to do what one million could have done in 1917. It might take 3 million to do in 1919 what 2 million could do in 1918. The history of this war has been that our Allies have never been able to exert their strength together. Belgium, Serbia, Russia, and Rumania have been sacrificed to that defect. If we are long in reaching the firing line with a big army, history may well repeat itself to our very heavy cost.

These feelings, Mr. President, have given rise to a very earnest hope that you would create some body of men in whom you have confidence, relieved of immediate administrative duties, to create a programme that would include a sure and speedy victory by delivering overwhelming forces against the Germans while our Allies are still in full fighting trim. And this hope is much strengthened by your request that Congress give you authority to create any organization you need to conduct the war.

Such a body would have to have men of vision, of foresight, and of intimate knowledge of the structure of our economic life. It would have to have the facts and tendencies of production and distribution at its finger tips as you have the facts and tendencies of political life. A body that under your direction moulded our war policy in this wise could lay the essential foundation of coördination, for all activity would be a part of one great plan, and on this basis no fundamental conflict could arise.

A war council or a single man, created under the general powers you ask, working with you and under your general direction, might perhaps be criticized as too great a concentration of power. The criticism would not be just because you already have practically unlimited power subject chiefly to the willingness of Congress to vote money, and that limit would still remain. But the relationship between you and the rest of the administrative branch of the Government with Congress could be greatly improved. As you have pointed out so cogently in your writings, it would be a great improvement on our method of government if the administrative departments appeared frequently before Congress and kept Congress constantly informed instead of appearing only to urge appropriations or before an investigating committee. You complain that the recent Congressional investigations have kept Mr. Baker away from his work. Mr. Baker is, after all, responsible to the people of the United States in the persons of their representatives in Congress. They voted the money. They are responsible for it. It would have been much better had Mr. Baker kept Congress constantly informed than to have had Congress in ignorance until public complaint suggested an investigation. This same theory of responsibility of which you have been in the past the ablest spokesman will be more necessary than ever if the supreme direction of the war conduct here is concentrated as it should be. If some member of the war council, or whatever name such a body may have, appeared frequently before Congress, or on confidential affairs before Congressional Committees, and kept the direct representatives of the people informed about our war operations, it would save time, save friction, and promote that most earnestly desired coördination between the executive and legislative branches of the Government. And if this happened we should have you to thank for the inauguration of a great and permanent reform in our governmental machinery as we already have you to thank for such a reform in our financial machinery in the shape of the Federal Reserve System.

But more important and immediate than this permanent benefit is that concentration of power and a responsible use of it would help tremendously to win the war for the preservation of civilization.

An Open Letter to Secretary Baker

DEAR MR. BAKER: You have told the public recently that our Allies had more men on the Western front than the Germans could put against them there. That means that our Allies cannot be defeated on the Western front. You have also intimated that there is no certain prospect of beating the Germans until our army gets there in large numbers. It is also true that the longer we wait before our army can begin a great offensive the larger our army will probably have to be and the greater our share in defeating the German armies, and the greater the number of our losses.

With this situation confronting us, every American must want to know how our present accomplishment and future plans compare with the task in hand.

You have told us that we had a "substantial" army in France six weeks ago, that we shall have a half million men in France by summer, and that on the 1st of February there were a million and a half men ready to go to France whenever there was shipping to carry them. You also stated that "no army of a similar size [as ours] in the history of the world has ever been raised, trained, or equipped so quickly."

You have not told us when you expect to have an army on the firing line of sufficient size to start the "great drive" to victory. That is, after all, the main question. The citizen must therefore figure out for himself from your statements when he can expect the great offensive for which our war effort is made.

We cannot publicly discuss what you meant by a "substantial" army, nor is it necessary, for it is included in the 500,000 men you expect to have in France by summer. Between

then and fall it ought to be possible to send over another 500,000. Giving them three months to finish off their training would mean that we should have a million men ready to fight on February 1, 1919 [less casualties], with your other 500,000 in reserve in France finishing its training. From that time on the numbers should increase rapidly.

This programme limits us to a minor part in the conflict this year. It is even hard to find a military authority who believes that this is a sufficient programme to be sure of victory over the German armies in 1919. It is certainly the least accomplishment which the American public expects, for the public cannot but believe that the energies of 100 million intelligent people, if properly directed, should, after two years, be able to deliver a blow that would defeat the armies of 70 millions who are already outnumbered and who will then have suffered five years of war. Even 3,000 miles of ocean ought not to prevent that.

Your tone of optimism and your figures give us reason to hope for at least such a result. But, Mr. Baker, there are other things which have come to our attention which give us misgivings, which sometimes make us doubt whether you are not misleading yourself and us.

It was only a few days before you announced that there were 1,500,000 men ready to go to France that there appeared a statement by the medical branch of the Army that during the four months ending on January, 18, 1918, the average enrolment in all cantonments, forts, etc., in the United States was 1,100,000 men. The men added since can not be far advanced in training. Even this million, on a service basis, would have been short of rifles, machine guns, shoes—in fact, short of practically every item of equipment—if they had gone when you stated they were ready to go. Undoubtedly you were counting upon the fact that they would get equipment before transportation could be arranged for them. Moreover, it is hardly possible that all these men can go abroad even if they are equipped, for we shall need a good many to guard the Mexican border, to garrison Panama and other outlying posts, and to protect military and munition-making property in this country.

These things cause most people who follow our war preparations closely grave concern. They arouse the fear that you are not planning to insure German defeat even in 1919. Moreover, you do not yourself set the German defeat as your standard. When you tell us that no other army was ever raised, equipped, and trained as rapidly as ours, you seem to set other nations' accomplishments as our goal. But if we beat all records and lose the war or even prolong the war, it is nothing.

But even if this standard you set were a sufficient one, we still have some misgivings about your facts. The comparison is, of course, aimed at Great Britain, for it is the only nation which had to raise, train, and equip an army under conditions similar to ours. Great Britain is a nation of less than half our population. In the British Isles a million men were raised in two months—not counting the regular army and territorials. Two million men were raised in a year. The regular army and territorials began fighting immediately. The first of the new armies attacked the Germans nine months after war began. At the end of fifteen months the British forces, including Canadians and Australians, had had 495,000 casualties. In that time, too, they had transported a substantial expeditionary force to Gallipoli.

The United States is just as willing and able to fight as is Great Britain, and if our record does not compare favorably with the British record it is the fault of the management of the war, not of the country's ability to fight.

We had misgivings, Mr. Baker, about your attitude toward preparedness, and they were justified. We had misgivings about your early vision of our part in this war. They too, unhappily, have been verified. The anxiety about your present vision is not altogether allayed. We have been at least as worried as you have been about the organization of your department. Its recent reorganization has happily cleared much of that misgiving away.

We are still of the opinion that there are too many boards of advisers in and around the War Department, but there is great comfort in the fact that you have in vital positions such men as Mr. Tripp, Mr. McRoberts, Mr. Franklin, Mr. Stettinius, and General Goethals.

It is a great encouragement to the public, also, that you have reorganized the General Staff. That body's main duty was to give you and the President a military programme com-

mensurate with the particular war we are engaged in. It evidently failed to do so or failed to convince you, for when you recently stated that you had shipped more men abroad than you originally intended you gave evidence that the original intention for this year was very small indeed.

The public is grateful to you for the fact that you have set a new standard of honesty in the conduct of war by this country. There has been the inevitable waste and extravagance which goes with the necessity of making all war preparations after war is declared, but the management of our war effort has certainly been cleaner and less influenced by politics and favoritism than ever in the history of this country. We have you to thank, also, for having set and maintained a new level of morality in and around the camps and cantonments.

On the other hand, neither before the war nor since does it seem that you have had much appreciation of the magnitude of preparation for war or the vital pressing necessities of this particular struggle. It is for this reason that we earnestly urge you now to plan adequately for the men who are to follow the army of a million and a half which you assure us is ready to sail. If a million and a half ready to fight in 1919 will not finish this struggle, let us have three or four million there in 1920. To accomplish such a result we must begin on a big scale now.

Have We Got the Ships?

AFTER Secretary Baker had said that shipping was the weak link in our effort to defeat Germany, the figures of our shipping began to take on an even greater interest than before.

There are now about 2,400,000 tons of American ocean shipping. There are about 700,000 tons of German and Austrian shipping that has been taken over by the Government. There is a prospect of 300,000 tons of Japanese ships available in exchange for plates and shapes. That is, altogether, about 3,400,000 tons. During the year 1918 Mr. Hurley expects that we shall build at least 4,500,000 tons. If the estimate of 5 tons per man is correct we could keep nearly 700,000 men abroad on the 3,400,000 tons if it were all available for army uses, which is very far from the case at present. The total present tonnage plus the estimated tonnage building for 1918 is 7,900,000, which would maintain nearly 1,600,000 men abroad on the basis of 5 tons per man. There is a possibility of adding to this in two ways. There are coastwise and lake ships which can be added to the overseas fleet, but only if adequate foresight is shown in arranging to meet the added burden which will fall upon the railroads. The improvement in the docking facilities here and in France, the improvement in the management of the fleet, and the increase in the average speed of the vessels might be made to lower materially the average tonnage necessary per man in France, though Mr. Baker's estimate of two tons per man seems very optimistic. Improvements are being made at the points of debarkation. The American-British Committee to manage the fleet on this end ought to help materially to shorten the waste time of vessels here. As most of the new ships are faster than the present average of cargo ships, the time taken in passage ought to be somewhat reduced. Added to this, Mr. Baker says the British are willing to squeeze their food and munitions supply and turn over a million tons to us.

On the other hand there are several discouraging elements in the situation. In 1917, the U-boats sank about 6,000,000 tons of shipping. We built during that time 1,400,000 tons, the British certainly did not build more than 1,200,000 tons, and the building of Japan and all neutrals would not add up to more than 1,000,000 tons. The world has much less shipping, therefore, now than at the corresponding time in 1917. If the sinkings continue it will mean that England will probably have to call back the tonnage she now offers, to keep her people fed. A good deal of our estimated shipbuilding, as a matter of fact, was ordered by the British and commandeered by us after it was begun. Moreover, so far we have not been able to devote by any means all of our shipping to the army and the navy.

The first and most vital difficulty in our way is the German submarine campaign. We have tried to fool ourselves into the belief that when the submarines sink only eight or ten big ships a week we are having a victory. But it is not true. Six million tons of shipping was sunk in 1917—that means that we and our Allies were defeated at sea in 1917. The task of the combined navies was to blockade Germany and to keep the seas open for food, mur

tions, and men going to England and France. Germany was blockaded, but the sea lanes are less open in 1918 than they were in 1917 by at least two million tons of shipping. Our Navy has done extremely well for its numbers engaged, but the numbers have been insufficient, so far, to accomplish the task which it must accomplish if we mean to win the war by fighting. There is reason to believe that the destroyer programme is now making good progress, but when sufficient destroyers will be at sea to reduce radically the successes of the submarines we do not know. If this happy result occurs early this year, we shall save thousands if not millions of tons of vitally needed shipping. If it occurs late this year, or next year, we shall probably lose this shipping. Whether we lose it or not is the test of the management of our Navy. However smoothly it functions ashore, it is not fulfilling its real purpose unless it gives us victory at sea. Victory at sea means the suppression of the U-boats.

II

The second obstacle which we have to overcome in our shipping efforts is a shortage of labor. Mr. Hurley had an investigation made by an outside agency as a check on his estimates of the building for 1918. This estimate was 4,500,000 tons. His own hopes are higher than this. But he is frank to say that neither his hopes nor the more conservative estimate can be realized without an increase in the labor supply.

The labor situation in the shipbuilding industry has been difficult mainly for two reasons. The great increase in yards necessitates a new army of workmen. The shipbuilding plants were forced by circumstances and allowed by the Government to bid against each other for labor, and other industries bid against them. The result has been that the total supply of ship workers has not been adequate and, what is far more serious, the men have, under the pressure of solicitation, moved rapidly from one place to another. This has led to a smaller output than these same men would normally have accomplished. The high wages with the resulting competition for men, as often occurs, instead of stimulating production has actually decreased it. Another disadvantage has been the lack of housing facilities near many of the new yards.

After some five months' discussion the Department of Labor had decided [when this was written] on a national wage for all shipyards to prevent competitive bidding for each other's employees, and the Emergency Fleet Corporation had called for 250,000 volunteers—skilled mechanics to build ships for the period of the war—men who will serve the country as shipbuilders as soldiers serve it in the field. Here every manufacturer can serve his country by explaining this call to such men of his establishment as are fit to meet it and by urging them to join the shipbuilding army. The building of ships is a vital link in our effort to defeat Germany.

Our shipping condition is bad, but there are ships to get our men to France if all possible are used to their utmost capacity and if our building programme suffers no further checks. If all possible ships are used to carry our troops abroad and supply them, it will mean giving up trade we now have, and it will mean increased burdens on our railroads. They can meet this situation only if they are relieved of some non-essential business that is now going on. The German submarine has forced the economic war into the United States just as our blockade has forced the war into the homes of the Germans. And we have got to meet it by drastic economies in our use of transportation and labor for anything but war purposes. If the Government will state the facts in all their seriousness and apply the remedy, the people of the United States will do their part. They are willing to go to any length to drive this war to complete victory at the earliest possible moment.

A New Era

THE modern conception of the Red Cross marks a new era in the history of civilization. Until the time of this war, civilization had progressed as far as to prescribing as unlawful the confiscation of private property without compensation in war but the damage done by war to humanity was looked upon as inevitable. Even in our Civil War, which was cleanly conducted, the world—friend, foe, and neutral alike—looked upon the destruction which Sherman wrought from Atlanta to the sea as something which the women and children of that section would have to bear unaided. There was no Commission for Relief in Georgia. There was no Red Cross to rebuild ruined villages

either during or after the war. We sat by and let the camp-followers of war—disease and poverty—carry on their campaigns year after year against people who had been robbed of most of the means of defense against these evils. That is the war after the war which civilization should dread. That is the war after the war which the Red Cross means to stop. Our Red Cross, the British, the French, the Italian, and many agencies, governmental and otherwise, are banded together to rob war of its terrible and continuing after-effects. It is the Red Cross idea to give the war orphans a chance in life, to keep hope and self-respect in the hearts of the refugees, to fight sickness behind the lines while the war is still going on, to rebuild the villages in order that communities may live and work again in civilized conditions. It is the Red Cross idea to start industry again, even to start new industries, that widows and wounded may not sink into poverty and dependence. It is the Red Cross idea to keep the morale of the people high during the war and the courage of the people clean for the time after the war. It is the purpose of the Red Cross to help win the war, and, when that is done, to keep the after-effects of the war from so lowering the economic health and moral standards of people that they cannot enjoy the political liberty they have preserved at such a cost.

The Red Cross idea goes on further even than this.

Serbia is a devastated, ruined, depopulated nation. The German-Austrian-Bulgarian object has been to obliterate the Serbian people. Of a million and a half Armenians who lived in Turkey in 1914, a million are dead of Turkish persecution and massacre. The prosperous districts of Belgium and Northern France have been systematically ruined and depopulated.

The people of these and the other blasted regions of Europe must have a chance to begin their economic life again. There must be money to rebuild the factories and restock the farms, remake roads, and set up again the schools. No matter how just such an idea might be, it is not within the realms of possibility to get money for these purposes from Germany. The Germans have wrought the destruction, but they have not the wherewithal to repair it. The money must be raised elsewhere and raised with governmental backing, for it cannot be raised otherwise. England has already led the way. It has furnished most of the money which the Commission for Relief in Belgium has spent to keep Belgium alive during the war. That was no ordinary financial transaction. The only security that Great Britain had that Belgium would exist again to honor the debt was that her armies and the French armies would drive the invader out. And when that was done Belgium would be ready, not to repay, but to borrow more. When we are done fighting, we must be ready to finance the rehabilitation of the frontiers of civilization that have been destroyed by the Hun. This cannot be done by gifts through the Red Cross. The Red Cross can be of immense assistance, invaluable assistance. But the vast sums necessary are an obligation that will fall on the Allied governments, just as do the expenses of war. In previous times the richer nations took advantage of their less fortunate neighbors to lend them money on terms that made them economic dependents. If we do not deal generously with these scarred places, the diseases which they will suffer will infect the whole of Europe and America as well. We shall have lost the war after the war unless we can finance the rehabilitation of civilization's ruined frontiers on generous and successful terms—terms which will not mean economic servitude or foreign domination.

This high conception of decent economic aid has underlain President Wilson's attitude toward Mexico, but Mexico's irresponsibility has made the practical application of the idea almost impossible. But that difficulty will not interfere with the rebuilding in Europe.

Economic Pressure on the United States

MR. THEODORE H. PRICE, in *Commerce and Finance*, has pointed out that three fifths of our annual effort as measured in dollars must be spent in carrying on the war. If we could hire some one else to carry on the war, supplying the 15 billion dollars would not be difficult. But we cannot hire any one else. We have got to get about three fifths of all the human energy in this country directly hitched to the war machine. That means that very little labor can be left to non-war industries, that very little raw material can be given non-war industries, and very little railroad facilities given non-war

freight. Every person should of his own accord cut to the minimum the money he spends which encourages people to produce non-essentials for war. Every person should of his own accord turn every bit of labor he can into war work. And when the Government prescribes general rules toward these same ends, every one must do his utmost to see that they are accorded instant and complete observance.

And the country will do this. It could hardly have a more severe test to begin with than Dr. Garfield's fuel order. A large proportion of the men who had to close their factories under this order honestly and sincerely believed that the remedy was not the proper one for the evil. They knew that the order was suddenly promulgated, that it had not been worked out carefully, that it was not the result of foresight, but the result of a sudden realization of how bad a situation we had drifted into. Yet the order was obeyed, as any other order will be obeyed. The public will, of course, protest against ill-conceived measures which fail in their object, but even these will have their chance.

There has been a theory in political circles that the American people had to be coaxed carefully into this war and, once in, must be led gingerly along into real participation. There has been nothing to substantiate this. From the time of the *Lusitania* sinking, if not before and directly in the face of our position of neutrality, a large and ever-increasing part of the population recognized, then, the reasons for participation in the war that the President stated last April, and the rest of the country agreed the minute they had official confirmation of the German intentions. Since April the public voice has ever been on the side of the more vigorous prosecution of the war. The public response to the recent Congressional investigations is but the latest manifestation of this. The American people want, above all things, to defeat the Kaiser's armies. When that is done, the main war aim of the average American is to get rid of the Kaiser and all his kind, for he recognizes that the close corporation of kings is a direct menace to democracy, ours included, just as it was in the days of the Holy Alliance. Wherever the theory of Divine right obtains, or dynastic purposes influence foreign policy, the king business is a menace to America.

To Take Advantage of Strikes in Germany

THE recent strikes in Germany stirred again the hopes of those who believe that the German people have in them the desire and the power to throw off the Kaiser's theory of Divine right and the control of the Government by the military caste. Strikes in Germany and the possibility of a revolution there are direct aids to us, just as strikes here are an aid to the German armies. And we should take the utmost advantage of the German internal disorders. When their armies are weakened in numbers by the withdrawal of men to maintain order in the interior, and weakened in morale by conditions behind the lines, it is the favorable time for us to strike if we have the force to do it. A German defeat at such a time would still further lower the prestige of the military party and the morale of the army. And if the pressure on the front is so severe that the General Staff cannot spare men to cow the people in the cities, then perhaps we can expect the much discussed revolution to materialize. There are many men in Germany with a big following who are eager to get rid of Kaiserism. But they have little hope of a successful revolution as long as the German army is intact and unbeaten. If once that army is so driven that the prestige of its leaders is gone at home and it sees no hope of victory, then perhaps we can expect that a rising in Germany will hasten the end and also provide a Government with which we could make peace with a clear conscience and a hope for the future. Every internal disturbance in Germany is, then, but another clear call to us to redouble our efforts on the fighting front.

The Coördination of Coöperation Vs. The Man on the Job

WHEN we joined the war there was urgent need of collecting a vast amount of information in Washington rapidly. The Government had to find out where and how to buy almost everything needed for a modern war and had to find it out quickly. When the Government wants to investigate any subject in peace times it generally sends a Government commission all over the country to ask questions of the people who know about that subject. Under pressure

of war the process was reversed. The people with information came to the Government. Pretty nearly all authorities (and many who were not) on anything touching on the war (and almost everything does) went to Washington of their own accord or were sent for. All offered the Government their knowledge and their services in the best of spirit. To assemble all this valuable knowledge the Government appointed those who on first sight seemed the ablest of this volunteer army of information into any number of advisory boards. They were to collect and prepare the information and pass it on to the officers of the Government as fast as they could use it.

This scheme assembled a vast volume of information in a comparatively short time. But naturally enough these commissions didn't agree. Their functions overlapped. They got in one another's way. Some were dropped and others revised, but still there were so many advisors to every actor that action was held up and delayed. Then the period of coördination and coöperation set in. From every centre of advice or action some one set out every day to meet with every one else who was interested in his problems. But there were so many people concerned that every one used up so much of his time correlating any contemplated advice or action with the advice or action of everyone else that only a relatively small amount of result accrued from the effort. This kind of a coöperation-coördination system easily degenerates into the formula "delay action until you can see some one else to authorize it."

This board, committee, and commission era is happily passing. The appointment of General Goethals, Mr. McRoberts, and Mr. Stettinius meant the end of the advisory system of coördinated delay. Part of the war work began on the "man on the job" basis.

Mr. Hoover gets plenty of advice and he coöperates with other departments of the Government, but advice and coöperation do not result in delay and evasion of responsibility. Mr. Hoover is unmistakably the head of the food administration. He supplies the motive power and the guidance. Its successes are his, its mistakes are his. He is sponsor for everything it does.

The Emergency Fleet Corporation has now arrived at the same condition. Mr. Hurley frankly states that he is the boss. If he delivers the ships, all well and good. If he does not he is ready to take the blame and retire in favor of some one who can do better.

Mr. McAdoo has never let the pressure of war drive him into the coöperation-coördination of delay and divided responsibility. He has had much able assistance and immeasurable advice but he has continued to be the complete and responsible head of the Treasury Department. But there are still a lot of advisors working without power or responsibility. The Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defence has thirty-two pages of Committees, and a good part of these people are in Washington. Their usefulness in their present state is with few exceptions over. The men that can be useful should be given duties and power in the regular Government service and paid, and the rest should be allowed to go home.

Franklin's Suggestion

ON OCTOBER 16, 1783, Benjamin Franklin, then diplomatic agent of the American Colonies to France, wrote to his friend David Hartley who was appointed by Great Britain to make a treaty of peace with the colonies recognizing their independence:

"What would you think of a proposition if I should make it, of a compact between England, France, and America? America would be as happy as the Sabine girls if she could be the means of uniting in perpetual peace her father and her husband."

Eyes for the Navy

WITHOUT binoculars, spy-glasses, and telescopes the Navy's difficulties in dealing with the submarine would be considerably increased. But American factories, because of the lack of the proper glass which before the war was imported largely from Germany, cannot supply a sufficient number of instruments to fill the increasing demand of the Navy Department, which has been compelled, at last, to resort to an appeal to the country at large in the hope of securing enough to fill its immediate needs.

Several weeks ago it was announced thro

the daily press that there was a shortage of these instruments, and more than 3,000 were forthcoming as a result. "This number, however," says Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt in a letter to the WORLD'S WORK, "is wholly insufficient, and the Navy needs many thousands more."

There are probably a great many more glasses in the country than the Navy could use to advantage, and the appeal of the Navy Department to the patriotism of private owners should result in securing a sufficient number for the emergency.

The arrangement suggested by the Navy Department is as follows:

"All articles should be securely tagged, giving the name and address of the donor, and forwarded by mail or express to the Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Assistant-Secretary of the Navy, care of Naval Observatory, Washington, D. C., so that they may be acknowledged by him.

Articles not suitable for naval use will be returned to the sender. Those accepted will be keyed, so that the name and address of the donor will be permanently recorded at the Navy Department, and every effort will be made to return them, with added historic interest, at the termination of the war. It is, of course, impossible to guarantee them against damage or loss.

As the Government cannot, under the law, accept services or material without making some payment therefor, one dollar will be paid for each article accepted, which sum will constitute the rental price, or, in the event of loss, the purchase price of such article.

In addition to glasses the Navy Department needs sextants and chronometers, of which the supply is very limited.

The WORLD'S WORK is glad to call the attention of its readers to this need of the Navy Department, to the end that their appeal may result in a further weakening of the failing grasp of the submarine by adding materially to "the eyes of the Navy."

The Railroads After the War

IF THE war lasts as long as it bids fair to do the Government operation of the railroads will have had time to have gotten firmly established before the question of whether or not the roads shall be returned to private ownership comes up for settlement.

Mr. McAdoo recently stated that he was not *in favor of Government ownership* but he felt that a period after the war should elapse before the roads were returned to private ownership, in which period a better method of regulation could be worked out. But there will be a great pressure for continued Government ownership.

The Government will have spent a good deal of money on equipment; it will in all probability have come to a different understanding with the railroad employees than existed before. It will have changed the course of traffic in various ways, giving some roads business which they could not get in competition and taking business from other roads that they had acquired laboriously through many years. Roads that have lacked terminals will be using the facilities of their more forehanded neighbors. What is more, the commercial life of the country will have become accustomed to this order of affairs. The pressure to leave things as they are will then be working in favor of continued Government operation. Moreover, the Government, like any business concern, is made up of human beings, and those engaged in the Federal operation of the railroads are likely to want to continue that operation. It is a very rare phenomenon to see any department or bureau in Washington willing to give up any work that has been in its charge. This is only human and natural.

The leaders of big business have long contended that competition in many industries was an economic waste, especially in public services which were naturally monopolies. They have argued, too, for centralized control. A single postal system is hardly more logical than single telegraph and telephone systems or a single railroad system. This old argument of private business will be used to its fullest extent by the believers of Government ownership for they know that if the control of the railroads of the United States is to be put in the hands of one corporate body there is not much question that that body will be the Government.

If the Government had been a wicked trust, designing to force the railroads out of business so as to take them over, it could not have gone at the problem more systematically than it did. It has regulated the railroad rates down, and legislated railroad wages up. It has forbidden the roads to combine when combination stood for efficiency, and now has taken over the operation so as to achieve the

combination and the resultant efficiency which it forbade the roads to achieve for themselves. It would be as easy to write a series of articles outlining the premeditated and diabolical "system" of the Government for running the railroad out of business as to write a similar story of the actions of many of our predatory trusts—and both would be equally untrue. The actors in both cases have achieved something they did not plan.

The fact is the railroads and the Government are the victims of certain economic laws older than either of them.

Foreign Trade of the United States

FOR two years past the exports of the United States have exceeded in value the imports by more than three billion dollars each year. Although for nine months of 1917 we were ourselves in the war and preparing to take our full part, yet the balance of trade in our favor last year was larger than the previous 1916 record. In both years it was more than five times as large as the prewar average. December last it exceeded any previous month with the exception of January, 1917.

These figures would seem to indicate that the United States at war is yet to remain highly favored with the material things of this world—the things that make for commercial supremacy among nations. In three years the net balance due us on the international trade ledger reached the enormous aggregate of eight billion dollars. In that period our exports were more than twice our imports. The credit thus piled up in three years far more than cancelled the debt we owed Europe at the beginning of the war for helping to finance the growth of our railroads and industrial companies in the past. We loaned Europe a good part of the money to pay for our products so urgently needed since the war started and will, therefore, be her creditor for years to come.

Greater satisfaction can now be felt in viewing these favorable foreign trade figures, for no longer can we be unjustly accused of staying out of the war to enhance our material prosperity. Some reduction in the balance in our favor is likely to result from the competition of our own war demands, but what would it have profited us to have gained the whole world and lost our own soul?

Government Ownership of Railroads

ALL business with the public is public business. When the individual conducting it is reasonably satisfactory the public is quite willing to let him go on with it. When he is unsatisfactory they go to some one else. If there is no one else to go to they go to the State and have a law passed or a commission appointed to change the situation, and, if these remedies fail, the State usually takes over the business. When the State operation becomes intolerable the public gets together and farms out the task again to some other agency, and so on *ad infinitum*. In England the Government used to fix prices on all manner of things in order to protect the public. Then it took over the monopoly of certain kinds of trade. Then it farmed out the monopolies. Then the public forced it to give up the monopolies. It was at this stage of the proceedings a hundred or two years ago when some one coined the phrase that competition was the life of trade.

We have gone through several of the phases with the railroads already. Some states built railroads and the state management was so bad that in most cases they have gone back into private management again. Most of the railroads on the other hand were private affairs and for a long time the public considered them satisfactory. But it soon developed that if a man did not like the way he was treated by the railroad on which he lived he generally had no other to appeal to. So these dissatisfied ones took the next step and went to the Government. The Government passed many laws and appointed a commission. And all the states passed laws and appointed commissions. The laws and the commissions have been in effect some time now but they have not been a great success. If the usual cycle is followed we go to Government ownership next.

But there are several reasons against taking the next step any time soon. If the next step is to be satisfactory for any length of time we must have a Government which is honest and efficient in comparison with other institutions of its time. In some respects our Government does not meet this standard. It is still the habit of both parties to pay political debts by Government appointments. If the same proportion of train despatchers were changed as postmasters after each election in which there was a change of party, the railroads would not be safe to ride on for months afterwar

If the same influences dictated the whereabouts and size of railroad buildings that control the erection of other public buildings, there would have to be a rise in rates or a goodly increase in taxes. If the railroad employees, of which there are some two million, were to exert the same kind of pressure on Congress that the G. A. R. has done there would be lots of fuller crews than there are now, and absurd hours and wages.

In other words, if the pork barrel in its manifold forms continues to be the mainspring of action in Congress in normal times the period of Government ownership is likely to cost us dear. If, on the other hand, we should achieve responsible Government as a by-product of the war and thereby get rid of the pork barrel, Government ownership and operation might be a success for a long time to come. There are many difficulties inherent in private ownership of a public business and many difficulties inherent in the Government ownership and operation of public business. Neither plan is right or wrong. It is a question of expediency and turns on the relative efficiency of the Government and private enterprise at the time.

Why We Do Not Want a Coalition Cabinet

FROM time to time the suggestion of a coalition cabinet crops up. It is based partly on dissatisfaction with the present cabinet and partly on the idea that a combination of both parties would unify the country in its war effort, and the example of Great Britain is used to sustain the argument in favor of such a change.

But the results to be obtained by such a move would not likely be what its advocates wish. Abler men than some of the present cabinet could be found in the Republican Party, but whether they would fit the rest of the war machine sufficiently well so as not to lose all their added power by friction is another matter. The unification of the country by coalition is not necessary. It is unified, and the analogy of Great Britain does not apply very directly to us, for our Governmental machinery and personalities are very different from those of the British. The motive for coalition in England was to create a ministry to which there would be practically no organized opposition, and which could therefore *count upon a parliamentary* majority to support it almost blindly. And that happened. For a time, anyway, the Government [or, in our terms, the Administration] conducted affairs with only a perfunctory responsibility to Parliament.

In the first few months of the war our Congress, like the British Parliament, voted practically everything the Executive recommended and asked few questions. A little later Congress, like the British Parliament, began to ask how things were getting on. The Congressional questionings enhanced the public's desire for a reorganized war machine, but that desire was not for Republican political figures in the cabinet. To put politicians of the opposing party in any President's cabinet would be a questionable expedient. With Mr. Wilson it would be almost sure to fail. The present cabinet, which is of his own choosing, has comparatively little influence on his actions. Some members of it have practically none. Republican cabinet officers forced upon him would have still less. We elected the President to run the country for four years. He is not like the British Prime Minister. He does not need a Congressional majority to keep him in office. There is no object for him in inviting into his official family men whose ways of thinking are opposed to his and with whom he could not work. Many of the people who suggest the coalition cabinet do it in the hope that the Republican members would change the President's policies in certain particulars. They wouldn't. Even if he were forced to water they couldn't make him drink. On the other hand if Congress becomes Republican in November, as seems probable, it will be hard for Congress to do its best work in coöperation with the present cabinet.

A Republican Congress and a Democratic President is not a particularly happy combination with which to prosecute a war. Under such conditions the slogan "support the President" would not have the force it has hitherto had, especially as it is plain enough now that the slogan covered some sins which were better uncovered.

The President properly hoped that his strictly party organization would command the public's confidence in conduct of the war. But it does not. As far as the war is concerned both he and his cabinet failed completely in foresight and have not made up that failure in efficiency since. The public is and will remain completely in support of the Presi-

dent's yearnings for democracy and fair dealing. He is the spokesman of our aspirations and an inspiration to a higher conception of international dealings. But he is not adept in directing the war necessary to obtain those ideals. He does not like war or the type of man who can conduct war.

In the political group which the President has immediately around him—Mr. Baker, Mr. Daniels, Mr. Lansing, Colonel House—no one is a great war leader or inspires any war enthusiasm. Mr. McAdoo and Mr. Lane come nearer than any other of the President's close associates. There is something active and belligerent about them, but hardly enough to cover their milder and more pacific colleagues.

Faced with a Republican Congress will the President still insist on his present cabinet? Even if they are as efficient as he thinks they are he must realize that a Republican Congress would lack confidence in them—if indeed the present Congress does not lack confidence in them. He must realize, too, that this is not a condition that tends to the best conduct of the war and the welfare of the country. If it is not wise to ask him to take Republicans purely as such into his cabinet, would it not also be equally unfair and unwise to ask a Republican Congress to conduct a war in coöperation with men in whom they have little confidence and whose chief distinction is as Democratic political figures?

Would it not be an improvement on this condition if the President reorganized his cabinet and filled half or three quarters of the positions with men whose distinction is neither Democratic nor Republican but executive? That would be a logical step during the war, for political policy is not the cabinet function as much as usual, and executive ability is far more necessary. Moreover, it would relieve or allay the feeling which now quite generally expresses itself in a special intonation on the phrase that this is a war for democracy.

The President chose his present cabinet to carry out the platform of peace and preparedness. We have neither. Surely conditions have altered enough to warrant a change when a change would so encourage the public. The present group does not comprise all the ability in the country, and certainly some abler men could be found outside it with a past and point of view that would make them acceptable to the President.

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AN EXPERIENCE WITH A STOCKBROKER

Every month the WORLD'S WORK *publishes in this part of the magazine an article on investments and the lessons to be derived therefrom*

ON JANUARY 6, 1917, a man living in Rhode Island sent his check for $600 to Charles C. Clapp & Company, Boston Curb brokers, with an order to buy ten shares of Miami Copper and one hundred shares of Yukon Gold stock. He got the Yukon Gold stock after some delay. The cost of that was $221.87. The Miami Copper stock he did not get until November 2, 1917, and the matter of back dividends due him was not adjusted until December 7. Forty-six letters were written to bring this simple transaction to a successful conclusion, and it took eleven months to complete it. The story of this case throws light on the methods of a certain class of brokers and carries an important lesson for buyers of securities.

In reply to the client's first letter, with check inclosed, the broker wrote, "your order to buy ten shares of Miami we are making at $40 and one hundred shares of Yukon Gold at $2. These stocks are selling slightly above these figures but the general market is not over strong. We will advise you when purchase is made."

The man wrote back that he wished the stock purchased at once. In his first letter

January 6th he had directed that it be transferred to his name and sent to him. As on January 24th he got a statement of the purchase of both stocks and a letter asking him to advise whether he wished them placed in his name or left as "street" certificates. He at once sent the balance due and again gave directions as to registering the stock. Two weeks later he received the certificate for the Yukon Gold shares. The letter accompanying it said that the block of ten shares of Miami "has not been returned as yet but will be forwarded to you immediately upon its receipt."

After a month the client wrote again and was informed that "through some error this street certificate had been missent." They "believed" it had gone with some other stock to an out-of-town customer. He was informed that if it were not found, "transfer will be stopped anyway, and we will put up a bond and get a new certificate." The firm, however, wished to avoid that expense, if possible. It might have been $20. In passing, it might also be said that the transfer of ten shares of Miami Copper stock was never stopped at the transfer agents.

No news being received in the next two months, the purchaser wrote the fourth time. He received word not to worry; that if they could not get the "original stock," they would replace it "within a short time." That was in May. His indulgence was asked "for a little while," as they did not wish to go to the extra expense until necessary. The paper on which this was written had at the top a recommendation by Thomas W. Lawson in which he referred to Mr. Clapp's "tested-under-all-conditions honesty." A month and a half later the client wrote again. That time he received no reply. After another month his sixth request for delivery of the stock brought word that his letter would be called to Mr. Clapp's attention "immediately upon his return from New York this week." A further letter threatening to put the matter in the hands of an attorney elicited no reply. It was not until two months later, on October 5th, that Mr. Clapp wrote: "I have just returned and will have certificate for your stock and your dividend forwarded to you next week."

It was at about this time that the attention of the World's Work was called to the case by the discouraged purchaser. On September 27th a letter was written by the Financial Editor calling the Boston broker's attention to the case. An explanation was asked for, but none was ever received. Mr. Clapp's letter of October 5th to the client followed this, but the stock did not follow the letter. On October 23d, therefore, the case was laid before the governing committee of the Boston Curb Exchange. That committee immediately took up the matter with Mr. Clapp and he promised to adjust it at once.

On November 2d the client got his stock. It was not, however, until December 7th, and after the attention of the governing committee had again been called to the case, that the back dividends due the client were paid. A certified check was then secured and forwarded by the committee itself. To the Financial Editor the secretary of the committee wrote: "We thank you for bringing this matter to our attention as it is not the policy of our organization to allow any irregularities of members to occur."

A good part of the black name which "Wall Street" bears throughout the country is due to such operations as this. Not all the firms which practise them are members of associations that exercise control over them, nor are they confined to any one city. "Wall Street," however, gets the blame for most of their doings. The severe discipline that a member of the New York Stock Exchange would get for such treatment of a client would be a revelation to most people who are not familiar with the methods of that Exchange. It would be so severe that members of the New York Stock Exchange do not do such things. Yet the Exchange suffers in public opinion for the actions of irresponsible brokers. Some of those who fall victims to such sharks do not wish, for one reason or another, to run the risk of having their names become known. More often they do not know how to go about it to bring the broker to time, and give up in disgust. Probably the quickest way is to place the matter in the hands of the nearest district attorney. Usually the threat of that is enough.

In acknowledging the thanks of the World's Work reader who was the victim in this case, the Financial Editor, in the course of the correspondence, expressed the hope that hereafter he would deal only with houses he knew to be perfectly reliable and responsible. Their charges are no higher and the service they render is much better.

UNITED STATES—WORLD BANKER AND COMMERCIAL LEADER

BY

JOHN K. BARNES

THE position of world banker has been virtually thrust upon the United States. That is an outstanding feature of probably the most romantic story in economic history. In less than three years, the war transferred the United States on the international balance sheet from a debtor to a creditor nation. Never before has the credit position of a country been so altered in as short a time.

Our own entrance into the war may be indirectly a factor of great importance. Everyone knows how France, after her defeat in the Franco-Prussian War, recuperated so fast that she was the marvel of the world. The billion-dollar indemnity with which Bismark expected to keep her in subjection for many years was paid before it came due; and France became a nation of savers and investors who have ever since given her a place in world finance out of all proportion to her natural resources and production. We now have, in the necessity for raising funds to pay our own and part of our allies' war costs, an incentive to thrift such as the people of this country have never before known. The personal economy that the situation requires is as yet realized by few, but will have to be by all if the war continues. The results of it should outlast the war and become a great national asset.

What the war has already done for us commercially can be summed up in a few round figures, which would be interesting because of their size, if for nothing else. When the war clouds broke over Europe at the close of July, 1914, we owed abroad something like five billion dollars. Only a small portion of this—notably eighty million New York City revenue bills—was due soon, but a good part of the rest was in the form of corporate securities that could be thrown on our markets. Accurate figures compiled by L. F. Loree showed, for instance, that $2,704,000,000 par value of railroad securities, were held abroad on January 31, 1915. More than half of these were bought back by us in the next two years; and it is safe to assume that our debt abroad has now been reduced by more than $2,500,000,000. And after the ice of our investment provincialism was broken with the Anglo-French loan in the fall of 1915, we became liberal lenders to foreign countries. Before our own entrance into the war these loans totaled another $2,500,000,000. Thus our debt abroad was cancelled. At the same time Europe sent us more than $1,000,000,000 worth of gold to pay for war materials and to facilitate her war financing here. A check on the conservation of these figures, and in fact the reason for them, is to be found in the foreign trade balance in our favor in the three years ended June 30, 1917, of $6,865,000,000—a most remarkable figure when compared with a $1,674,000,000 trade balance in the three years before the war. Six months since June 30 have added $1,566,000,000 to our favorable trade balance.

Since our entrance into the war the Government has taken over the problem of credits for our allies, and at this writing more than $4,000,000,000 has been thus directly loaned from the Federal Treasury. Provision has so far been made by Congress for $7,000,000,000 of such advances. This means that instead of being $5,000,000,000 in debt to Europe, as we were in 1914, we will have a credit on the international balance sheet of more than $7,000,000,000 in our favor. Not only have we gotten out of a century of debt, but the rest of the world will soon owe us more than we owed it before the war.

The result of this, as measured in its smallest terms, will be that instead of paying Europe approximately $250,000,000 a year in interest and dividends, we will be receiving from foreign countries more than that amount net annually. The larger meaning, however, is that we will be world bankers and will know the great commercial advantages that naturally gravitate to nations holding that position. Banking is only the machinery of economics. In foreign trade the extension of credit is

important factor, but it is only to accomplish a much more valuable economic end that it is granted. It took a James J. Hill to come out of the West and convince many of our bankers that it was good business to loan half a billion dollars to Great Britain and France in 1915, so they could buy supplies here; but in the crowded years since, the training of American business men and investors in the important lesson he taught has been intensive. The foundation at least has been well laid for this country to continue as a world banker.

One of the most encouraging developments looking toward that end and holding clearly to the more important view of establishing this country as a great commercial nation has been the opening of branches of American banks abroad. Service is rendered to the foreign markets as well as our own. One obstacle in the way of establishing these branches has been the lack of trained men willing to go abroad. The National City Bank started a school to train its own men.

To the Federal Reserve Act must be given full credit for much of the progress we have made in international banking. This law, which has been of invaluable service in helping us pay our debts abroad and become a lending nation, made it legal for our national banks to establish foreign branches. It even permits the combination of banks for this purpose. (The word "combination' will be less a term of condemnation in this country after the war.) The Act has done more than this to prepare the way for America as a world banker. By its provisions for acceptance by the banks of foreign trade drafts or bills of exchange it has made dollar exchange possible. We are indebted to the framers of this law for much more than we realize. Before the war probably half of the foreign trade of the world was financed through London by sterling bills of exchange. Goods which we bought or sold in South America were paid for in British exchange. British bankers took from us annually between twenty and thirty million dollars toll in banking commissions. The Federal Reserve Act, with the aid of the war, has changed this. The sale of Brazil's coffee crop is now financed largely with dollar exchange. The trade in hides from Argentina is also so financed. Dollar exchange has grown from nothing three years ago until now it amounts to approximately $400,000,000. As the amount of sterling bills normally afloat in the financing of foreign trade was about £500,000,000, it can be roughly stated that the United States has attained a position in the world's commercial banking field about one-sixth as important as that held by Great Britain before the war. Although the criticism of some authorities, that the banks in the Federal Reserve system have not extended into foreign fields as rapidly as they should, may be just, yet a good deal has been accomplished by those who have seen the possibilities of this business, and American manufacturers are now assured of banking aid and support in attempting foreign markets.

And, according to those most interested in the growth of our foreign trade, American business interests generally are recognizing the advantages of foreign markets and realizing the importance of developing a demand for our goods abroad as a bulwark against depression when the demand for war materials ceases. Several companies have been chartered to carry on foreign trade; the largest being the American International Corporation, capitalized at $50,000,000 and having on its board of directors the most prominent business men of the country. But it is the manufacturers as well who must reach out for the foreign trade if we are to become established as a great commercial nation. That 65,000 different American houses availed themselves of the foreign trade facilities of the National City Bank in two years and a half indicates that they are doing this. Other banks with foreign trade departments all report the same growing interest. An increase in our exports to South America, which is not war business, of 130 per cent. since the war started shows the result. There were before the war substantial American interests in the foreign trade field. These fully realize the value of the present opportunity; they also know the obstacles this country faces.

When the fighting ends, we will lose the war business, but materials will be needed for the reconstruction of Europe. After that our prosperity will depend to a large extent on the amount of foreign trade we will be able to command as an outlet for our increasing production. Since 1910 this has grown as fast in one year as our population in five. This is the problem to which farsighted American business men and bankers are now directing their attention.

ENGLAND HAS INDUSTRIAL PEACE—WHY NOT WE?

Great Britain's War Preparations Were Delayed Until That Problem Was Solved—We Shall Have to Settle It if We Are to Build Ships and Properly Equip and Munition Our Armies

BY

BURTON J. HENDRICK

LAST fall the British Government, at the invitation of the Washington authorities, sent a commission to this country to discuss labor problems caused by the war. This commission visited our largest industrial cities, gaining a first-hand knowledge of conditions here.

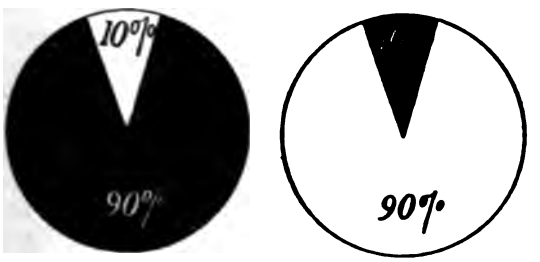
"If Great Britain had had one eighth of the number of labor troubles in the past two years that the United States has had," said Sir Stephenson Kent, Director-General of the Labor Supply Department of England, who headed this commission, "my country would have had to conclude a disgraceful peace with Germany by this time. Since coming here two months ago I have noted serious strikes and threats of strikes in different parts of the United States. Not only does such a state of affairs indicate serious trouble in this country, but it cannot fail to affect seriously Great Britain and the other Allies."

The fact of the matter is that since we entered into technical hostilities with Germany the United States has been engaged in two wars. Our martial activities have been not only external, but internal. While we have been attempting to arm ourselves against the Kaiser, the labor unions and the "capitalists" have been fighting with all their accustomed virulence. At the present moment the labor situation perhaps presents the greatest unsolved problem of the war. Only the fact that our attention has been monopolized by the lapses of the War Department—our insanitary training camps, our lack of artillery and other munitions—has prevented the labor situation from becoming another great scandal.

Have American workingmen been less loyal in this crisis than their British associates? Have American employers demonstrated a greater selfishness than British employers? Has our Government shown less intelligence in meeting the labor situation than the men who are controlling affairs in England? Whatever we may think on these questions there can be no doubt that British experience, as contrasted with our own, furnishes a particularly profitable field of study.

Historically, England, rather than the United States, has been the land of labor difficulties and there the class struggle has reached a bitterness which has been unknown in this country. Long before the opening of the European war the English workingman had clearly gained the upper hand in this conflict and the labor market had become practically the property of labor leaders. In the British Isles the union man was not the exception, and "collective bargaining," long the dream of industrial leaders in the United States, had long controlled the industrial organization. About 90 per cent. of English workingmen belonged to labor unions—only a few, and these the least skilled, remained outside. A survey made at the beginning of the war disclosed that the British munition factories and the shipyards were 100 per cent. unionized. But it was not only the workmen that were organized, for the employers, far more completely than prevails in this country, had banded themselves for joint action. Thus British industry—and this was the capital fact that largely explains the British labor situation in war time—presented really two compact armies—the organized workingmen and the organized employers. The two sides dealt with each other through their organizations; such questions as wages, hours, conditions were matters of negotiation and treaty. Thus the "closed shop" prevailed practically everywhere. The British labor

leaders had succeeded in introducing all those limitations and restrictions that have represented the goal of the labor movement everywhere. Every workman was reduced precisely to the same level; the amount of work he could perform in an allotted time was definitely specified, and dismissal from the union and consequent loss of his job were the penalites for exceeding this quota. Women were excluded from industrial establishments, not from humanitarian motives, but because their employment, usually at reduced wages, constituted a constant menace to the union monopoly. So jealously did the union regard all work as their exclusive property that skilled union men were even employed on unskilled work. The unions insisted on the



UNION STRENGTH IN GREAT BRITAIN AND AMERICA

These circles show the difference in the union situation here and in Great Britain. In Great Britain 90 per cent. of all the plants engaged in making munitions are under the control of organized labor. Here only 10 per cent. of the plants are so organized. In Great Britain the unions have made an industrial truce, abandoned the open shop, removed all their restrictions in output, the employment of women, and the limitation of apprentices. Here no industrial truce has been established

smallest possible number of apprentices, and made the period of apprenticeship as long as possible. The whole tendency of the English labor man was to coddle his job, to fight off competition, and to turn out the smallest product for the highest wages he could obtain.

Whatever effect this system may have had upon English production in time of peace, it early became apparent that it would hardly satisfy the necessities of war. In the first few months a large number of strikes also interfered with munition work. The sufferings of the men in the trenches, caused by the fact that they had insufficient arms and ammunitions to meet the German attacks, produced a profound sensation in every quarter. Longshoreman were striking on ships which were carrying supplies to the armies in France; men were going out in mines which were depended upon for supplying the British Navy with coal; factories making shells and rifles had to close because the unions were striking for higher wages. Though the newspapers generally denounced the laboring men, there were evidences that the faults were not entirely on their side. The increasing cost of living had made it practically impossible for the workman's family to exist on the prevailing wage. While the manufacturers were denouncing the striking employees as unpatriotic, they were themselves exacting enormous profits on war work—that is, they were taking exactly the same advantage of the nation's crisis that appeared so odious when the workmen asked for their share of the swag. The "speeding up" in production insisted on in the early days was not only inhumane, but, as subsequent events showed, uneconomic. The voluntary system of enlisting an army placed in the trenches thousands of skilled workmen who could have contributed far more to the success of the army by remaining in their factories. This produced a shortage of labor that English industry had no means of making good, so long as the union rules prevailed; for these rules excluded women and unskilled men from employment in a skilled man's job and also kept any apprentice from a grown man's work until he had served four years learning his trade.

Clearly here was a situation that demanded real statesmanship; and fortunately for England she had the men who met it in statesmanlike fashion. The fact that Mr. Lloyd George and his associates had two compact bodies to deal with—organized labor and organized capital—greatly facilitated the negotiations. Another great advantage was that he was negotiating with Englishmen, and not a mass of nationalities, many of them new to the country and many having no spontaneous enthusiasm for the English cause. Hostile as might have been the relations of these two classes, on one point they agreed, and that was the necessity of defeating Germany. With this attitude as a common meeting ground, the Government had little trouble in establishing a working agreement. The first consideration was that both parties, employers and employees, should refrain from regarding the war as a means of enriching themselves. Workmen were not to obtain exorbitant wages and employers were not to exact outrageous profits. In the matter of employers on war

work, an average of their profits for three years preceding the war was taken and they were permitted to make 20 per cent. in excess of that amount. There was an agreement that this modest excess would provide sufficient payment for the increased energies and responsibilities, as well as furnishing an incitement to increased exertions. The unions, in behalf of their men, agreed to accept as standard the wage rate which existed [illegible] the beginning of the war. While there [illegible] no increase in wages, as wages, an[illegible]s arrangement was made to compensate workmen for their increased living expenses. The Government canvasses the increased cost of living four times each year and pays the men a bonus that represents this increase. Thus the financial problem was solved; the workmen no longer could complain that their employers were heaping up riches as a result of the war, and the employers, on the other hand, were spared constant demands for increased wages.

An important fact was that these periodical bonuses, although actually paid by the employers, came out of the national exchequer. The net result was to remove what was in England the constant cause of strikes. In consideration of this treatment the unions had to make important concessions, the net result of which was to revolutionize the status of English labor. The country whose industry was organized on a "closed shop" basis suddenly became "open." The unions surrendered all the exemptions and restrictions which had represented the triumph of their cause in England. They consented that the plants should be run to their complete capacity and that the employers could press into service any labor that could promote the Allied cause. The rules limiting the number of apprentices were abrogated; now the plants had free shops to take in as many boys as they could use, and to limit the period of apprenticeship to the time required to learn a trade. Unskilled men could now be advanced to the position of skilled men, and women could be admitted for both skilled and unskilled work. All restrictions on output were abolished; the caulker on a ship, instead of having a certain "stint" to do each day, was now permitted to do as much for his country as his abilities could justify. It was definitely understood that this disunionization of England should last only for the duration of the war and that, when peace was signed, the whole of English industry should automatically return to the "closed shop" basis. The simple fact was that the workingmen, as patriotic Englishmen, acknowledged that their favorite methods of organizing a manufacturing plant so restricted the output that they could never supply war materials in the quantities essential to success.

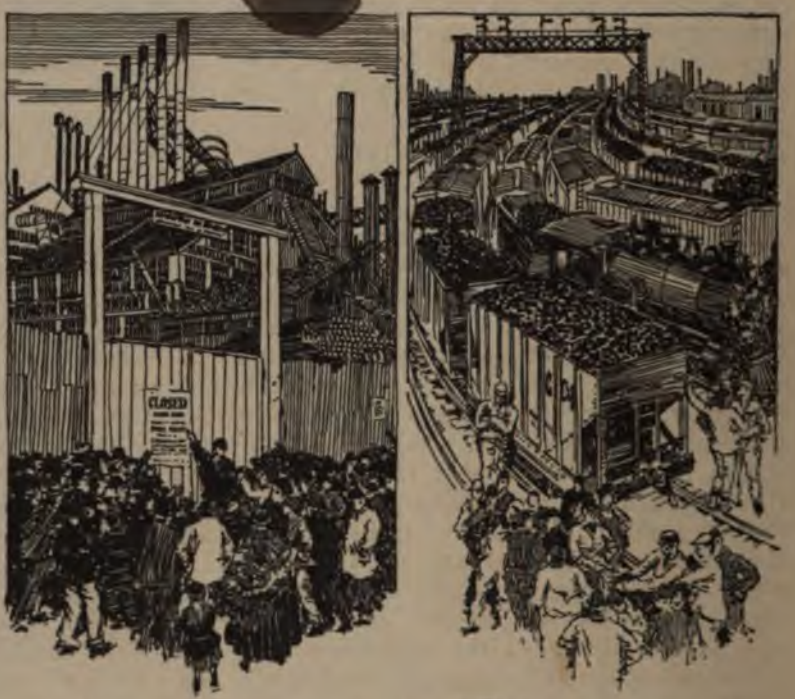
The leaders of the affiliated unions and of affiliated employers agreed upon the solution of the problem in conference and their agreement was immediately embodied in an act of Parliament. Under this act strikes became illegal and any man who struck or enticed some one else to strike laid himself liable to imprisonment. Both sides agreed that such disturbances as arose should be settled by arbitration—that is, they accepted that principle of compulsory arbitration which American labor leaders regard as little less than tyranny. The broad-minded spirit displayed by both capital and labor in this understanding has settled the war problem in England. There have been labor disputes, there has even been an occasional strike, but the testimony of both sides is that British labor has functioned smoothly in war preparations. The real monument to its success is the enormous supply of munitions which has steadily flowed to the British armies.

WOMEN WHO BUILD DREADNAUGHTS

The labor shortage that prevailed in the early days has been met by bringing unskilled men to do the work of skilled and by employing women. Perhaps the greatest surprise has been furnished by the facility with which women have performed all kinds of work. Their deft fingers have transformed them into workers of the utmost skill; there are practically none of the most delicate operations on airplane motors which they have not learned to perform and to perform with even greater skill than men. One of the incongruities of the war is the huge new dreadnaughts which England has placed on the sea, in large part the production of women workers. It was generally supposed that women would do merely "repetition work" and unskilled labor, but the war has demonstrated that they can become mechanicians of a very high order. The union workmen freely acknowledge this, and have not only admitted women "workmen" to their unions but have insisted that they receive exactly

the same compensation as men. One of the finest things in the war has been the readiness displayed by hidebound union men, who previously regarded the invasion of women with the fiercest hostility, in teaching them the new trades. The rapidity with which apprentices have been trained in skilled occupations has also effectively disposed of the idea that four years are necessary to acquire most of the mechanical arts.

Thus in English industry we now find everywhere coöperation and order, but the contrast is somewhat discouraging when we turn to this side of the water. Here we have the same problems that England had, but so far we have not had much success in meeting them. Labor conditions in this country partly explain the existing confusion. Our Government is handicapped by having no compact organizations to deal with, either of labor or capital. The English shipyards, for example, are 100 per cent. unionized, while American shipyards are hardly unionized at all; the ratio is about 4 per cent. All the great yards on the Atlantic Coast are "open shops"; it is only on the Pacific Coast that we find any shipyards under union control. The industries upon which England depends for the production of war materials are 90 per cent. "closed shop;" that is, absolutely subject to the unions, whereas here only 10 per cent. have entered the ranks of organized labor. This fact at the beginning embarrasses our Government in any attempts to deal with the labor problems. The Washington departments have shown a decided inclination to coöperate with the American Federation of Labor; since, however, Mr. Gompers's organization speaks for only a small minority of workingmen it is impossible to duplicate the British arrangement and establish an understanding that will be binding upon all. The varied character of our industrial population presents another impediment. Mr. Lloyd George, when dealing with British labor, was dealing with Englishmen whose devotion to the nation was an inheritance of more than a thousand years. Our Administration is dealing with a miscellaneous group only a minority of which has an American ancestry that goes back to the Civil War. Our miners are largely Slavs and Hungarians; our garment workers are mostly Russian Jews; the workers in our packing houses are Poles and Slovaks; the employees of our shipyards and our steel mills present a medley of nationalities. Though these places contain a certain considerable element from the nations with which we are at war, probably the great majority are loyal naturalized Americans; it is useless to blink the fact, however, that the large numbers do not have that irrepressible enthusiasm for this war which is desirable if we are to wage it with success.

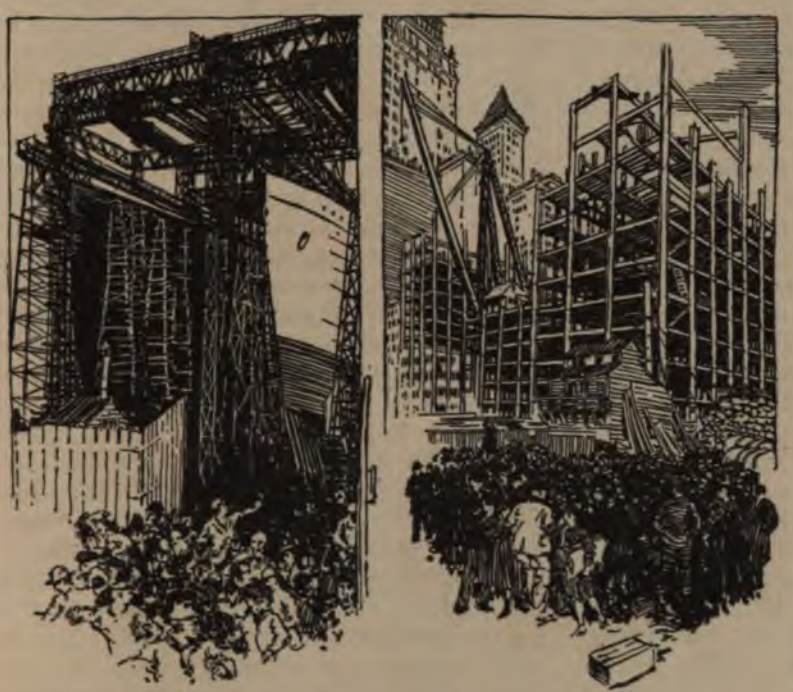


IN MANY INSTANCES CAPITAL AND LABOR HAVE TAKEN THE—

There have been more than 3,000 strikes, large and small, since our war with Germany began. Labor leaders have taken advantage of the national crisis to press their fight for unionization; employers to a considerable extent have similarly seized the opportunity to—

In England the great question of unionization or non-unionization had been settled in favor of the unions. Here a similar battle has been waged for forty years, with the

"open shop" so far victorious. The antagonism between labor and capital here is exceedingly acute. The greatest of American manufacturers—such concerns as the United States Steel Corporation, the Bethlehem Steel Company, the Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Company, the General Electric Company, and our great automobile industries—declare that the unionization of their plants, with the restrictions on output, the alleged inefficiency of methods and the numerous limitations which the unions enforce, mean the stagnation and ultimate annihilation of American industry. On the other hand, the American Federation of Labor is constantly looking for opportunities to make war on these manufacturers and extend its influence. The record of our first war year discloses no abatement in this struggle. There are not lacking indications that certain manufacturers are taking advantage of this crisis to push their fight against the unions. The proposals to import Chinese coolies into this country, to suspend the Child Labor Law for the period of the war, to repeal the Eight Hour Law—no suggestions could be more unfortunate than these. There are also cases in which employers have discharged employees for union membership and union activities, evidently thinking that this is a favorable time to "cleanse" their establishments. On the other hand there are even more tangible evidences that the unions are taking advantage of the Nation's necessities to gain, under the pressure of war, that advantage which they had failed to obtain in peace—the recognition of their organization.



—WAR AS AN EXCUSE TO TRY TO SETTLE THE UNION QUESTION
—continue the fight on the unions. Sir Stephenson Kent, sent over as head of a commission to confer in the labor situation, declared that "had England in the first year had as many strikes as the United States, she would have had to conclude a separate peace with Germany."

It is only necessary to glance at the Secretary of Labor's report and note the causes of many of the strikes in which his mediation has been required. I instance only a few of such disputes as have taken place since April 6, 1917. The workmen of the Wheeling Steel & Iron Company went out last summer, thereby holding up work on 2,000,000 tin cans a day—material needed for packing the food supply of soldiers. They demanded recognition of their union—and obtained it. Practically all the great strikes in the Arizona copper field turned on the question of unionization. The raincoat makers in New York struck for higher wages and a union shop. As they were making Army slickers the employers had to yield both their demands. Last summer, 16,000 employees of the Kansas City packing houses, engaged in preparing food for our armies in France, struck for unionization and better wages. The metal polishers of the Remington Arms Company struck on the charge that the company was discharging union men and employing non-union; this looks like a case in which the employers had started war on the unions. Similarly, when the Girard Company of Ohio discharged its puddlers because they had joined a newly formed union, it seems to have violated the war code and to have become responsible for the strike that followed. The carpenters,

caulkers, and joiners of the Mathis Yacht Building Company of Camden, New Jersey, which was building submarine chasers, struck work to enforce a rule that all their associates should carry brotherhood cards. The railway clerks of the New York, New Haven & Hartford went out for higher wages and unionization. The machinists of the Michigan Central Railroad dropped their tools because the company was hiring women to take the place of men. The workmen of the Freeport Sulphur Company, upon which the Du Pont Powder Company depends for 95 per cent. of its sulphur, carried on a successful strike for unionization. The Holt Tractor Company, which makes the caterpillar tractors that form the basis of the "tanks," was held up for three months, the issue of the strike being once more unionization. And so on. Indeed, the great majority of the workmen who have struck since April 6, 1917, have struck to win that fight which they had not been able to win under ordinary conditions, unionization and the "closed shop." The fact that the great majority of these strikes were successful merely shows that national necessities had forced the employers into an abject surrender.

It would be possible to take almost any important industry engaged in making war munitions and show that the union leaders have seized the present emergency to force this fight for unionization. Probably this tendency has its completest illustration in the shipyards on the Pacific Coast. This shipbuilding industry started in Seattle, Tacoma, Portland, and Los Angeles almost overnight. England's preoccupation with war ships closed a large number of English shipyards to foreign countries, even to the English ship companies themselves, the result being that England, Japan, Norway, and other nations began, in 1915 and 1916, to place orders in this country. Portland and Seattle in particular obtained many contracts from the Cunard Company and began greatly to extend their facilities. The result of all this upon the labor market may be imagined. In Seattle a new company, Skinner & Eddy, soon became the most demoralizing influence upon the Pacific Coast. Even after the United States entered the war this corporation, taking the stand that it was a shipbuilding company and that its business, first of all, was to complete its contracts, continued the practice of "stealing" men from the established concerns all along the coast. Apparently the Skinner & Eddy corporation cared little what it paid; it worked closely with labor unions, signed every agreement presented to it, and refused repeated solicitations to affiliate with the employers. It thus became the pacemaker; its wage scale gave the labor leaders an excuse to make demands in the other plants, demands which these rival corporations had to meet.

In these cities, however, wage questions were not chiefly the disturbing elements. On April 6, 1917, the United States declared war on Germany. Things immediately began to happen in the shipyards; the business agents or organizers of the unions began to display an unwonted activity. It would seem strange at first that there should be any trouble in Seattle, for here all the steel yards were unionized, the men and the companies worked under agreements with the Trades Union Council, and these agreements contained the usual stipulations about hours, overtime, the settlement of disputes, the free access of business agents to the premises, and the like. But there were labor troubles in Seattle and the State of Washington with which the shipyards had no immediate concern. In Seattle the metal trades and their men had been fighting the old familiar battle. The Seattle Metal Trades Association had persistently refused to unionize their shops, or even to employ union men. Any one applying for work in these shops was referred to a central employment agency, where his complete pedigree and experience as a workman were taken down. The question upon which everything seemed to hang was, "Do you belong to the union?" The workmen claimed that any man who answered this question affirmatively never secured a job and that men caught surreptitiously with a union card were invariably dismissed. That the warfare waged by the metal employers was unremitting and ruthless, and that it had stirred up the bitterest enmity seems to be generally admitted. Practically the same relations existed between the lumbermen and the mills—"the lumber barons and the sawdust ring," as the workmen called them. In this fight the unions had been pretty completely worsted, and "ten-hour lumber," as the product of the Washington mills was known, prevailed in practically every part of the state.

So powerful were the Seattle metal employers and the "sawdust ring" that the shipyards

of Seattle and Tacoma, even those that were unionized, were permitted to use their product. Though the yards worked under agreements with the unions, these agreements contained a clause according to which the union men practically promised to ignore the usual rule against "unfair material." The fact of the matter was that the yards could not operate unless they used these "unfair" products, for there were very few materials in the state, either lumber or metal, that were not "unfair." After April 6, 1917, however, the Emergency Fleet Corporation began granting orders for scores of ships in these yards. The necessities of the Government demanded that these ships be rushed to completion with the utmost speed. The unions, which previously had been the weaker party, now suddenly became strong; with the Nation crying for ships and with half the yards on both coasts combing all industry for men, the moment seemed to have arrived when they could enforce their demands. And the leaders promptly seized this opportunity to win the union battle which had been raging for many years. Against the shipyards themselves they had no grievances, for they were all completely unionized; the real object in the drive now made was the unionization of the metal shops and the lumber mills. About August 1, 1917, the union leaders submitted a new agreement with the yards; this contained an advance in wages and the usual union stipulations on the eight-hour day, limitation of apprentices, union control of the labor supply, and the like. Probably none of these things would have caused trouble, for the yard owners had already accepted; what really precipitated the explosion was an entirely new clause, practically demanding that the proprietor stop using "unfair material." The real wickedness of the union position consisted in this: they had made no objection to using "unfair material" while the Nation was at peace, and presented this new demand only after we had declared war.

The plight of the shipping yards was especially distressing in that they had no control over the situation; there was practically no "fair" lumber in the state of Washington and almost no "fair" metal shops. Thus the Washington Iron Works was the only establishment in the region that produced certain indispensable castings for ships. This concern was an "open shop" one and therefore "unfair." Moreover, the shipyards had already made contracts for these materials while they were still "fair," and now the unions refused to handle them, although the yards' investments amounted to hundreds of thousands of dollars. The union leaders—nearly all of them professional business agents and organizers from outside the state—not only demanded that the yards sign an agreement not to use these materials, but put up a $5,000 bond to seal the bargain. Their purpose, they explained, was to show this bond and agreement to the machine shops and lumber mills, as evidence that the refractory concerns could do no business in the state unless they unionized their plants. Another difficulty the shipyards had was with their "improvers" and "helpers." According to union rules these men had to serve twelve months before they could obtain a union card and so qualify as skilled men. Since the scarcity of skilled mechanics was so great and since the unions, after repeated requests, were not able to furnish all the men required, the employers asked permission to advance some of the brightest of these young men into full-sized jobs at full-sized pay. But the unions insisted on their restrictive rules; this at the very time when the German submarine campaign had become most destructive and the safety of civilization seemed to depend upon the output of American yards!

The labor leaders seemed to imagine that the Washington Administration would support them in this attitude. Thus President Sloan, of the Sloan Shipyard Corporation, tells of such boasts made by the union leader.

"Mr. Sloan," he said, "you will pay what we ask, for the Government will reimburse you for any advance in wages you may make."

"Is that so?" retorted Mr. Sloan. "How do you know?" ..

"Why, you know that the Government is with us."

"Is that so?"

"Yes, you know what they did for the railroad boys."

The enthusiasm for wooden ships caused the establishment of several new shipyards in this section. Hardly had these places laid a keel when union organizers came from the outside and proceeded to demand the closed shop. Many acceded to this request, but that did not end their troubles. Thus the Peterson-Macdonald Company, in Tacoma,

which opened on June 1, 1917, submitted to the demand for a closed shop. And then all the men walked out on strike. This company had fifteen cars of lumber ready to be made into ships, which the union leaders pronounced "unfair." The president of this company, bound to build his ships at any cost of subservience to the union, informed the leaders that he would use only "fair" lumber, and asked for a list of "fair" establishments where he could purchase it. The leaders gave him a list of twenty-two such lumber mills; he wrote to every one of the twenty-two and not one could supply him with a foot of lumber. Practically all the wooden shipyards had a similar experience. The union leaders demanded that they use "fair" lumber, when there was no fair lumber to be obtained. The trouble was made, not by the workmen, but by professional labor leaders, most of them strangers to the state. In some cases the union men refused to obey the orders of their leaders to strike, their employers paying the fines to which, according to union rules, this infraction of discipline made them subject. The employers of the Puget Sound & Dredging Company—all of them union men—sent a petition to the Central Federated Council, saying that their wages and working conditions were entirely satisfactory, and asking permission to work upon the unfair lumber which their company had already purchased and paid $200,000 for. The answer of their union superior was immediately to order a strike.

In Portland the situation was somewhat different, for in this city the "open shop" prevailed quite as generally as did the closed shop in Seattle and San Francisco. About ten years ago Portland was the scene of a labor war which ended in a victory for the employers. But the Nation's necessities, here as in Seattle, furnished an opportunity to renew the struggle. And in Portland the employers were by no means blameless; indeed, they must be held more responsible for the tie-up that was precipitated than the unions themselves. Despite the pressing demand for men they steadily refused, even after the United States had entered the war and Germany was sinking 700,000 or 800,000 tons of shipping a month, to employ union men. They were not big enough to forego their hostility to unions in face of the Nation's calamity. When the union leaders, in August, 1917, presented demands for complete unionization of the plants, the antagonisms of many years broke out afresh. President Wilson telegraphed the union leaders asking them to postpone the strike until his wage adjustment board could reach town; the unions answered this telegram by striking immediately. President Wilson telegraphed asking the employers to get in touch immediately with their men, and attempt to reach some settlement; the employers refused to do so. The whole proceeding disclosed a disgraceful lack of public spirit among both workers and employers. Similar difficulties broke out at the same time in San Francisco and southern California. How many tons of shipping the Nation lost from these activities cannot be manifested; but the shipyards of the Pacific Coast, last summer and fall, proved valuable allies to the Kaiser. The President's adjustment board succeeded in patching up a temporary truce, but the labor situation there is still unsettled.

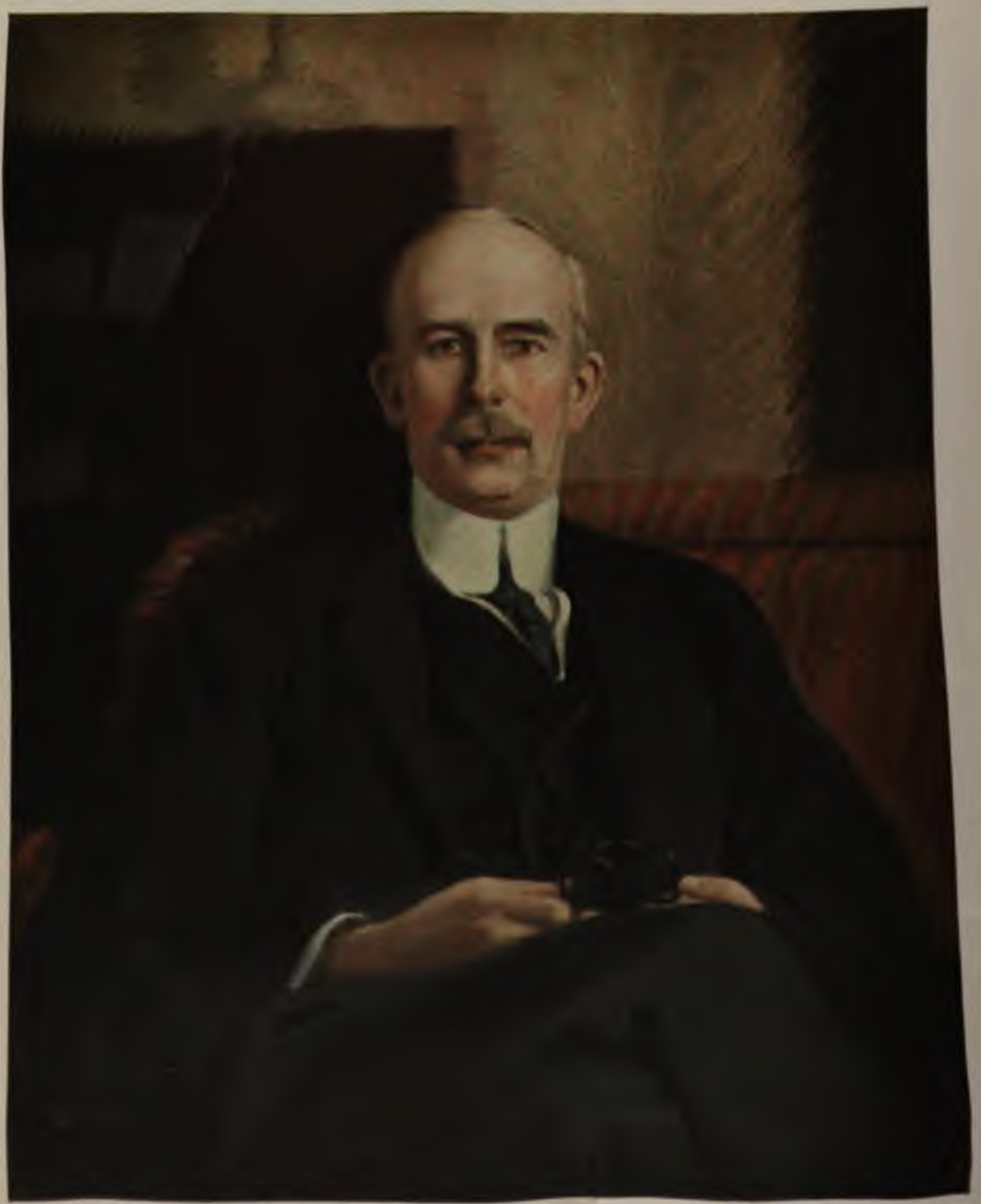
It is hardly necessary to go further into detail to demonstrate that the position of labor in this country differs radically from that in England. In that country a *modus vivendi* has been established for the period of the war. British industry, which was "closed shop" before the war, has given up all its exclusive privileges and become "open." The long battle between capital and labor has been ended, in order that the strongest possible front may be presented to the enemy. Here there has been no industrial truce, and no statesmanlike efforts to declare an effective one. Yet Secretary Wilson, of the Labor Department, himself a member of the Miners' Union, has stated the one principle on which industrial peace may be established, "Where either an employer or an employee," he says "has been unable under normal conditions to change the standards to their own liking they should not take advantage of the present abnormal conditions to establish new standards." It is quite apparent that both employers and employees have not hesitated to profit by the existing emergency to attain a tactical advantage. That is the most distressing part of the labor situation. If both sides would accept Secretary Wilson's principle, the details of an industrial truce could be easily arranged.

AMERICAN LEADERS IN THE WORLD WAR

PORTRAITS IN COLOR OF

Mr. Edward M. House
Mr. William G. McAdoo
Mr. Bernard M. Baruch
Dr. Harry A. Garfield

Paintings by the Gordan Studios, New York



MR. EDWARD M. HOUSE

Painted from a photograph © by Harris & Ewing

MR. WILLIAM G. McADOO

Mr. Edward M. House

Close Friend and Personal Adviser to the President and Head of the American Commission to the First Inter-Allied Conference in France

Mr. William G. McAdoo

The Administration's Man of Many Tasks: Secretary of the Treasury, Member of the Federal Reserve Board and of the Federal Farm Loan Board, Director of the Liberty Loan Campaign and of the Plan for the Sale of War Savings Stamps, and More Recently Director of the Railroads of the Country

Mr. Bernard M. Baruch

Who Has Done Effective Work as Member of the War Industries Board and Member of the Council of National Defense, and in the Purchasing of Raw Material for the Government

Dr. Harry A. Garfield

Who, as Fuel Administrator, Issued the Drastic Order Prohibiting Business Operations for Ten Days in Order to Enable the Railroads to Deliver Enough Coal to Supply the Demand for Domestic Use in the Eastern States and for Coaling Transatlantic Ships Held in Ports Along the Atlantic Coast

Painted from a photograph © by Harris & Ewing
MR. BERNARD M. BARUCH

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DR. HARRY A. GARFIELD

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THE EARL OF READING

The Lord Chief Justice of England, who was recently appointed Ambassador to the United States, succeeding Sir Cecil Spring-Rice

THE EARL OF READING

Great Britain's New Envoy to the United States—Runaway Boy, Barrister, Advocate, Financier, Lord Chief Justice, and Diplomat

BY

FRANK DILNOT

LORD READING, the new British Ambassador to the United States, has a career varied and adventurous enough to make him the hero of a popular novel. He is fortunate, moreover, in possessing a romantic personality. When to this is added the fact that he has one of the keenest business brains in Britain a foreigner might perhaps be permitted the smiling question as to whether it is really possible for a public man to reach such interesting perfection. As a matter of hard fact Lord Reading does not combine all the gifts of all British public men, or anything like it. He would not be so delightfully human if he did. He has some saving deficiencies on top of great qualifications. But withal he is one of the half dozen leading men in England, has earned his position by sterling work, is the trusted personal friend of Mr. Lloyd George, the Prime Minister, and has demonstrated talents which will make for him a niche in his country's history. "Brilliant" is the term which best fit Rufus Isaacs—now Lord Reading—until this war descended upon the world. Since then, with a load of responsibilities, he has come to be regarded as a war statesman—a great Briton. He arrives in America, an example of the best that England can send to forward the great task that lies before the democracies of the present and the future.

Lord Reading is fifty-seven years of age, and Lord Chief Justice of England, in some respects the highest and most dignified permanent position in the country. He has held the office for the past five years, and will retain it during his work as Ambassador in America—an unparalleled situation, but one which commends itself heartily to all who know the man and his work. It is a significant fact that it never seems possible to spare Lord Reading from any task to which he has set his hand. In the British Embassy in Washington he will still be the head of the English judiciary—a fact which will serve for picturesque record by the history books of the future.

I have said that he is fifty-seven. The fact will surprise those who see him for the first time during his work here. From his looks he might be in the early thirties. It is not only the looks but the spirit of the man which is so young. Picture a slim erect man, always perfectly dressed, with clear cut oval face, raven hair, with dark shining eyes—serene, boyish, humorous all in one. He walks with the lithe alertness of youth. His shoulders are sometimes canted forward in a kind of eagerness. There is no trace of elderly leisureliness about Lord Reading. Yet over all he carries a dignity which none can mistake. It shines from him. No judge of human nature could see this man and fail to recognize that here is one of nature's commanders. His voice has a message no less than his looks, for it is rich and deep, giving confidence and inspiring trust. It is almost impossible for a sensitive person not to like Lord Reading. Probably no man has ever attained eminence and made so few enemies. And this is through no artifice, but just from his nature. Here then is the Ambassador as he arrives full of honors in America. He will certainly be pulsating with interest from the moment he sets foot on these shores. The steps by which he has reached his position have been every one of them as full of interest as his present operations.

A SCHOOL BOY RUNS AWAY TO SEA

Rufus Isaacs was the son of a merchant in the city of London, and like a good many high-spirited youths thought more of mischief than of school books. In his teens he ran away to sea and travelled on merchant ships over various parts of the world. Back in London again he resumed the broken thread of his education, attended the London University school and subsequently studied in Brussels

and Hanover. At twenty-one he entered the stockbroking business on the London Stock Exchange and laid the foundation of that deep extensive financial knowledge which has been of such service to himself and his country in later days. It was six years afterward, at twenty-seven, when, following a special period of study, he joined the Bar and began the career which was to take him on rapidly to fame and fortune. In looking back it is a puzzle to understand how Rufus Isaacs without money or influence so swiftly forced his way to eminence. He could have been no more than thirty when his name was spoken of with respect and admiration among his associates. When thirty-five he was a leading advocate with his name frequently in the papers. Before he was forty he had become a national figure. It has to be remembered that no one without real natural gifts can secure prominence as an advocate in the Law Courts, and to that must be added the somewhat discouraging facts for the young and ambitious, that even these natural gifts do not always secure the success which they deserve. The competition is intense. There are a thousand disappointments and discouragements. Hundreds of young barristers in London never secure a brief at all, hundreds of others in their first years get one or two cases and as time goes on may build these up in the local courts into a respectable number until at last, after say twenty years of effort, they secure a modest competence with occasional cases in the High courtstin the Strand. No flashy individual success will lift the young barrister to recognition. The solicitors whose duty it is to engage counsel in large and small cases are hard, unemotional, factful men and they make no experiments of an elaborate nature. By luck, accident, or persistence a young barrister gets a case or two or is perhaps one of the juniors in a big cause, and he has got to do well and then to repeat his success over and over again before he gets into the running in even a subordinate way. How Rufus Isaacs dynamited himself through the various barriers will always be something of a mystery even to those who fully appreciate the force of personality. He seems to have been a young man who without exuberance could not be depressed. Combined with a strong will power he had a remarkable capacity for the rapid absorption of knowledge on any *particular matter.* He had external graces. What is perhaps of at least equal importance was his tremendous natural aptitude for work. It is of interest to know that when he got his foot on the first and second rounds of the ladder he did not relax, but redoubled his efforts. He never trusted to any casual examination of a case that was put before him. No pains were too great for him to master every detail. He was never over-confident but always looked failure straight in the eye, and then deliberately sought the means to overcome it. While some young counsel would come down to their offices at nine or nine-thirty in the morning to prepare for the opening of the courts at half-past ten or eleven, Rufus Isaacs would be up at five o'clock working hard at any brief that had been entrusted to him. That is the kind of man he was and has continued to be.

I have seen the new British Ambassador defend men for their lives in court, fight great financial cases, defend the reputation of some of the highest in the land. I have seen him as a budding politician in the throes of election night, have witnessed his progress in the House of Commons from the private benches to the position of Attorney General, and have seen him since as Lord Chief Justice, and was present when he presided over the trial of Roger Casement a little more than a year ago. I have never once seen him lose his temper. In a moment of strain some one's manifestation of stupid obstinacy or perhaps equally stupid dishonesty may have caused that big mouth to shut a little tighter in a flash of impatience but that was all. Abuse he would meet with a cold douche of facts, petulance with silky smiling argument. In face of failure I have never seen him discouraged. A soft reflectiveness and an added courtesy were the only outward signs on such occasions. I have never seen him cowed, or seen him flinch from unpleasant and painful duties. And there is not one of those traits which did not spring from the fact that he was master of himself, master in great measure of those around him. Unlike those of more impetuous nature and lesser calibre he avoided arrogance of every kind—perhaps subtlety as well as good nature played its part, but certainly the latter was not lacking. If he was pleading before a weak judge whom some of the leading counsel were inclined to withstand or to treat with contempt he would be more than usually respectful. Is it to be wondered at that Rufus Isaacs

was liked? On the other hand the strongest judge had no terrors for him; deference was never to be extracted from him by fear or nervousness.

THE CASE OF THE REPORTER

Let me give another little sidelight on the man. Some seventeen years ago when Rufus Isaacs was at the height of his fame as an advocate he was engaged day after day in a case which roused interest all over the country. He was the leader of a long line of counsel on one side. The court was crowded all day with rank and fashion. Hundreds of thousands of dollars were being spent in the fight. Isaacs, in charge of an intricate contest, was a much-discussed figure in the newspapers. The case lasted a week or so. It was in the midst of the case that one evening a point in connection with the day's hearing was in doubt—not an important point but an interesting one—which the proceedings had not elucidated. A young reporter was sent up to Rufus Isaacs's house in Park Lane to secure an explanation from the King's Counsel. He had been worried all day and for days under the burden of the heavy work. The young reporter was a total stranger to him. The information required must have seemed trifling. The call was made late at night, when he might reasonably enough have resented intrusion—might perhaps even have been at rest. If he had refused the information or if he had even declined to see the newspaper man there would have been no cause for complaint. But that was not Rufus Isaacs's way. He met the young fellow with a smile of welcome, took him into his library, turned up reference books, reinforced his memory, and explained fully and precisely the point upon which it was desired to be clear. No one could have been kinder or more helpful. The young reporter left the house with a feeling that he had not intruded on the K.C. at all. Such is the kind of impression which Isaacs leaves upon one.

Here is another small incident of a few years later. I was present at a consultation with Sir Rufus Isaacs, as he had then become, in connection with a case of libel. In his oak-lined chambers at the Temple within a hundred yards of the fountain which Tom Pinch made famous, Sir Rufus sat at his flat-topped writing table toying with a pen and listening appreciatively to the facts as put forth by a famous solicitor and two or three others intimately connected with the case. He gave the same full attention and sympathy to the words of the clerk who had to be a witness as to the millionaire employer. He had a kindly word of understanding and a friendly light in his eye which somehow made each person tell him everything frankly, trustingly and completely. He gave the feeling of being a friend, a good true friend, immensely clever, who was going to help one in a personal rather than a business way. On this occasion solicitor, client, and witnesses were all confident of the strength of the case. There was no possibility that we could lose. Sir Rufus Isaacs listened, put in a word here and there, smiled and made himself a pleasant companion, and confidence grew as we witnessed his demeanor. And then at the end he said in a sweet kind of melancholy way, "Yes, I understand it now. There is a chance we shall win, but a greater chance that we shall lose. The other side have a far stronger case." I have often wondered since whether this was one of his little professional mannerisms. As a matter of fact he went into court and won the case brilliantly. One more incident, this not within my personal knowledge. As years went on and he entered politics and became a leading figure in the Government, a friendship developed between him and Mr. Lloyd George. It was in the midst of turmoil in the country, occasioned by Mr. Lloyd George's budget, the financial and technical conditions of which were undoubtedly largely helped by the advice of Sir Rufus, that the pair of them stole away in company with another well-known member of Parliament for a week-end in the country. These three highbrows had a compartment to themselves in the train, and on the journey down might have been heard amusing themselves by chorusing out comic songs to their hearts' content. The student of human nature might conceivably find some traces of the success of the Prime Minister and of Lord Reading in that little human outburst.

A TRIAL IN THE OLD BAILY

Most of Rufus Isaacs's forensic successes were achieved in the civil courts, that is to say, the High Courts of Justice in the Strand, but he also made occasional appearances in the criminal courts where it was not his technical knowledge but his understanding of

human nature and his shining personality which secured him success. I remember about the time of the Boer War or just afterward he had to defend a well-known South African charged with treason whose trial at the old Baily created a sensation and who, apparently from what was alleged against him, seemed bound for the scaffold. The evidence as it was revealed day by day was deadly. Rufus Isaacs fought like a lion. He cross-examined witnesses with a kind of intensive suavity which is one of his greatest possessions; he took legal points persistently. The war filled the air. Never had Isaacs greater need of tact. Finally in his address to the jury he talked to them with an earnest reasonableness which had an appeal of its own. He took them into his own mind and heart. He spoke as an Englishman to Englishmen. He avoided rhetoric except toward the end when in a moment of exaltation he begged them not to be merciful but to be just. No one could be present in that court and fail to be influenced by the feeling that radiated from him. It may not be fair to the prisoner to say it, but I cannot help the impression that this was an occasion when Rufus Isaacs magnetized the men who listened to him. They returned a verdict which saved the prisoner's life.

But it was in the civil courts where his searching intellect and all his peculiar mannerisms found full play. I remember one occasion on which a financier brought an action either for slander or libel and Rufus Isaacs was the leading counsel for the defence. The financier went into the witness box. Rufus Isaacs asked his questions in his usual quiet and courteous way and the financier presently resented what he thought were suggestions underlying some of the questions.

"I don't understand you Mr. Rufus Isaacs," he said rather pompously. "Do you mean to imply I did anything unworthy of my position as a private banker? Do you mean to suggest that I did not take proper care of these affairs? What do you mean?"

"Yes, I mean to suggest that," said Rufus Isaacs smoothly and, clearly, "and, since you ask me, I mean to suggest also that you have consistently falsified trust which has been placed in you and to suggest also to the jury that you have been a swindler in all these matters under consideration to which you have set your hand. *That is what I mean* to suggest."

It only remains to be said that at the end of the case the jury accepted in full the suggestions of Mr. Rufus Isaacs.

A POLITICAL DEFEAT

It was, I think, in the year 1900 that I was present at the counting of votes at the election in the West End of London in which Rufus Isaacs made his first bid for Parliament. He was already the best-known advocate in the country and must have made a great deal of money, and his ambitions were turning to further fields of conquest. Many people thought he would win the election. He was rather badly beaten. I saw him at the counting of the votes in the thick of the excitement in the Town Hall, when disappointment was upon him. Never was he more gracious in manner. He was the first in his congratulations to his opponent, and his warm thanks to his many friends and supporters would have never led an observer to suppose that he had met a serious setback. A few years went by before he had his chance again, and then, in 1904, he was elected Liberal member for Reading, the city from which he subsequently took his title. He sat with the Liberals in opposition until the great victory returned his party to power at the end of 1906. His habits of industry served him well. At work early in his chambers on the legal fights which were thrust upon him, he would be in the courts from half-past ten until four in the afternoon; then after further consultations would drive down to the House of Commons two miles away and attend to his Parliamentary duties until the adjournment of the House at eleven o'clock at night.

He did not make many speeches, although his rising was always the sign for much interest, for all were anxious to see how this phenomenally successful man in the courts would carry himself in a different sphere. I had the opportunity to watch him from the gallery in the House of Commons from 1907 onward and saw him go from the back benches to the Treasury Bench and a seat in the Cabinet. There was a surprise for every one. It is among the strange facts in connection with him that he had not the makings of a distinguished Parliamentarian. His rich voice and his close and reasonable arguments somehow did not appeal to the fighting instincts of that assembly. No one could doubt his convictions and yet somehow he lacked that flaming

zeal or the bitter witty incisiveness which are two of the most required qualities for real success of a leader in Parliament. He was very popular personally among members, but he never roused enthusiasm in debate. He paid almost too much respect to the House. He might have been addressing in his graceful way a gathering of Judges. He was, however, valuable to the Government by reason of his advice on legal matters, in the framing of bills, in the arrangement of financial clauses, and in the hundred and one other ways in which a first-class legal mind can serve statesmen. His rival in the courts, Sir Edward Carson, whose powers as an advocate were far inferior to those of Rufus Isaacs, was greatly his superior in the Legislature. I can see the two men now—Sir Edward Carson with his lean, long, bent figure, his pugnacious jaw, his outstretched finger, his mordant words slowly uttered, often tense and cruel, and Rufus Isaacs, erect, debonair, balancing his sentences so as to be absolutely fair, and with a certain velvety deliverance which was always as gracious to his opponents as to his own party.

The highly contentious Budget of 1909 made Sir Rufus Isaacs of invaluable assistance to the Government. In the framing of the clauses, replete with complicated details of finance, his store of legal knowledge and his probing mind were called upon from day to day and night to night.

In 1913 he entered a new field, that of Lord Chief Justice, and here his talents found a freshly advantageous sphere. His balanced mind, his gentle manner, his scrupulous fairness, his capacity for detail and his personal dignity made him a great judge. No litigant before him ever failed to have confidence in a just outcome. Perhaps the most marked example of his power was when, with two colleagues, he conducted the trial of Roger Casement. I was present throughout the hearing. There were many painful moments during the trial. Casement, haggard, intellectual, with the bearing of a gentleman, stood in the dock listening to the fight for his life. An Irish K.C., with a clever English junior, struggled passionately for days against the overwhelming evidence. The charge of treason against the prisoner was being made in the throes of a terrible war and in the heart of the Empire. And it says much for the reputation of British justice that never was a trial conducted with greater care for the interest of the prisoner, with greater effort on the part of the Judges that every particle of evidence and argument in support of the prisoner should be forthcoming and should be weighed to the utmost. No person present could possibly forget the kindly and careful way the Lord Chief Justice examined the contentions of Casement's counsel, how he discussed the various points with him, and the sympathy he showed in the efforts to get every possible point for the prisoner in the foreground. The crowded court was in a tense state from first to last, but there was no feeling displayed against Casement. The calmness, determination, and the British dignity of the Lord Chief Justice made an Englishman proud of his country even under the sense of tragedy which naturally lay over the proceedings. The conclusion was inevitable, but I shall always think of that trial as one of the greatest examples of the traditions of British Bench and Bar.

During the war Lord Reading has been frequently temporarily relieved of his duties in the courts to give advice and assistance to the Government in the complicated financial propositions which had to be considered. To him a great part of Mr. Lloyd George's financial success is undoubtedly due. Some day perhaps we shall get a clearer view of his services. It is at any rate an evidence of how they were valued that he was recently sent to America to help in the arrangement of financial affairs between the two countries. The satisfaction he gave to the leaders of both nations is well known.

Lord Reading's present work here will certainly be the culmination of his career to date, for he will not only have to deal with tremendous current problems arising from the war, but probably also with problems equally vast which will follow the war. With regard to the latter his commercial and financial genius will be exercised to their limit. And be it said that no one who knows him will hesitate to believe that his labors will be as gratifying to one country as to the other. To his quality of brain he adds a critical sense of justice and honor. He is a great democrat. He has social qualities which endear him to all those with whom he comes in contact. These are great endowments. And when history comes to be written it will probably be found that his success in America was due as much to Lord Reading the man as to Lord Reading the financier, the jurist, and the statesman.

"SINGLE MEN IN BARRACKS"

Successful Work of the United States Government to Safeguard the Morals and Physical Health of American Soldiers from the Ravages of Sexual Vice—An Official Campaign of Medical Treatment and of Education of the Public in a Subject Heretofore Forbidden

BY

FRANK PARKER STOCKBRIDGE

PRUDERY, along with many other of our national failings, must be abandoned for the duration of the war. Without public discussion and understanding of some subjects that have not been publicly discussed, and therefore have not been understood by the public, our chances of winning the war and coming out of it better than we went in will be seriously impaired. I offer no other apology than this for telling here what is being done to make our Army and Navy the cleanest body of young men that has ever been assembled—clean, I mean, as to sex morality and the consequences of sexual irregularity, gonorrhea and syphilis, the so-called venereal diseases. The subject involves not only the health and the morals of a few million American boys whose parents would like to have them returned home in good condition, but the effectiveness of our fighting force in the field. Moreover, it involves a problem of the gravest import to the women of this generation and the children of the next; to the future welfare of our nation, in short. All of which I shall try to make clear.

There has been much hysterical talk about the danger to young girls in the vicinity of Army camps and cantonments. The greater danger, as those charged with the effort to control venereal disease in the Services see it, is to young soldiers and sailors from the professional and semi-professional prostitutes who in almost every other army in the world and in our own until quite recently have had almost unchecked access to the enlisted men. The problem of protecting the military and civil population alike from the spread of venereal diseases is so big that the authorities at Washington are trying to enlist the aid of all good citizens in the effort to solve it. The *public can supply* the aid necessary to a complete solution, but it cannot help unless it knows the facts. The facts, however, are sufficiently startling to arouse even the most apathetic community, once they are known.

Because few outside the medical profession know much about the prevalence of venereal diseases, let me quote a few general statements, on the authority of the New York City Department of Health.

"There is as much syphilis as tuberculosis in this country to-day. About 5,000 persons die in New York City each year as a result of syphilis and its complications. Nearly a third of the serious operations upon women are necessary because of gonorrhea. Syphilis is the cause of 10 to 35 per cent. of all insanity. Syphilis is transmissible to the offspring and causes death in 80 per cent. of those so infected. Syphilis is the cause of locomotor ataxia, of paresis or softening of the brain, of apoplectic and paralytic strokes in early life, of nearly half the abortions and miscarriages, and of a large proportion of diseases of the heart, blood-vessels and many other of the vital organs. Gonorrhea is the most prevalent of all diseases except measles. It is responsible for from 6,000 to 10,000 cases of blindness in the United States. It is the cause of 80 per cent. of the blindness of the newborn and of more than 10 per cent. of all blindness. It is the cause of 50 per cent. of sterility and of many chronic diseases of the joints, bladder, and generative organs."

On the same authority it is stated that ten out of every hundred persons have some form of syphilitic infection and that eight out of every ten men and five out of every ten women in New York City have had gonorrhea at least once!

More soldiers of one of the Allied armies have been rendered ineffective through venereal disease, at certain periods, than through wounds received in battle!

As in the United States, approximately 10 per cent. of the population of the British Isles was syphilitic before the war began. Medical authorities estimate that unless the present rate of spread of the disease is diminished, 30 per cent. will be infected before the war is over!

Syphilis and gonorrhea have spread so rapidly in Canada, through soldiers returning from the front, that public discussion of the subject is now permitted for the first time and repressive measures are being introduced, as they are in England, where the former attitude of indifference has given place to genuine alarm.

No accurate recent data are available from Russia, Italy, or Germany, but in all of these countries there has been a material increase in venereal infections among the civil population and a considerable percentage of incapacitation of the fighting forces through these causes.

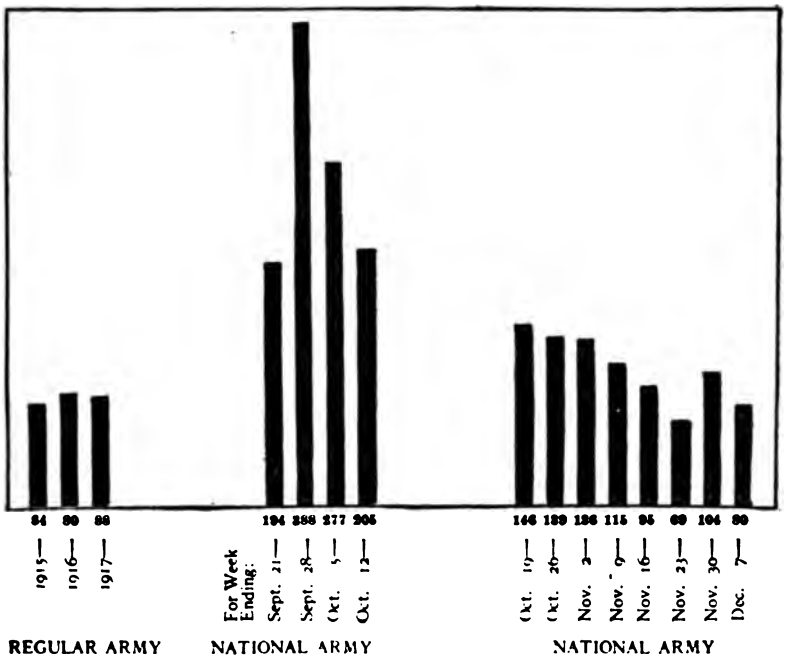
AMERICA FIRST TO TRY REGULATION

America, alone of the belligerent nations, began its participation in the war with regulatory, sanitary, and disciplinary measures in effect which have already proved their value in reducing the percentage of infection in the Army and Navy, and at the same time began to build a machine designed to prevent the spread of these diseases among the civilian population. What official England, France, Canada, and Germany have only recently awakened to the necessity of doing, after more than three years of war, America has been doing aggressively from the start.

Prophylactic and curative measures have, of course, been in use everywhere, but the American programme is the ambitious one of elimination on the one hand of sources of infection and the inculcation on the other hand of a new standard of sex morality among the men of the Services. Ours is the only army in the world, so far, that makes infection with a venereal disease a punishable offense. Moreover, both in the Army and the Navy, the fact that sexual continence is entirely compatible with good health is drilled into the men, along with the teaching that it is their duty to conserve every ounce of physical energy for the service of their country. There are, of course, in both Services, veterans filled with the old tradition of the fighting man as a hard-drinking, lust-gratifying individual when off duty. To these officers and men of the old school this type of soldier seems much more virile than the youth who goes to the soda-fountain and the Y. M. C. A. rather than to the saloon and the brothel. Heretofore all conscious consideration of the matter in any army has been from the viewpoint of the soldier's entire right to follow his instincts to the limit, and control has taken no more drastic form than official supervision of prostitution. Germany at the beginning of the war practically mobilized the prostitutes of the Empire at the concentration camps and at the front, with some ineffectual attempts to segregate infected individuals. The world knows the story of rape officially condoned, if not officially sanctioned, that followed the invasion of France and Belgium. Prostitutes plied their trade with the French army "everywhere but in the first-line trenches," as one American observer puts it. Similar conditions are reported to prevail in the Italian army. No restrictions have been imposed by the Russians. The English Government, up to a very few months ago, left to civilian effort all attempts at any sort of control. Officially the British military authorities have only just awakened to the fact that, as Kipling phrases it, "Single men in barracks don't grow into plaster saints." Now that England has awakened to the situation, a complete and thorough solution may be expected.

Nobody is trying to make American soldiers and sailors grow into plaster saints, but the departments concerned, with the coöperation of a great body of civilian volunteers are striving, with unexpected success, to instil continence and moral cleanliness while at the same time removing temptation. This is coupled with the physical rehabilitation of those who brought venereal infection with them into the Services. The number of these latter is surprising, even to physicians. There have been no accurate statistics of venereal diseases in civil life, because these diseases are in most states not reportable, like other infections. Statistics being available from the Army and Navy, the impression has gained ground that the Services are hotbeds of vice and disease. It is, to be sure, startling to contemplate statistics that show an annual rate of 88 cases of venereal disease per 1,000 soldiers in the Regular Army, compared with a rate of 13.4 for all other diseases, but—

Soldiers of the National Army, for a period



THE PREVALENCE OF VENEREAL DISEASES IN THE NATIONAL ARMY

Demonstrating the responsibility of civil communities. During September and October when drafted men were mobilized, a large number of cases of venereal disease, contracted in civil life and reported for the first time by the army, caused a conspicuous rise in the annual rate. (These figures show the annual rate for venereal disease per 1,000 men for the years 1915 and 1916 based on annual reports, and the computed annual rate per 1,000 for the year 1917 based on weekly reports)

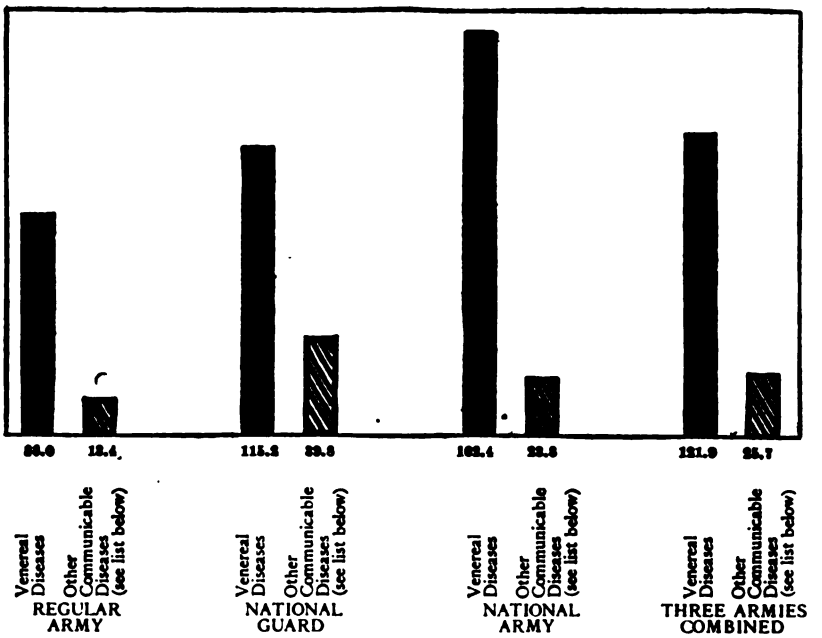
of nine weeks after the first drafted men got to camp, brought with them venereal infections at a rate of 212 cases per 1,000 annually! In one week the newly-drafted men showed a rate as high as 418 per 1,000! These were young men who had been passed by the examining boards and adjudged fit for military service. In other words, after the worst cases had been weeded out, venereal disease was shown to be nearly three times as prevalent among selected civilians as in the Regular Army. Under the influence of medical treatment, moral propaganda and the beginnings of control of infection sources, the rate began to drop rapidly. For the week ending December 7, 1917, it was down to 80, or below the three-year Regular Army average, and has since steadily declined. In the National Guard camps the rate has dropped below 50. Medical officers are beginning to hope they can keep the rate for the whole Army down to 6 per cent. or less.

The methods adopted are those which have been in use in both Army and Navy for some years, amplified and added to to meet the *exigency of the sudden influx* into the Services of a few million young civilians. For a long time, except for the medical treatment of cases after they had developed, the only preventive measure was the issuing to every man of the Navy, whenever he had shore leave, of a packet containing medicaments for preventive treatment, on the assumption that he would certainly have occasion to use it. Similar preventive packets were purchasable by soldiers at their post exchanges and by sailors ashore at the Navy Yards. Three years ago this system was abolished in the Navy, partly on the moral ground that it was an encouragement to incontinence, partly because of the expense involved, and partly because it proved inefficacious. In its place were inaugurated moral and sanitary advice to the sailors, provision for early treatment of every man who had been exposed to infection, and the cleaning up of infected districts in the vicinity of naval stations. Statistics compiled by Medical Inspector Charles E. Riggs of the Navy show a progressive falling off in the proportion of venereal disease in the Navy and of exposure to infection in the thirty months succeeding the establishment of the new order.

It was largely on the basis of this experience, to which was added a practical demonstration on the Mexican border in 1916, that the measures now in force in the Army were adopted. The border experience proved conclusively that the rigid suppression of public prostitution in the vicinity of camps had a decided effect in lowering the venereal rate. The troops that developed the smallest proportion of venereal diseases, the New York National Guard, were surrounded by a barred zone into which no known prostitute was permitted to enter. When mobilization began for Mexican border service a delegation of leaders of the social hygiene movement conferred with the Secretary of War and advised the appointment of a special representative

to study the problem of prostitution in relation to the Army. Mr. Raymond D. Fosdick was appointed. As a result of his reports, corroborated by commanding Generals, medical officers and others, there developed the plan for the present Commission on Training Camp Activities, as well as the provision in the National Army law which authorizes the President to direct the establishment of zones around each camp and cantonment in which prostitution shall be suppressed.

A comprehensive plan for national control of the situation is now in full effect, under the direction of Surgeon-General Gorgas and Colonel F. F. Russell, Medical Corps, in charge of the Division of Infectious Diseases. Dr. William F. Snow, Professor of Hygiene and Public Health at Stanford University, who has exercised a wide influence in developing the attack on venereal diseases through his position as editor of "Social Hygiene" and his practical work as a State health officer, was commissioned a Major in the Medical Reserve Corps and placed in direct control of the venereal disease work. A special section has been organized in the Division of Infectious Diseases, under the direction of Colonel Russell. The personnel of this section includes, besides Major Snow, Major Edward L. Keyes, Professor of Urology in Cornell University, who represents this branch of the service with the American Expeditionary Force in France, Major W. A. Sawyer, State Health Officer of California, Major Eugene F. McCampbell, Dean of the Medical Department of Ohio State University and formerly State Health Officer; Captain Alan Nicoll Thomson, Director of the Genito-Urinary Clinic of Brooklyn Hospital; Major Bascom Johnson, Attorney of the American Social Hygiene Association; Captain T. N. Pfeiffer and thirty-two lieutenants with a number of sergeants, assigned to educational work in the cantonments. In addition there is an advisory committee composed of five specialists of National reputation: Drs. William Allen Pusey, Francis R. Hagner, Grover W. Wende, S. Pollitzer, and Henry H. Morton.



THE PREVALENCE OF VENEREAL DISEASES

Compared with other communicable diseases in the United States Army—Prepared from reports made to the Surgeon General. (Figures given show computed annual rate per 1,000 based on reports to the Surgeon General for the twelve-week period, September 21 to December 7, 1917)

Venereal Diseases. Other Communicable Diseases, i. e.: Pneumonia, dysentery, typhoid, paratyphoid, malaria, meningitis, and scarlet fever (not including measles)

PREVENTIVE MEASURES

The campaign against venereal disease as it directly touches the individual soldier is thorough and effective. Of prime importance, of course, is the medical side, which consists, besides treatment of actual cases in regimental or base hospitals, of the establishment of stations for the prompt application of preventive measures for soldiers who have exposed themselves to infection. These stations for early treatment are located near railroad terminals in towns to which soldiers in considerable numbers go on leave, and at the regimental hospitals. In New York, for example, there is an early treatment station close to the terminal of the Long Island Railroad, over which all traffic to Camp Upton passes. The regulations fixing the responsibility of the individual soldier are

very strict. No soldier having venereal disease in an infectious form is permitted leave from camp. Every soldier who, when on leave, has run the risk of infection, must present himself at one of the early treatment stations within eight hours after exposure. It is not left to the soldier's judgment to determine whether or not he has been infected. The rule is that if he has had intercourse with any woman not his wife he must report himself as having been exposed to infection. Enough instances have been discovered, in the vicinity of various cantonments, of girls whose known activities could have infected entire companies in a few days, to indicate the menace that one woman of easy virtue might be.

At the early treatment station treatment that has proved almost uniformly effective when used within six to eight hours is administered. The soldier who thereafter, and before another exposure, develops a venereal disease suffers no further penalty than the loss of all pay while confined to the hospital or otherwise non-effective as a fighting unit. The rule depriving soldiers of pay for time lost to the Army through diseases resulting from their own indiscretions dates back to 1912, and has proved a valuable deterrent. If, however, a soldier who has not reported at the early treatment station develops a venereal disease after having been off on leave, he is summoned before a summary court-martial which may sentence him to hard labor or otherwise discipline him for infraction of regulations. The men understand that the Army in no wise condones or favors the toleration of their exposure to infection and that courts-martial for conduct detrimental to the Army may be ordered independently of any question of infection.

A very large percentage of cases in which infection occurs after having joined the colors is, of course, curable. In syphilis, the standard treatment with salvarsan—"606"—is used, the Army now having an ample supply of this remedy, made in the United States. It is comparatively easy, too, so to reduce the active symptoms of gonorrhea as to send the soldier back to duty very quickly, although modern medical science, when asked the question: "Is gonorrhea ever permanently cured?" can only answer: "Yes, probably—but you never can tell."

Word has been passed out to the soldiers, too, that no one who is suffering from a venereal disease in an infectious form will be allowed to go to France but that such cases will be kept in America for the hard and unromantic work of the home garrisons and forts, or sent over later after treatment, which means the soldier will probably not get back to his own company and so will lose opportunity for advancement.

THE IMPORTANCE OF AMUSEMENTS

Educational work among the soldiers consists in placing in each soldier's hands a pamphlet, which he is required to study, telling him the facts about the nature and consequences of venereal diseases; of lectures, by medical and lay speakers; stereopticon and motion picture exhibitions that give the uninitiated youngster an eyeopening view of the ravages of venereal diseases, and various placards and fixed exhibits to keep the warning fresh in the young soldier's mind. To manage this part of the work the Surgeon General's Office and the Committee on Training Camp Activities coöperate in maintaining a Department of Social Hygiene Instruction. Equally important is the provision of sports, games, entertainment of divers sorts, through the Y. M. C. A., the Knights of Columbus, and other organizations. Previous experience indicates the great majority of infections would never have occurred but for the lack of entertainment to keep the soldier's mind and body fully occupied.

The jurisdiction of the Commission on Training Camp Activities extends to the five-mile zone around each camp and cantonment. Both the military police and women patrols are employed in the zones, to keep undesirable women out. Outside of the five-mile zones and covering a territory so wide as to be almost co-extensive with our national boundaries, an ambitious but increasingly effective campaign is under way for the closing of "red-light" districts, the suppression of street-walking, the supervision of young girls afflicted with the prevailing epidemic of "uniformitis," the control of venereally-infected women and the education of the great mass of the public that has never given any thought to the subject. This work is being participated in by many agencies. A very important part of the work of sanitation in the vicinity of camps and cantonments, which the United States Public Health Service is charged with,

consists of the closing of brothels and disorderly resorts, the suppression of prostitution, and the provision of dispensaries for the treatment of venereally-infected civilians of both sexes. The American Red Cross is helping through its appropriation of $173,500 to help finance this extra cantonment sanitation. The educational work is being done largely under the leadership of the Sub-Committee for Civilian Coöperation in Combating Venereal Diseases of the Council of National Defence, and the American Social Hygiene Association. This committee includes in its membership military and civilian physicians, business men and leaders of social welfare movements. Its activities are largely carried on by the volunteer services of a group of three young business men, Mr. William Zinsser, Mr. Gurdon Parker and Mr. Mark Wiseman, and field secretaries of the Association under the Direction of Mr. H. H. Moore.

The programme of this committee involves primarily public education and stimulation to coöperation, both for the protection of the soldier and for the suppression of prostitution and the better treatment of venereal diseases generally.

The results obtained in the matter of closing segregated districts have been especially gratifying. On August 10, 1917, Secretary Baker sent the following letter to the mayor of every city and the sheriff of every county in the vicinity of every camp:

"The War Department will not tolerate the existence of any restricted district within an effective radius of the camp. Experience has proved that such districts in the vicinity of army camps, no matter how conducted, are inevitably attended by unhappy consequences. The only practical policy which presents itself in relation to this problem is the policy of absolute repression, and I am confident that in taking this course the War Department has placed itself in line with the best thought and practice which modern police experience has developed. This policy involves, of course, constant vigilance on the part of the police, not only in eliminating regular houses of prostitution but in checking the more or less clandestine class that walks the streets and is apt to frequent lodging houses and hotels."

It has been necessary in only one or two instances, after the Secretary's attention had been called to the reluctance of local officials to "clean up," to add to the foregoing warning. In those few instances, the direct threat to remove the camp unless matters were set right proved effective.

There still remain such problems as what to do with those already infected, of both sexes. Several cities have set apart wards in the public hospitals in which both men and women found to be suffering from venereal diseases are treated until no longer a public menace. Some cities are interning infected women for the duration of the war. There is the problem of clandestine prostitution—far more difficult in its solution, though less dangerous to the morals and health of the soldier than the open vice district, with its glamor of music, lights, and the crowd, because less accessible and alluring. To further aid in handling this phase of the situation the Commission on Training Camp Activities has organized a Committee on Protective Work for Girls, under the chairmanship of Miss Maude E. Miner of New York, which has worked out a programme which, if carried out, should greatly reduce the sort of promiscuousness that has, in the vicinity of some of the cantonments, reached appalling proportions.

As our soldiers get to France, they find measures in effect which, while not completely paralleling those adopted in this country, are nevertheless already proving effective among the American contingent now "over there." The venereal disease rate in our army in France has already been reduced from 94 per thousand per annum to 75, or below the Regular Army rate of its last three and cleanest years. No detailed reports of the work in France have been made public, but the coöperation of the French authorities has been enlisted and while the question of control is more difficult than in America, the officials charged with this work are optimistic in their belief that it will prove possible to reduce and keep the rate below 6 per cent. for the duration of the war, while at the same time the progress of venereal diseases back here in the States will have been definitely checked.

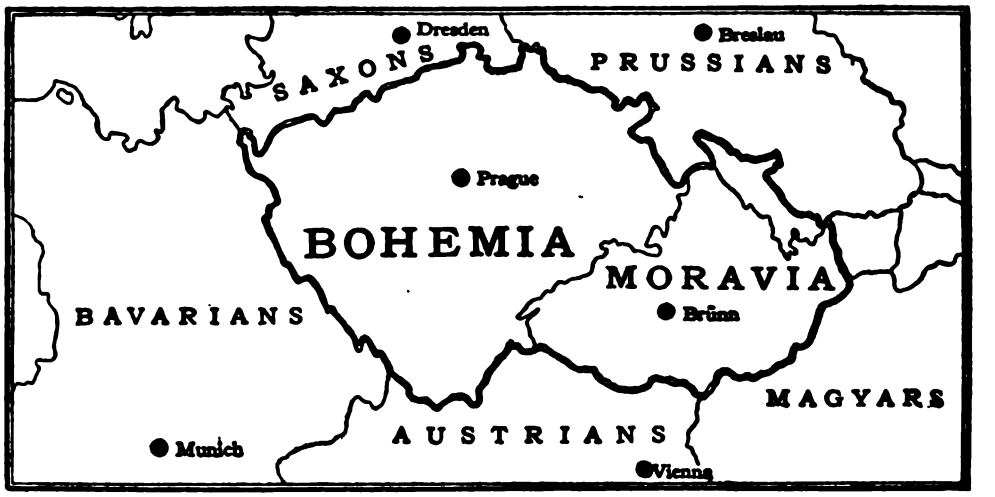
The one essential, it is pointed out by everyone having a part in the huge task of protecting America from the venereal plague that is already threatening to engulf Europe, is public coöperation based on the fullest public discussion and education on a heretofore-forbidden subject.

THE FERMENT IN BOHEMIA

Its Aspiration for Independence Undaunted by Four Hundred Years of Oppression, by Its Geographical Position between Prussia and Austria, or By Its Enforced Participation in the War—A Splendid Struggle for Liberty Still Being Waged by a Brave and Resourceful People

BY

RICHARD WILMER ROWAN



MANY years ago when Poland was a Power, Belgium scarcely yet conscious of nationality, and Lorraine an important duchy hailed in any alliance, the Czechs of Bohemia were battling vainly against Austrian vassalage. Bohemia went through some of the most barbarous of the German religious wars in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Between 1617 and 1637 the Bohemian population was reduced from 3,000,000 to 780,000 by the ravages of execution and exile. The Czech language was banished from the Bohemian schoolroom in favor of the German by the otherwise liberal Maria Theresa just two years before our American Declaration of Independence. Czech rioting signalized the upheavals in 1848 that drove Metternich and his fellow reactionaries to a timely seclusion. Yet the *Ausgleich* or Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 found Bohemia still refused the national recognition it demanded. Parliamentary government was launched in the now "Dual" Monarchy, but, enraged that the rights of the Magyars should be conceded and their own ignored, for some years Bohemian deputies resolutely refused to appear at sessions of the Austrian Lower House to which they had been elected under the new Constitution. And when they finally did consent to attend, they exhibited such an unparliamentarian accuracy in throwing inkstands that their withdrawal would not have discouraged the Austrian representatives.

The Pan-German scheme was at once confronted with this same Bohemian question. Though numerically but a tenth of the "resentful minorities" in Pan-Germany, and hardly a twenty-first of the population of the Central Powers, the Czecho-Slovak people take on a greatly disproportionate strength in any adjustment of the Pan-German imperial strategy. Bohemia lies directly between Prussian Silesia and the Archduchy of Austria. Most of the Czechs live along the direct route from Berlin to Vienna—or from Hamburg to the Persian Gulf if one thinks in the more ambitious terms. Belgium, French Lorraine, Alsace, Italia Irredenta, Poland, Courland, Armenia—all are on the edge of

Pan-Germany. Bohemia is its central pivot. The boundaries within which the Czechs have lived so long are more naturally defined and more perfectly defended by systems of mountain ranges than almost any other in Europe. To that grim shackle which the Pan-German has padlocked across his *Mitteleuropa*, we find Bohemia an unmistakable and a willing key.

In a recent interview published by the *Social Demokraten* of Stockholm, Martinek, known internationally as a leader among Bohemian Socialists, remarked in the course of his discussion of the Bolshevist armistice programme—"In omitting the mention of the Bohemian question, the Russian revolutionary democracy has abandoned its own principles. One could understand this passing over of the Bohemian question on the part of the German autocracy, for in its view the very existence of Austria is menaced by the logical settlement of the Bohemian question. Without Bohemia there can be no Austria. Bohemia is the real economic backbone of Austria."

Austria's manifold coercion of its Czech minority—the cruelty and brazen injustice terrorizing Bohemia is no longer so entirely because of racial hatred existing between the German and Magyar and the Czecho-Slovak as it is due to German and Magyar governmental fear of the stanch Bohemian republicanism. Of the many thorns in a very tender side, the one that is Czech is barbed. The Austrian, Prussian, and Russian Poles have so long raged against a divided oppression that the Polish unrest is hardly resolved to any single line of attack. Germany's French and Danish fragments, Austria's Italian, Rumanian, and Serbian or Jugo-Slavic—all have had their faces turned toward a mother-country from which they have been wrested or which has arisen without them. But Bohemian ambition looks inward. The Czech would not detach himself from Germania; he wants to plant his banner of freedom where he stands. If its base has to rest on the Austrian's foot he admits a mutual handicap, but never alters his ancient determination. The kind of treatment he has been getting from the Austrian makes him rather eager to drive it down hard on that foot, or on any other extremity of the Austrian's, not excepting that last extremity—the Austrian's grave.

The history of Bohemia since the war would be literally an encyclopædia of achievement in systematic—in German systematic—tyranny. So vigorously has the Czech language been suppressed that—as in Alsace-Lorraine—the submerged populace may not even put inscription on tombstones in the native language of the deceased. The sinister shadow of the police spy spares no Bohemian home. Bohemia has become a veritable No Man's Land, remote from the deadlocked armies, yet guarded constantly against that moment of fearful reckoning the German oppressor knows he cannot avoid.

More than one thousand civilians were executed for political offenses in Bohemia during the first eighteen months of the war. Nearly one half of this number were women, including many young girls. These facts were officially admitted in the Austrian *Reichsrat*. But they brought forth only cries of derision from the Czech deputies who heard the admission—cries denouncing such a statement as ministerial effort to mitigate the actual reign of terror existing throughout the Czecho-Slovak provinces of Bohemia and Moravia. "A whole people have been driven to wage civil war, unarmed," cried a deputy. "The gallows and the dungeon are the battlefields in Bohemia."

In dealing with the Czecho-Slovak populace the Imperial secret police have perfected a wholesale method unsurpassed in the annals of tyranny

A girl of Brünn, aged twenty, who had served as a nurse since the opening months of the war, received from one of her patients in the hospital—a wounded Croatian gunner—a copy of the Russian revolutionary proclamation to the dominated Austrian nationalities. She inclosed it in a letter to her uncle, for which highly treasonable act she was arrested and sentenced to death. The uncle had copied the proclamation into his note-book, and later he read it to a friend, for which he, too, was sentenced to death. This friend to whom he had confided it, had been permitted to make himself a copy after promising to distribute it no further. But breaking this promise, he proceeded to make three copies. For passing them on he was convicted of high treason and executed like the others.

His copies reached three friends, one a school director of Brünn and ardent Bohemian Nationalist. When arrested and searched, his copy was found and brought him a death

sentence. The two other friends were given prison sentences of four and seven years respectively. The industry of the police persisted until the young nurse's copy and its copies had netted thirty-nine convictions out of forty-two accused. These convictions included six death sentences uncommuted, one commuted, and a further total of ninety-one years of imprisonment.

From Austrian parliamentary debates it is apparent, however, that the commutation of death sentences in the case of Bohemian political offenders carries slight promise of life. On several recent occasions, Czech deputies have horrified even calloused Austrian colleagues with details of the Bohemian persecutions.

"It was against our will that war was declared," the National Socialist Skribérny prefaced his most startling exposures. That Czech "will" the Austrian rulers determined to conquer. He proceeded to tell how thousands of Bohemia's intellectuals have been interned because "suspicious" or "doubtful." The harshest life-imprisonment scarcely equals the degradation of their "political detention" in such internment camps as that of Talerhof in Styria. To it women and girls and aged men are sent off in chains, crowded into filthy cattle trucks, or, untransported, forced to march for days. One such batch of forty-eight, found trudging along to their fate, was deliberately and without provocation massacred by a Magyar militia detachment.

At Talerhof the least infraction of the "internment" rules brings down on offenders of either sex public floggings usually refined to the equivalent of medieval torture. During the early days of last October, the entire camp—regardless of age, health, or sex—was herded into the open with no pretense at any sort of sleeping accommodation. Such circumstances have caused a variety of unceasing epidemics.

The food there is, of course, the worst in a land where the best is now barely sustaining. Except in the instance of new arrivals there is never the least effort at sanitation. Brutal guards often compel sick and well alike to wade to their knees through filth on their way to the latrines. While as for the sanitary attention shown to newcomers, all are made to strip for a thorough disinfection, and in any sort of weather old men, women and girls are left standing naked while their already tattered and scanty clothing is methodically fumigated.

Karl, upon succeeding the venerable Emperor Franz Josef, found most of the Czech deputies in prison, convicted of treason, and either already serving long sentences or awaiting execution. As a beginning act of amnesty he pardoned them. Yet when they appeared to resume their legislative places, the President of the Chamber denied them the right to former seats and privileges, which the Imperial pardon had automatically restored.

"Not enough have been strung up!" cried the German-Bohemian deputy, Heine, during a riotous argument with Czech deputies from his province. It was during this same debate that a Czech Socialist described the attitude of military Austria toward the Czechs, and incidentally, toward the whole parliamentary scheme at Vienna. He had been serving at the front and could only attend the session by the special permission of superiors. When applying for the papers required, he was told—"You Czechs are no good, any of you. Deputies ought to be burned anyway—yes, burned—all of them, and then perhaps we might win peace."

Martial contempt is—so far as the Czecho-Slovak population is concerned—based on their plentiful desertion from the armies of Austria-Hungary. To the drillmaster a rebel is a rebel and a deserter a despicable thing, no matter what patriotic or racial motives may justify the repugnant lapse from his militarist code. A distinctly Czecho-Slovak or Bohemian army had been formed under the Russian flag long before the March revolution. Recruited mainly by desertion it numbered more than 100,000 men in June of 1917.

Invariably the Czechs have deserted not for safety but to contribute to an Allied victory. Czech prisoners who could not be enrolled under the same status as deserters voluntarily seeking enlistment, have begged for some chance to help the cause they recognized as their own—to be sent to mines or into munition factories or other plants whose productivity was helping to combat Pan-Germanism. In France and in America the Bohemian desire to help in the great war-effort has become as sincerely marked as in Russia. Thousands of Czechs are in vital American war industries. Of the 13,233 Austrian subjects accepted in our first national draft, approximately 30 per cent. are of Bo-

hemian birth. The French Foreign Legion for forty months has depended on eager Czech platoons, until now a separate and volunteer Czecho-Slovak army is preparing like the many other fresh Allied corps that have gathered behind the Western front.

When Russian revolutionary fervor caused a sudden ebbing of military power, the plight of the many Czecho-Slovak battalions in the front lines led to an inevitable self-destruction. These troops of Bohemia on the Stokhod last summer found themselves left unsupported to face the readvancing Germans when a hopeful Russian offensive abruptly faltered and then utterly collapsed in a panic of disobedience. Their choice lay plainly between capture and execution as "traitors," or death under the German barrage that hurried the undisciplined Russians. Triumphant Teutonic reports never told of their resistance, yet unconsciously gave them tribute by claiming no Bohemian prisoners.

The Czechs have not begun only since 1914 to struggle against the conquering Germanic influences that hem them in. Of the one hundred and seventy-six millions engulfed in Pan-Germany to-day, at least eighty-five millions resent it. Of this resentful minority the Czechs number one tenth; and if no more persecuted than their fellow serfs of Belgium, Poland, Armenia, or Alsace-Lorraine, their persecution is certainly a national burden of greater maturity and concentration. The Austrian oppression of the Bohemians is historical to a degree nearing habit, and this is mainly because it is geographical to a degree affecting political survival.

The first food riots—though of very mild variety—reduced the city of Prague virtually to a state of siege, a condition that has never since abated. Tenants and householders whose homes or places of business immediately adjoin the intersections of important thoroughfares are evicted with uncompromising dispatch and no offer of compensation. Machine guns are then placed to command the streets in all directions. Frequently articles of furniture like mattresses and sofas are commandeered from the goods of the haplessly ejected occupants, to be used as barricades at lower windows or on balconies.

Such activity has, of course, added much to a police reputation already notorious in its brutality, and even more favored German portions of the population have fallen victim to this ruthless programme of internal defense. Relative to this, there is the case of the conviction as a spy of an Austrian girl of Prague, whose only beginning fault was her belonging to that poorer section always under suspicion for Socialist inclination—and her happening to live in a corner dwelling. When the police took over the house her family partly rented, they were arbitrarily forced to move out. Missing some valued little possession several days after the moving, this eldest daughter—barely eighteen—went back to look for it. Her errand seemed so natural, her destination so ordinary, it never occurred to her that a permit might be needed. Nor was one asked when she arrived at the vacated home.

But the entry of a police inspector and her sudden discovery while searching for the lost treasure resulted in prompt arrest. In Prague arrest and conviction have become more closely synonymous than anywhere else since the close of the Dark Ages. Caught under obscurely "questionable" circumstances, this young girl was convicted of spying upon the Austrian Imperial police. Her sentence was death. On appeal it was miraculously reduced to five years of imprisonment. Hers is a typical instance of the official "nerves" now redoubling the horror in Bohemia.

The Pan-German directs all the spies and police, conducts every prison and internment camp. As usual all the means and weapons of preparedness are almost exclusively his. Yet the spirit of nationalism and of freedom that has so hardily survived in Bohemia does not falter now, as it did not falter in the years before any Allied armies took the field. For centuries the cause of the Czechs—which is now a part of our Allied cause—has withstood all that expert persecution so strangely esteemed to be captivating by the German imperialist. The Czech believes in his national destiny in Europe. He believes that this war is the certain means by which he shall escape that persecution and commence the independent working out of that destiny. With his battalions of police and his frantic courts-martial the Pan-German shows that he, too, believes it.

Two Announcements

I

IN accordance with a mutual agreement between the WORLD'S WORK and Mr. John R. Rathom, editor of the Providence *Journal*, the WORLD'S WORK will discontinue the publication of the series "Germany's Plots Exposed," by Mr. Rathom.

As certain subscription offers have been made partially on the basis of this series, the WORLD'S WORK will refund the subscription money for the unexpired term of any subscriber who took the magazine for this series and who does not wish to continue his subscription without it.

II

The WORLD'S WORK will forthwith publish a series of articles on Fighting Germany's Spies, by French Strother. The first article of the series appears in this issue beginning on the opposite page.

Fighting Germany's Spies

I

THE INSIDE STORY OF THE PASSPORT FRAUDS AND THE FIRST GLIMPSE OF WERNER HORN

The Misadventures of the Ambitious Von Wedell—Ruroede's Ups and Downs, and the Stranger Who Took Him In—The Guileless Caller from Tokyo —The Drama of Von Wedell's Disappearance

BY

FRENCH STROTHER

(Managing Editor of the WORLD'S WORK)

(The series of articles Fighting Germany's Spies is published to bring home to the public in a detailed and convincing manner the character of the German activities in the United States. By courtesy of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice the facts and documents of this narrative have been verified.)

WHEN Carl Ruroede, the "genius" of the German passport frauds, came suddenly to earth in the hands of agents of the Department of Justice and unbosomed himself to the Assistant United States District Attorney in New York, he said sadly:

"I thought I was going to get an Iron Cross; but what they ought to do is to pin a little tin stove on me."

The cold, strong hand of American justice wrung that very human cry from Ruroede, who was the central figure (though far from the most sinister or the most powerful) in this earliest drama of Germany's bad faith with neutral America—a drama that dealt in forgery, blackmail, and lies, that revealed in action the motives of greed and jealousy and ambition, and that ended with three diplomats disgraced, one plotter in the penitentiary, and another sent to a watery grave in the Atlantic by a torpedo from a U-boat of the very country he had tried to serve. This is the story:

Twenty-five days after the Kaiser touched the button which publicly notified the world that Germany at last had decided that "The Day" had come—to be exact, on August 25, 1914—Ambassador Bernstorff wrote a letter effusively addressed to "My very honored Mr. Von Wedell." (Ruroede had not yet appeared on the scene.) The letter itself was more restrained than the address, but in it Bernstorff condescended to accept tentatively an offer of Wedell's to make a nameless voyage. The voyage was soon made, for on September 24th Wedell left Rotterdam, bearing a letter from the German Consul-General there, asking all German authorities to speed him on his way to Berlin, because he was bearing dispatches to the Foreign Office. Arrived in Berlin, Wedell executed his commission and then called upon his uncle, Count Botho Von Wedell, a high functionary of the Foreign Office. He was aflame with a great idea, which he unfolded to his uncle. The idea was approved, and right after the elections in November he was back in New York to put it into execution, incidentally bearing with him some letters handed him by order of Mr. Ballin, head of the Hamburg American Steamship Company, and another letter "for a young lady who goes to America in the interest of Germany." If unhappy Wedell had let this be his last voyage—but that belongs later in the story.

Wedell's scheme was this: He learned in Berlin that Germany had at home all the common soldiers she expected to need, but

THE FIRST GERMAN AGENT TO DEAL IN FALSE PASSPORTS

Hans Adam von Wedell, who brought back from Berlin, in the fall of 1914, the plan of getting German reserve officers in the United States into Germany by the fraudulent use of passports of neutral nations. He made his headquarters for this work in the rooms of a fraternal organization in New York City through an arrangement made by a Tammany lawyer of pro-German sympathies. Wedell's fraudulent passports got a number of German officers back safely. The method of obtaining and using the passports is explained in detail in the article herewith, as well as the strange outcome of Von Wedell's career

VON WEDELL'S SUCCESSOR IN THE PASSPORT FRAUDS

Carl Ruroede, who operated from an office in the Maritime Building, across the street from the Custom House in New York. His efforts to buy American passports through American agents led him into trouble, involving him in the toils of one of the cleverest and most complete pieces of detective work ever worked out by the United States Department of Justice. How the agents of the Bureau of Investigation played upon his vanity to his undoing, and how he unwittingly became a party to the strange outcome of Von Wedell's career, are described in this article

that more officers were wanted. He was told that Germany cared not at all whether the 100,000 reservists in America got home or not, but that she cared very much indeed to get the 800 or 1,000 officers in North and South America back to the Fatherland. Nothing but the ocean and the British fleet stood in their way. The ocean might be overcome. But the British fleet—? Wedell proposed the answer: He would buy passports from longshoremen in New York—careless Swedes or Swiss or Spaniards to whom $25 was of infinitely more concern than a mere lie—and send the officers to Europe, armed with these documents, as neutrals traveling on business. Once in Norway or Spain or Italy, to get on into Germany would be easy.

For a few weeks, Wedell got along famously. He bought passports and papers showing nativity from Norwegian, Swedish, Danish and Swiss longshoremen and sailors. Meantime, he got in touch with German reserve officers and passed them on to Europe on these passports.

But he was not content with these foreign passports. In the case of a few exceptionally valuable German officers he wished to have credentials that would be above all suspicion. Consequently he set about to gather a few American passports. Here his troubles began, and here he added the gravest burden to his already great load of culpabilities. For Von Wedell was an American citizen, and proud of it. But he was prouder still of his German

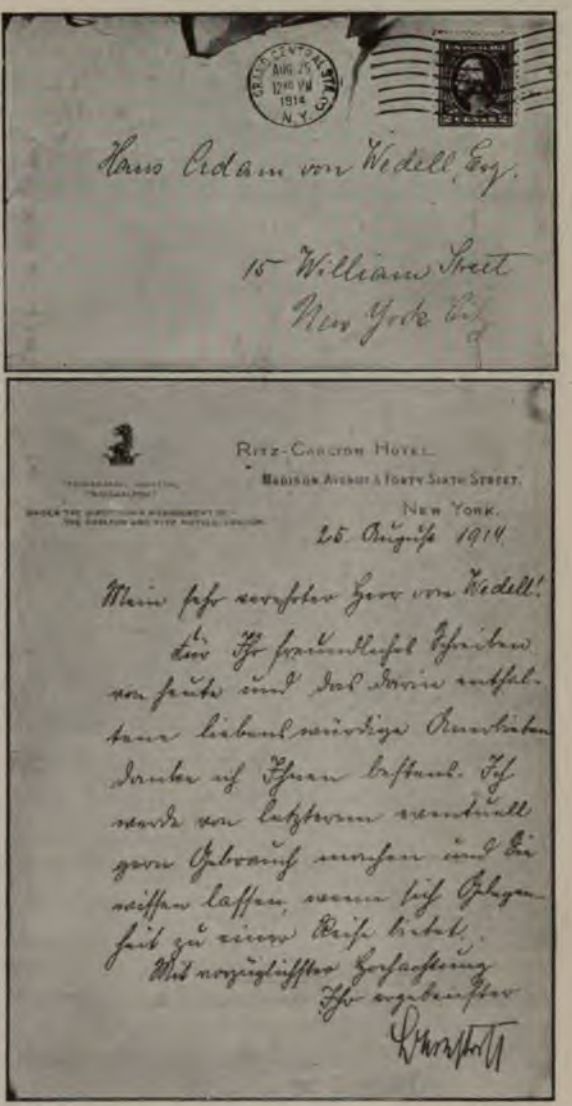
origin and his high German connections, and in his eagerness to serve them he threw overboard his loyalty to the land of his adoption.

Von Wedell applied to a friend of his, a certain Tammany lawyer of pro-German sympathies, who had supplied him with a room belonging to a well-known fraternal organization as a safe base from which to handle his work in passports. What he wanted was an agent who was an American and who had political acquaintanceship that would enable him to work with less suspicion and with wider organization in gathering American passports. Through the lawyer he came in contact with an American, who for the purposes of this article may be called Mr. Carrots, because that is not his name but is remotely like it. Carrots seemed willing to go into the enterprise and at a meeting in Von Wedell's room Von Wedell carefully unfolded the scheme, taking papers from a steel cabinet in the corner to show a further reason why the American passports he already had would soon be useless. This reason was that the Government was about to issue an order requiring that a photograph of the bearer should be affixed to the passport and that on this photograph should appear half of the embossing raised by the impression of the seal of the Department of State. He agreed to pay Carrots $20 apiece for all genuine passports he would supply to him. Carrots accepted his proposal and departed.

Instead of going out to buy passports, he went at once to the Surveyor of the Port of New York, Mr. Thomas E. Rush, and told him what Wedell was doing. Mr. Rush promptly got in touch with his chief in the Treasury Department at Washington, who referred the matter to the State Department, and they, in turn, to the Department of Justice. The result was that Carrots went back to Wedell about a week later and told him he would not be able to go on with the work, but would supply some one to take his place. This was satisfactory to Wedell.

In the meantime, Wedell had introduced Carrots to a fellow-conspirator, Carl Ruroede, a clerk in the ship forwarding department of Oelrichs & Company—a man of little position, but fired by the war with the ambition to make a name in German circles that would put him in a position to succeed Oelrichs & Company as the general agent of the North German Lloyd in New York.

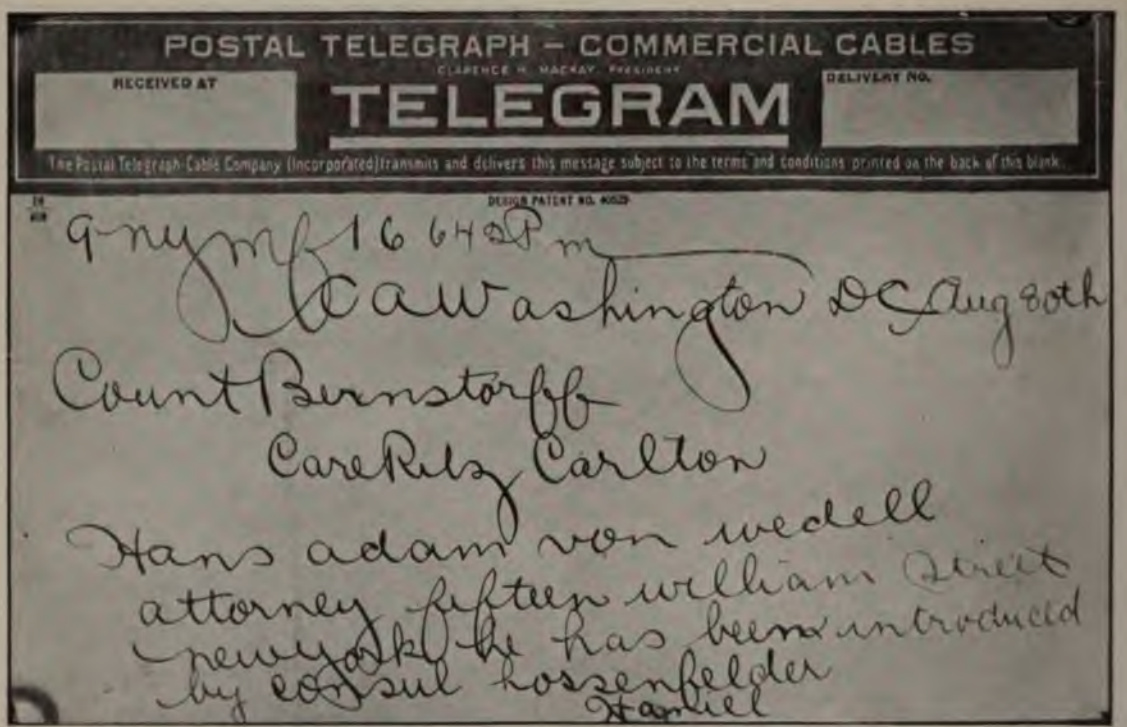
About this time Wedell lost his nerve. He



BERNSTORFF APPEARS AS A PRINCIPAL OF WEDELL'S

This letter reads in English as follows: "My very honored Mr. von Wedell: I thank you very much for your friendly letter of this day, and the very kind offer therein contained. I shall, eventually, gladly avail myself of the latter and shall let you know when an opportunity for a trip presents itself. Most respectfully, BERNSTORFF." What the trip was for is explained by illustrations on succeeding pages

was a lawyer and realized some of the possible consequences of some of his acts. He had had occasion to forge names to two passports; and also he found out that he had reasons to suspect that he was under surveillance. These reasons were very good: he had arranged for the transportation to Italy of a German named Doctor Stark, using the passport of a friend of his in the newspaper business, named Charles


POSTAL TELEGRAPH – COMMERCIAL CABLES
CLARENCE H. MACKAY, PRESIDENT
RECEIVED AT
TELEGRAM
DELIVERY NO.
The Postal Telegraph-Cable Company (Incorporated) transmits and delivers this message subject to the terms and conditions printed on the back of this blank.
DESIGN PATENT NO. 40023
9-nu mf 1664 2P m
Washington DC Aug 30th
Count Bernstorff
Care Ritz Carlton
Hans adam von wedell
attorney fifteen william street
newyork he has been introduced
by consul hossenfelder
Haniel

A GERMAN ATTACHÉ REMINDS BERNSTORFF OF WEDELL

This telegram is from Haniel von Haimhausen, the counselor of the German Embassy in Washington, and was sent in response to an inquiry from Bernstorff for the name of the man who had offered to act as a messenger to Germany for him. The message reads: "Count Bernstorff, care Ritz Carlton. Hans Adam von Wedell attorney fifteen William Street New York he has been introduced by consul Hossenfelder. HANIEL."

Raoul Chatillon. Wedell got wind of the fact that Stark had been taken off the steamer *Duca de Aosta* at Gibraltar, and was being detained while the British looked up his credentials.

Wedell by this time was in a most unhappy plight. Bernstorff and Von Papen had no use for him because he had been bragging about the great impression he was going to make upon the Foreign Office in Berlin by his work. If any impressions were to be made upon the Foreign Office in Berlin by anybody in America, Bernstorff and Von Papen wanted to make them. Wedell was so dangerously under suspicion that Von Papen, Von Igel and his Tammany-lawyer friend had all warned him he had better get out of the country. Wedell took their advice and fled to Cuba.

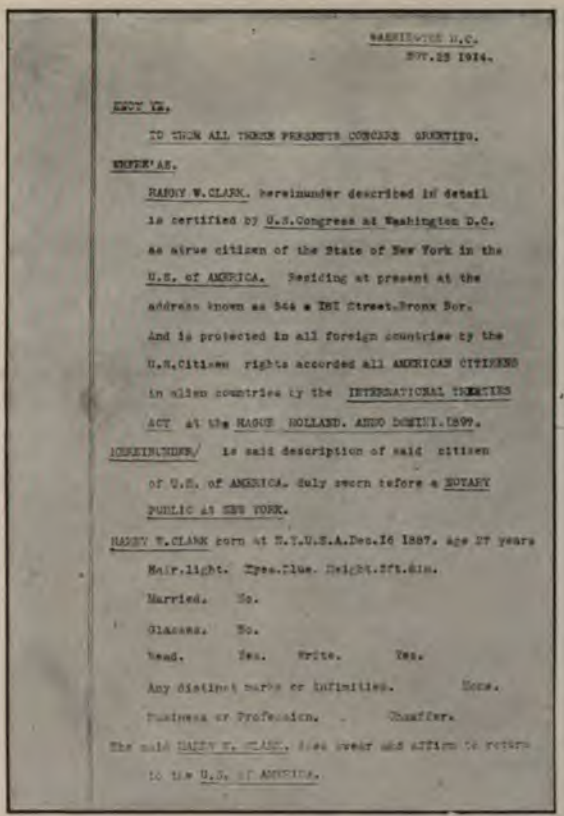
The substitute whom Carrots had promised now entered the case, in the person of a man who called himself Aucher, but who was in reality a special agent of the Department of Justice. Aucher was not introduced to Ruroede, the now active German, and so, when he began his operations, he confronted the very difficult task of making his own connections with a naturally suspicious person.

Carrots had been dealing with Ruroede after Wedell's disappearance; and, by the time he was ready to quit, Ruroede had told him that "everything was off for the present," but that if he would drop around again to his office about January 7, 1915, he might make use of him. Aucher, now on the case, did not wait for that date, but on December 18th, called on Ruroede at his office at room 204 of the Maritime Building, at No. 8 Bridge Street, across the way from the Customs House.

In this plainly furnished office, Aucher appeared in the guise of a Bowery tough. He succeeded admirably in this rôle—so well, indeed, that Ruroede afterward declared that he "succeeded wonderfully in impressing upon my mind that he was a gang man, and I had visions of slung shots, pistol shots, and hold-ups" when he saw him. Aucher opened the conversation by announcing:

"I'm a friend of Carrots'."

"That's interesting," was Ruroede's only acknowledgment.



WASHINGTON D.C.
NOV.23 1914.

KNOW YE.

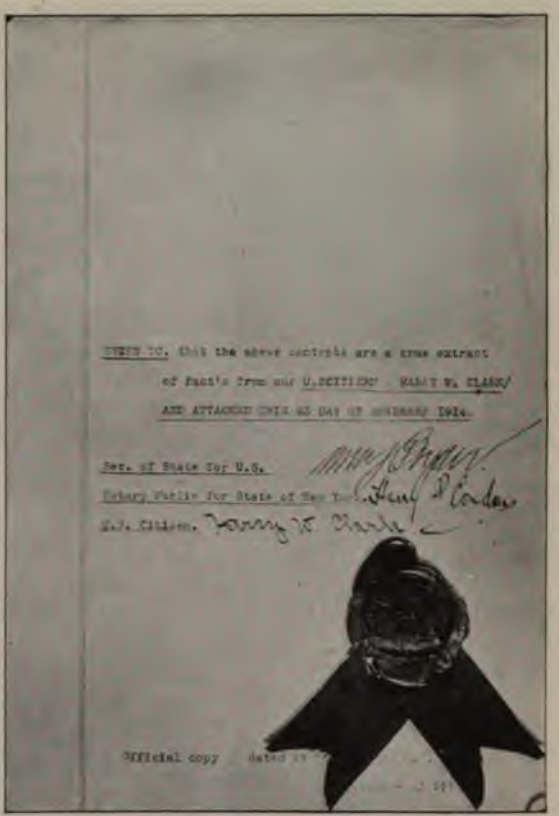
TO THOM ALL THESE PRESENTS CONCERN GREETING.

WHEREAS.

HARRY W.CLARK. hereinunder described in detail is certified by U.S.Congress at Washington D.C. as a true citizen of the State of New York in the U.S. of AMERICA. Residing at present at the address known as 544 a 138 Street.Bronx Bor. And is protected in all foreign countries by the U.S.Citizen rights accorded all AMERICAN CITIZENS in alien countries by the INTERNATIONAL TREATIES ACT at the HAGUE HOLLAND. ANNO DOMINI.1899.

NOWREINUNDER/ is said description of said citizen of U.S. of AMERICA. duly sworn before a NOTARY PUBLIC AT NEW YORK.

HARRY W.CLARK born at N.Y.U.S.A.Dec.16 1887. age 27 years
Hair.light. Eyes.blue. Height.5ft.6in.
Married. No.
Glasses. No.
Read. Yes. Write. Yes.
Any distinct marks or infirmities. None.
Business or Profession. Chauffer.
The said HARRY W. CLARK. does swear and affirm to return to the U.S. of AMERICA.



THEREFORE, that the above contents are a true extract of facts from our U.CITIZENS HARRY W. CLARK/ AND ATTACHED THIS 4th DAY OF NOVEMBER 1914.

Sec. of State for U.S.
Notary Public for State of New York
U.S. Citizen.

Official copy

HOW GERMAN BRIBE MONEY WAS WASTED

Wedell was so eager to get passports for German officers in disguise that he was easily imposed upon. This is a faked passport which some enterprising American invented and sold to him for $25. It was fortunately (for the Germans) never used, as it was so obviously an imitation that it would deceive no officer of the law

"He's the guy that's getting them passports for you," went on Aucher, "and all I wants to know is, did you give him any cush?"

"What do you mean?" asked Ruroede.

"Nix on that!" Aucher exclaimed. "You know what I mean. Did you give that fellow any money?"

To which Ruroede replied: "I don't see why I should tell you if I did."

"Well," retorted Aucher. "I'll tell you why. I'm the guy that delivers the goods, and he swears he never got a penny from you. Now did he?"

It was at this point that Ruroede had his visions of "slung shots," so he admitted he had paid Carrots $100 only a few days before.

"Well," demanded Aucher, "ain't there going to be any more?"

"Nope. Not now," Ruroede replied. "Maybe next month."

"Now see here," said Aucher. "Let's cut this guy out. He's just nothing but a booze fighter, and he's been kidding you for money without delivering the goods. What's the matter with just fixing it up between ourselves?"

Ruroede now tried to put Aucher off till Christmas, having recalled meanwhile that the steamer *Bergensfjord* was to sail on January 2nd, and that he might need passports for officers traveling on that ship. But Aucher protested that he was "broke," and further impressed on Ruroede that he had gotten no money from Carrots or Wedell for his work for them. He also produced six letters written by the State Department in answer to applicants for passports, and finally convinced Ruroede of his good faith and that he ought to start him to work right away. They haggled over the price, and finally agreed on $20 apiece for passports for native-born Americans and $30 apiece for passports of naturalized citizens—the higher price because getting the latter involved more red-tape and hence more risk. Aucher was to come back on December 24th and bring the passports and get some money on account.

HOW RUROEDE (WEDELL'S SUCCESSOR) ALTERED GENUINE—

This particular passport is one of four genuine passports especially prepared by the State Department for the use of the Department of Justice in getting the legal evidence upon which Ruroede was arrested and convicted. The identifying photograph of "Howard Paul Wright," in the upper left hand corner, was the photograph of an agent of the Bureau of Investigation. Another agent of the Bureau, who had worked his way into Ruroede's confidence, sold this passport to Ruroede, who altered it for the use of Arthur W. Sachse, a German reserve officer. The method of alteration was ingenious: Ruroede pasted Sachse's picture over "Wright's" (the picture above shows the Sachse picture rolled back and the original Wright picture revealed). In order to get on Sachse's picture the embossed impression of the State Depart-

On that day, Aucher called at Ruroede's office, and after further quarreling about Carrots and his honesty, Ruroede declared that he was ready to do business. Aucher objected to the presence of a young man in the room with them, and Ruroede replied:

"Oh, he's all right. He's my son, and you needn't be afraid to talk with him around."

Aucher then produced an American passport, No. 45,573, made out in the name of Howard Paul Wright, for use in Holland and Germany. (A corner of this passport is reproduced above). It was a perfectly good passport, too, as it had been especially made out for the purpose by the Department of State at the request of the Department of Justice. It

—PASSPORTS FOR THE USE OF GERMAN OFFICERS

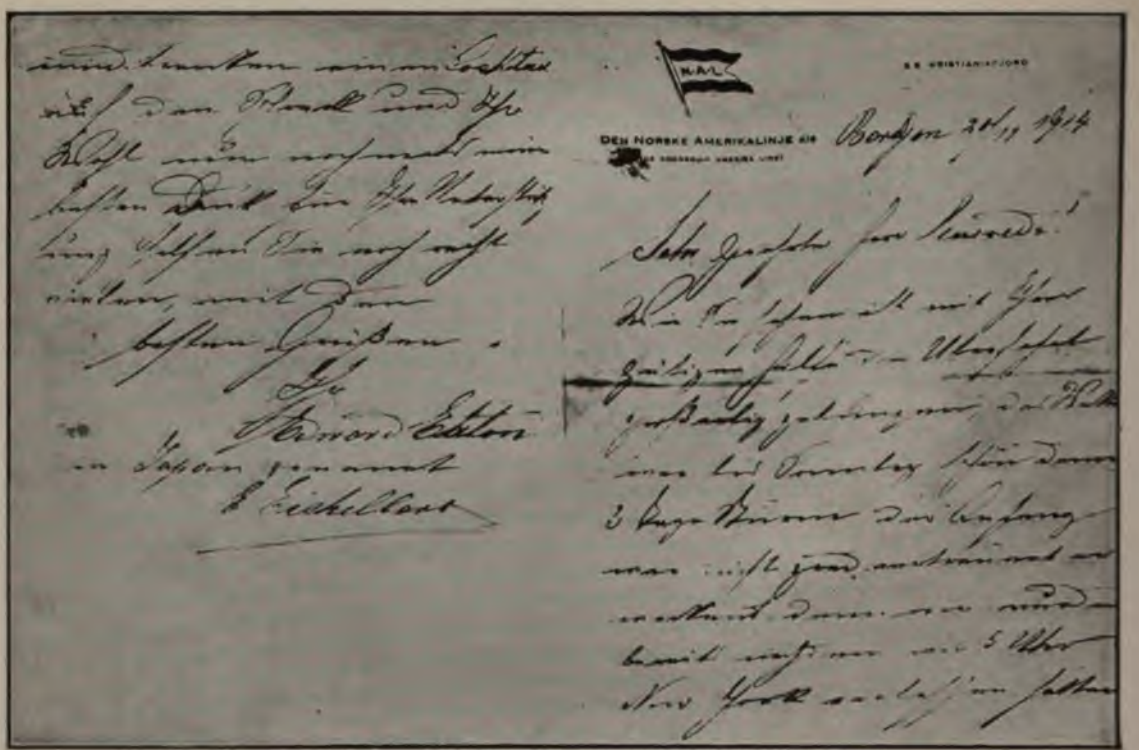
ment seal, which is always required to show, he turned the photograph face down and placed over the back side of the seal a silk handkerchief folded three or four times. Then with a blunt-edged instrument like a letter opener he traced the seal on to the photograph of Sachse by rubbing the yielding surface of the damp photograph into the indentations of the seal on the dry photograph of Wright. When Sachse's picture dried, the seal showed on it much better than in the accompanying reproduction, for before this was taken the Sachse picture had been loosened again. But, for reasons explained in the article, Sachse got only half an hour toward Europe on the steamer with it before he was taken off the ship by men from the Department of Justice

bore Mr. Bryan's genuine signature, and a photograph of "Wright," who was another agent of the Bureau of Investigation. Aucher also declared he was on the way toward getting the other five passports. Ruroede threw the Wright passport on his desk and said:

"I'll keep this. Go ahead and get the others."

"What about money?" demanded Aucher.

"I'll pay you $25 for it—no, I'll do better than that. To show you I mean business, take that," and he threw a $100 bill on the table. Ruroede also gave Aucher photographs of four German officers, and begged him to get passports right away to fit their descriptions, because he wanted to get these men off



THE SUCCESSFUL USE OF A FRAUDULENT PASSPORT

An English translation of the letter, the first and last pages of which are shown above, follows:

"*S.S. Kristianiafjord, Bordjen*, Nov. 20, 1914. Most honored Mr. Ruroede: As you see, my voyage across succeeded magnificently with your kind help. The weather until Sunday was fine—then three days' storm. The beginning was not of a nature to inspire confidence, for five hours after we had left New York we were stopped by a cruiser and for two hours the ships papers were searched for contraband. We had also some copper on board, but that was for Norway, whereupon they let us go. Our Captain then ran straight North to the 63° latitude. We nearly touched Iceland in order to get out of the way of other cruisers. It was only while we were making for Bergen from a northerly direction yesterday that a cruiser overtook and stopped us, and for a short while six of your men were feeling pretty shaky, especially I, for among the 18 first-class passengers, more than half were Germans, also a former Vice-Consul from Japan (now Captain of Cavalry) of the Bonn Hussars, Naval Officer from China, and others. The incident lasted only a half hour. After searching for ship's papers, the gentlemen disappeared, and we breathed more freely, and drank a cocktail to the —— and your prosperity. Once more many thanks for your assistance. May you help many others as well. With best wishes, Yours, EDWARD EATON, in Japan named EICHELBERT."

on the Norwegian Line Steamer *Bergensfjord*, sailing January 2d. He added that the officers of the Norwegian Line had all been "smeared" (otherwise "fixed") and that they would "stand for anything." He also said that he would take at least forty more passports from Aucher, and that he would want them right along for six months or a year, depending on the length of the war.

Aucher delivered two more passports to Ruroede in his office on the morning of December 30th. Ruroede was rather indifferent about getting them, because—alas for the glory of the "invincible" Prussian arms!—two of his German officers had gotten "cold feet" and had refused to go. Ruroede told Aucher to come back at two o'clock and he would give him $100. Aucher invited Ruroede to have luncheon with him, and as they left the building Ruroede explained with much pride that he had chosen his office here because the building had several entrances on different sides of the block, and he used one entrance only a few days at a time and then changed to another to avoid suspicion.

The Government's special agent complimented him highly on this bit of cleverness in the art of evasion. Five minutes later the two were sitting at a lunch counter with another special agent casually lounging in and taking the seat next to his fellow operative, where he could overhear and corroborate the account of Ruroede's conversation.

After a discussion of Wedell's forgeries and present whereabouts, and a further discussion of the buying of passports (in which Ruroede confided to Aucher that "there is a German fund that was sent over here for that purpose") the pair walked back toward Ruroede's office. At the Whitehall Street entrance Ruroede told Aucher to come around to the Bridge Street entrance in about fifteen minutes to

get the money, and that in the meantime he would send his son out to cash a check so he could deliver it in bills. Aucher spent part of the fifteen minutes signalling to four other special agents who had reinforced him, and then went around to the Bridge Street entrance, with one of his confederates in sight.

In a few moments, Ruroede's son rushed out with a bank book in his hand. Aucher stopped him and told him he ought to have a coat on, a device to let Aucher's fellow operative see him talking to the boy so he could identify him. The boy then went on to the bank, followed by Aucher's confederate, who saw him cash the check and followed him back to the building.

When the boy returned, Aucher again spoke to him and said: "Tell your father I will be in the café at Whitehall and Bridge streets and that he is to meet me there. I don't think it is a good thing for anybody to see me hanging around the front entrance."

Aucher then went on into the café and signalled to the other three operatives to follow him. He took a seat in a bootblack's chair near the entrance and proceeded to have his shoes blacked. In about ten minutes, Ruroede's son came out and was about to pass by him when Aucher hailed him. Ruroede's son then took a sealed envelope from his inside pocket and handed it to Aucher.

"Where is your father?" Aucher asked.

"Oh, he's got a man upstairs with him," said young Ruroede, "and he couldn't come down."

"Wait a minute," said Aucher, and tore open the envelope and in the presence of Ruroede's son, and so that the other special agents could see him do it, counted out ten $10 bills, $100 in all. As he was counting them, the operative who had followed Ruroede's son to the bank came in and shouldered the boy to one side and then stood right by him while the money was being counted. Aucher went on to impress on Ruroede's son that business was business and that the best of friends sometimes fell out over money matters; that his father might have unintentionally counted out $80 or $90 instead of the full $100 and it was safer to take some precautions than to take a chance of creating bad blood between them. He then invited Ruroede's son to have a drink with him, which he did, both of them taking the strongest Prussian drink—milk. When they were about to part on Whitehall Street Aucher told Ruroede's son to tell his father he would be down the next morning with the other two passports he had mentioned to him, and again impressed on the boy the importance of accuracy in money matters. Aucher then returned to headquarters with the other special agents and listed the distinguishing marks on the bills and marked them for future identification.

The next morning Aucher telephoned to Ruroede and told him he had been able to get only one of the two passports he wanted, giving as the excuse for his failure to get the other the story that it had been promised to him by a man working on a job in Long Island and that this man had met with an accident and was in the hospital; that it would take a day or two to go out there to get a written order from him to a brother who would turn the passport over to Aucher. Ruroede accepted an invitation to take luncheon with Aucher at Davidson's restaurant at the corner of Broad and Bridge streets.

Shortly after noon they met on the street and went into the restaurant together. A few minutes after they were seated two of the special agents came in and took a table about fifteen feet away. After Aucher had ordered lunch for himself and Ruroede, he took out of his pocket another of the series of genuine passports supplied by the State Department, to which he had attached one of the photographs Ruroede had given him for this purpose. He handed the passport to Ruroede, who opened only one end of it, just enough to glance at the photograph and seal.

"That's fine," said Ruroede, and was about to slip it into his pocket when Aucher seized it and exclaimed:

"Fine? I should say," and opened the passport wide so that one of the other special agents could see the red seal on it. "Just look at that description. Eh? He is the fellow with the military bearing and I gave him a description I figured a man like him should answer to."

At this point, the special agent who had seen the seal, left his seat at the table and walked to the cashier's desk. As he passed, Ruroede was holding the passport in his hands and Aucher was pointing out the description. Ruroede then put the passport into his pocket and said again: "That's fine."

Aucher then opened a discussion of Von Wedell's career and disappearance. Ruroede was very contemptuous of the missing man.

FORMERLY GARDINS

TELEPHONES 1103 1104

HOTEL ST. GEORGE

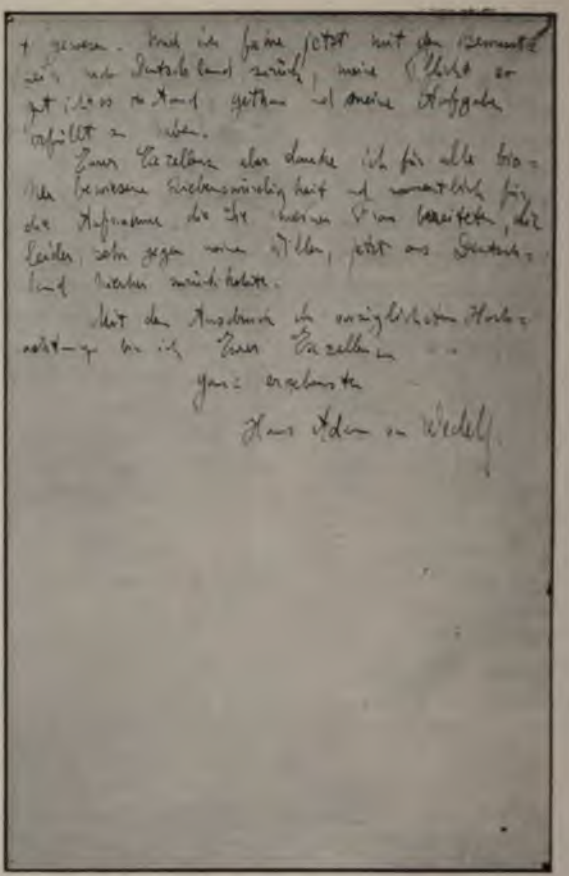
FELIX FIEGER, PROPRIETOR

NYACK-ON-HUDSON

26. Dez. 1914

Seiner Excellenz
dem Kaiserlich Deutschen Botschafter
Herrn Grafen von Bernstorff
Washington, D.C.

Euer Excellenz



VON PAPEN AND ALBERT APPEAR AS UNNEUTRAL PLOTTERS

This letter [of which the facsimiles are the first and last pages] was written by Wedell to Bernstorff to justify his action in abandoning the work of gathering passports for fraudulent use. The full text follows, in English. It is an interesting document, not only because it reveals a lot of weak human nature in the agents of "German efficiency" but also because it definitely revealed Von Papen and Albert as principals in the German plots as early as three months after the war started:

HOTEL ST. GEORGE Felix Fieger, Proprietor, Nyack-on-Hudson, December 26, 1914. His Excellency The Imperial German Ambassador, Count Von Bernstorff, Washington, D. C. Your Excellency: Allow me most obediently to put before you the following facts: It seems that an attempt has been made to produce the impression upon you that I prematurely abandoned my post in New York. That is not true.

I. My work was done. At my departure I left the service, well organized and worked out to its minutest details, in the hands of my successor, Mr. Carl Kuroede, picked out by myself, and, despite many warnings, still tarried for several days in New York in order to give him the necessary final directions and in order to hold in check the blackmailers thrown on my hands by the German officers until after the passage of my travelers through Gilbraltar; in which I succeeded. Mr. Kuroede will testify to you that without my suitable preliminary labors, in which I left no conceivable means untried and in which I took not the slightest consideration of my personal weal or woe, it would be impossible for him, as well as for Mr. Von Papen, to forward officers and "aspirants" in any number whatever, to Europe. This merit I lay claim to and the occurrences of the last days have unfortunately compelled me, out of sheer self-respect, to emphasize this to your Excellency.

II. The motives which induced me to leave New York and which, to my astonishment, were not communicated to you, are the following:

1. I knew that the State Department had, for three weeks, withheld a passport application forged by me. Why?

2. Ten days before my departure I learnt from a telegram sent me by Mr. Von Papen, which stirred me up very much, and further through the omission of a cable, that Dr. Stark had fallen into the hands of the English. That gentleman's forged papers were liable to come back any day and could, owing chiefly to his lack of caution, easily be traced back to me.

3. Officers and aspirants of the class which I had to forward over, namely the people, saddled me with a lot of criminals and blackmailers, whose eventual revelations were liable to bring about any day the explosion of the bomb.

4. Mr. Von Papen had repeatedly urgently ordered me to hide myself.

5. Mr. Igel had told me I was taking the matter altogether too lightly and ought to—for God's sake—disappear.

6. My counsel, . . . had advised me to hastily quit New York, inasmuch as a local detective agency was ordered to go after the passport forgeries.

7. It had become clear to me that eventual arrest might yet injure the worthy undertaking and that my disappearance would probably put a stop to all investigation in this direction.

How urgent it was for me to go away is shown by the fact that, two days after my departure, detectives, who had followed up my telephone calls, hunted up my wife's harmless and unsuspecting cousin in Brooklyn, and subjected her to an interrogatory.

Mr. Von Papen and Mr. Albert have told my wife that I forced myself forward to do this work. That is not true. When I, in Berlin, for the first time heard of this commission, I objected to going and represented to the gentleman that my entire livelihood which I had created for myself in America by six years of labor was at stake therein. I have no other means, and although Mr. Albert told my wife my practice was not worth talking about, it sufficed, nevertheless, to decently support myself and wife and to build my future on. I have finally, at the suasion of Count Wedell, undertaken it, ready to sacrifice my future and that of my wife. I have, in order to reach my goal, despite infinite difficulties, destroyed everything that I built up here for myself and my wife. I have perhaps sometimes been awkward, but always full of good will and I now travel back to Germany with the consciousness of having done my duty as well as I understood it, and of having accomplished my task.

With expressions of the most exquisite consideration, I am, your Excellency,

Very respectfully,
(Signed) HANS ADAM VON WEDELL

"He was a plain fool," he said. "He paid $3,500 altogether and got very little in return. A fellow came to him one day and told him he could get him American passports and Von Wedell said: 'All right; go ahead.' The fellow returned later and said he would have to have some expense money and he gave him $10. A little while later a friend of the first man came to Von Wedell wanting expense money. When Von Wedell decided to put him off, he became threatening and Von Wedell, fearing he might tell the Government authorities, gave *him* some money. A few days later about twenty fellows came looking for Von Wedell. But quite aside from that sort of business Von Wedell's foolishness in forging two names on American passports is the thing that made him get away."

"Did I understand you to say," asked Aucher, "that he had gone to join his wife?"

"No," replied Ruroede, "she will be in Germany before him. She sailed last Tuesday. He went to Cuba first and there got a Mexican passport of some sort that will take him to Spain. He ought to be in Barcelona to-day and from there go to Italy, and then from there work his way into Germany."

"You say Von Wedell spent $3,500 of his own money?" Aucher asked.

"No, no," exclaimed Ruroede, "he got it from the fund."

"Well, who puts up this money—who's back of it?

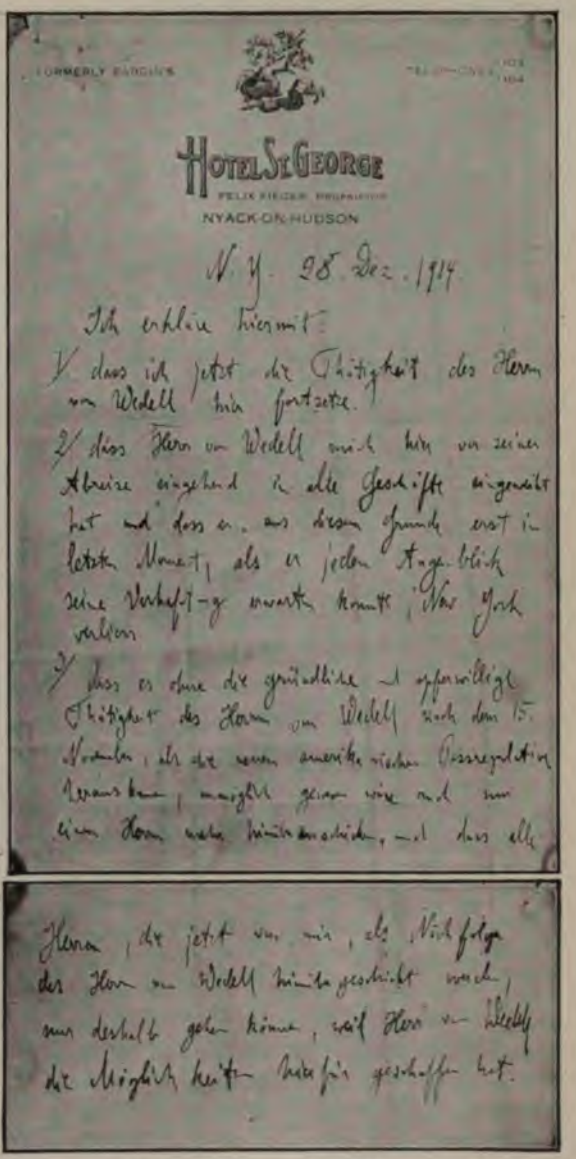
"The Government."

"The German Government?"

"Yes," said Ruroede. "You see it is this way: There is a Captain here who is attached to the German Embassy at Washington. He has a list of German reservists, in this country and is in touch with the German Consulates all through the country and in Peru, Mexico, Chile, etc. He gets in touch with them, and the Consuls send reservists, who want to go to the front, on to New York. When they get here, this Captain tells them: 'Well, I can't do anything for you, but you go down to see Ruroede.' Sometimes he gives them his personal card."

"Is this Captain in reserve?" Aucher interrupted.

"Oh, no, he is active," Ruroede replied. "You see," he continued, "he draws on this fund for $200 or $300 or $1,000, whatever he may need, and the checks are made to read 'on account of reservists.' You see, they


FORMERLY BARGIN'S

HOTEL St GEORGE

FELIX FRICKE PROPRIETOR

NYACK-ON-HUDSON

N. Y. 28 Dez. 1914

Ich erkläre hiermit:

1/ dass ich jetzt die Thätigkeit des Herrn von Wedell hier fortsetze.

2/ dass Herr von Wedell mich hier von seiner Abreise eingehend in alle Geschäfte eingeweiht hat und dass er, aus diesem Grunde erst in letzter Moment, als er jeden Augenblick seine Verhaftung erwarten konnte, New York verliess

3/ dass es ohne die gründliche und opferwillige Thätigkeit des Herrn von Wedell nach dem 15. November, als die neuen amerikanischen Passregulationen herauskamen, unmöglich gewesen wäre auch nur einen Herrn nach hinüberzuschicken, und dass alle

Herren, die jetzt von mir, als Nachfolger des Herrn von Wedell hinübergeschickt werden, nur deshalb gehen können, weil Herr von Wedell die Möglichkeiten dafür geschaffen hat.

RUROEDE'S UNCONSCIOUS CONFESSION

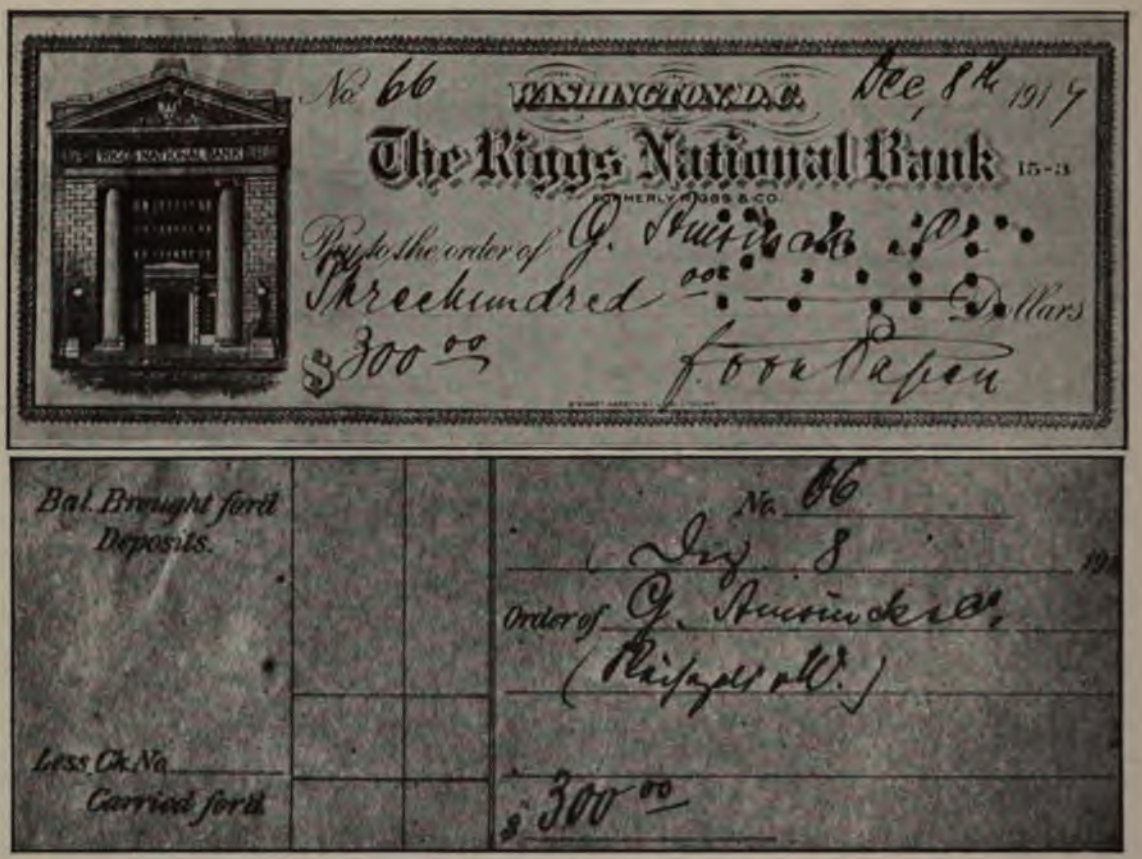
In a memorandum, of which this is the first draft, intended to be shown by Wedell's wife to his uncle in the Berlin Foreign Office, as a proof that he had done good work before he quit, Ruroede declared that "I now continue Mr. Von Wedell's activities." The memorandum in full is as follows, in English:

New York, 28 Dec. 1914

I hereby declare:

1. That I now continue Mr. Von Wedell's activities.
2. That Mr. Von Wedell, before his departure, thoroughly initiated me into all affairs, and that for this reason he left New York at the last moment only, when at every minute he had to expect his arrest.
3. That without the fundamental and devoted activity of Mr. Von Wedell, it would have been impossible, after the 15th of November, when the new American passport regulations came out, to send over one single gentleman.
4. That all the gentlemen who are now being sent across are able to go chiefly and only because Mr. Von Wedell created the opportunity therefor.
5. And that had it not been for the foundation laid by Mr. Von Wedell, it would have cost me endless work and trouble to create some ditions which would have enabled the gentlemen to sail.

CARL RUROEDE



VON PAPEN BECOMES ACCESSORY TO A CRIME

Though this check was made out in favor of G. Amsinck & Co., the German-American bankers of New York, the counterfoil bears the notation "Traveling expenses v W," that is, "von Wedell." This check was sent him by Von Papen to enable him to escape after he had forged signatures to two fraudulent passports and realized that he was under surveillance—Von Papen thus becoming accessory after the fact to a crime against American laws

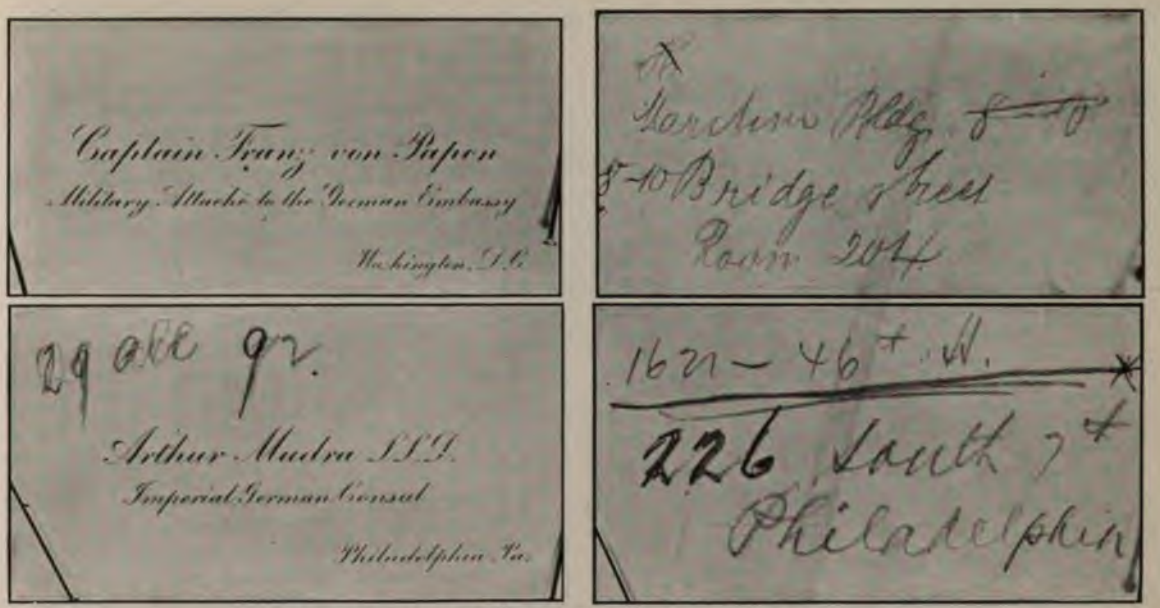
have to have food and clothing, also, so there is nothing to show that this money is paid out for passports or anything like that. I meet this captain once a week or so, and tell him what I am doing and he gives me whatever money I need. You see, there must be no connection between him and me; no letters, no accounts, nothing in writing. If I were caught and were to say what I have told you, this Captain would swear that he never met me in his life before."

Who this Captain was became perfectly clear through an odd happening two days later. On that day, January 2, 1915, Aucher telephoned to Ruroede at his office and made an appointment to meet him at a quarter of one. This meeting will doubtless remain forever memorable in Ruroede's experience.

At twelve thirty, a whole flock of special agents left the office of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice in the Park Row Building. There were nine representatives of the Department in the group. When they got near Ruroede's office they were joined by two others who had been shadowing Ruroede. They had located him at the Eastern Hotel several blocks away where he was at the moment with one of the German officers who planned to sail that day on the Norwegian Line steamer *Bergensfjord* with one of the false passports.

Shortly after one o'clock one of the special agents notified the group that Ruroede had returned to his office and then this operative, and one other, went to the Customs House and stationed themselves at a window opposite Ruroede's office to wait for a signal which Aucher was to give when he had delivered the passport to Ruroede.

When Aucher met Ruroede in Ruroede's office Ruroede's son was present, but in a few moments the younger man took his leave, and



TWO OF RUROEDE'S VISITORS' CREDENTIALS

These cards, with the addresses written on the backs, were presented by two German officers in search of fraudulent passports. They were sent by Von Papen and Mudra (German Consul at Philadelphia), who both frequently directed such officers to Ruroede for this purpose

his departure was noted by one of the agents outside. After a few minutes' conversation Aucher handed Ruroede the missing passport and made his signal to the two men inside the Customs House window. These men reported to the main group on the street and thereupon the whole flock descended on Ruroede's office and placed both Ruroede and Aucher under arrest.

They seized all of Ruroede's papers before they took him away, including the passport which Aucher had just delivered to him. Aucher put up a fight against his brother officers, so as to make Ruroede believe that his arrest was genuine, but was quickly subdued and taken away. A few minutes later Ruroede also was taken from his office over to the offices of the Bureau of Investigation, but to another room than Aucher. Operatives were left behind in Ruroede's office and in a little while Ruroede's son came in. He, too, was arrested and taken to still another part of the office of the Bureau.

Now there entered in Ruroede's office a stranger, who to this day does not know that he unwittingly gave the officers of the United States Government the information that Captain Von Papen was directly responsible for the passport frauds. This man entered while one of the operatives was busily gathering up the papers on Ruroede's desk. He said he wanted to see Mr. Ruroede. The operative asked him what his business was, and he replied that he had a letter to give him; and answering an inquiry, he said this letter was given him by Captain Von Papen, to be delivered to Ruroede.

The operative calmly informed the caller that he was Mr. Ruroede's son and that he could give the letter to him. The stranger refused, so the operative told him that his "father," Ruroede, would be in in a few minutes. After a few minutes were up, he told the caller that he was sure that his "father" would not return after all, and that he had better go with him to where his "father" was. The stranger agreed and they left the office together, the operative taking him directly to the office of the Bureau of Investigation.

On the way, the stranger decided to give him the letter from Captain Von Papen, and also told him that he had come from Tokyo by way of San Francisco; that he was very anxious to get back to Germany; and that he was sorry he was not sailing on the boat leaving that day. He knew, he said, that Ruroede had a great many officers sailing on the ship that day, and asked if he thought the operative's "father" could make an arrangement to start him to Germany too. He gave as a reason for his urgency the fact that he had with him eight trunks, which contained very important papers

1. Unter keiner Bedingung darf in irgend einer Weise etwas darüber bekannt werden unter welchen Bedingungen die Reise gemacht wurde.

2. Während der Reise halte man sich von anderen Passagieren fern und mache an Bord keine Bekanntschaften.

3. Das Betragen an Bord während der Reise muss so weit dies irgend möglich in Einklang mit den in Reisepass angegebenen Eigenschaften sein.

4. Wenn irgend welche Fragen aufkommen heisse man sich reservirt und im Uebrigen ist es angebracht so weit wie möglich von der durch Seekrankheit geschaffenen Zurückgezogenheit Gebrauch zu machen.

5. Zum Schlusse: Alles hängt davon ab dass in jeder Beziehung absolute Verschwiegenheit geachtet wird. Alle Anregungen zu politischen oder ähnlichen Gesprächen über Kriege oder Soldaten lasse, dieser Pflichten muss man absolut aus dem Wege gehen.

6. Mit der Landung drüben ist noch keine sicht genug, dass man dann jedem erzählt man passirte, sondern auch dann ist Stillschweigen eine absolute Notwendigkeit, da nicht etwa durch Plaudern an Anderen unmöglich zu machen eventuelle nach drüben zu gelangen.

7. Kurz zusammengefasst also lautet die Parole immer und zu allen Zeiten "Stillschweigen".

INSTRUCTIONS TO GERMAN OFFICERS TRAVELING ON FALSE PASSPORTS

Telling them how to behave on shipboard so that they will not arouse suspicion. Rule 4 is "German efficiency" become laughable. In English, the instructions read:

1. On no condition and in no way whatever must anything be let out in regard to the conditions under which the voyage was effected.
2. During the passage one should keep aloof from other passengers and make no acquaintances on board.
3. Deportment on board, during the trip, should, as far as it is at all possible, be in harmony with the particular characteristics described in the passport.
4. Should any questions be asked, answer with reserve, and moreover, it is fitting to make use, as far as practicable, of the need created by sea-sickness for remaining in seclusion.
5. Finally, everything will depend on the maintenance, in every respect, of absolute reticence. All incitements to political or similar discussions of the war or of soldiers and their obligations must be absolutely avoided.
6. It should by no means be understood that on landing one should tell everybody everything that happened, on the contrary, then too is silence absolutely necessary, lest through too much talking it become impossible for others to likewise get to the other side.
7. Briefly, the watchword, always and at all times, is "Silence."

in connection with the war that should be delivered to Berlin without delay.

Upon arriving at the office of the Bureau of Investigation the operative excused himself for a moment and went into another room, where he concocted a plan with a fellow agent to pose as the senior Ruroede. The operative then brought the stranger in and introduced his confederate as his father. The stranger gave this agent of the Department his card which was printed in German, and which read, translated into English, "Wolfram Von Knorr, Captain of Cruiser, Naval Attaché, Imperial German Embassy, Tokyo."

But let us leave the guileless caller in the hands of the guileful agent of Justice for a few moments, returning to him a little later.

Meanwhile, four of the agents from the Department—the minute they received the signal that Ruroede was under arrest—hastened to the Barge Office dock and boarded the revenue cutter *Manhattan*, on which they overtook the Norwegian Line Steamship *Bergensfjord* at four o'clock, about one half hour after it had set sail. They were accompanied by several customs inspectors and ordered the *Bergensfjord* to heave to. All the male passengers on board were lined up. Strange as it may seem, they discovered four Germans, of such unmistakable names as Sachse, Meyer, Wegener, and Muller, traveling under such palpable English and Norwegian names as Wright, Hansen, Martin, and Wilson. Stranger still, they all turned out to be reserve officers in the German army. Sachse proved to be traveling as none other than our friend "Howard Paul Wright," for whom Aucher had supplied Ruroede with the passport—as, indeed, he had for the three others.

Meanwhile, Ruroede was the centre of another little drama that lasted until well toward midnight. He was being urged by the Assistant United States District Attorney to "come across" with the facts about his activities in the passport frauds, and he had stood up pretty well against the persuasions and hints of the attorney and the doubts and fears of his own mind. About eleven o'clock at night, as he was for the many'th time protesting his ignorance and his innocence, another agent of the Bureau of Investigation walked across the far end of the dimly lit room—in one door and out another—accompanied by a fair-haired lad of nineteen.

"My God!" exclaimed Ruroede, "have they got my son, too? The boy knows nothing at all about this."

This little ghost-walking scene, borrowed from "Hamlet," broke down Ruroede's reserve, and he came out with pretty much all the story, ending with the melancholy exclamation with which this article began: "I thought I was going to get an Iron Cross; but what they ought to do is to pin a little tin stove on me."

Ruroede admitted that he had met Captain von Papen in New York numerous times and that Von Papen had given him money at different times, but he denied that this money was given him for use in furnishing passports. On this point he stood fast, and to this day he has not directly implicated Von Papen in these frauds, though it cost him a sentence of three years in the Federal penitentiary at Atlanta, imposed just two months later.

One thing Ruroede did confess, however,

Aufgegeben 28. Dezember 1914.

Georg Held, Vicew.d.Res., 225 East 86th.Str.,New York.

Karl Stich, Vicew.d.Res., 225 East 86th.Str.,New York.

A. von Frobel, 474 - 3rd. Ave., Vicew.d.Rse.,New York.

Robert Helmreich, Hotel Seymour, 50 West 45th.St.,Room 84, New York.

GERMAN OFFICERS TO BE SUPPLIED WITH FALSE PASSPORTS

Numerous typewritten lists of this kind were found in Ruroede's desk at the time of his arrest. A typewriter expert later demonstrated that they were written on the same machine as that which was used to write the memorandum (see next illustration) which came direct from Von Papen—in other words, the military attaché of the German Embassy in Washington was continuously supplying Ruroede with the names of officers for whom he wished false passports obtained

and in doing so he was the Hand of Fate for the timorous Von Wedell. Ruroede confessed that his assertion to Aucher that Wedell was then in Barcelona was a lie, and that the truth was that Wedell had recently returned from Cuba and was aboard the *Bergensfjord!* This confession came too late to serve that day, for the agents of the Bureau had by that time left the ship with their four prisoners and the *Bergensfjord* was out to sea. But Fate had nevertheless played Wedell a harsh trick, for the processes of extradition were instantly put in motion with what strange results will in a few moments be made clear.

Now we may appropriately return to the conference between the guileless stranger from Tokyo and the guileful agent of the Bureau of Investigation, in another room. The guileless stranger from Tokyo revealed what Ruroede would not disclose—and revealed it all unconsciously. He talked so frankly with "young Ruroede's father" that he told several most important things. For one, Captain von Knorr declared that Captain von Papen had sent him. Whereupon the pretended Ruroede asked him whether the fact that he was expected to assist Von Knorr back to Europe was known to the German Embassy at Washington. To this Von Knorr replied:

"Of course. I just had a talk with Captain von Papen right here in New York."

"Ruroede" still insisted on having better proof that Von Knorr came directly from the Embassy, to which Von Knorr retorted that "Von Papen has had sufficient dealings with you for you to know that any one sent by him to you is all right."

Finding himself dealing with a somewhat reluctant savior, Von Knorr adopted a conciliatory mood and slapped his broad hand several times on "Ruroede's" left breast, saying: "That chest ought to have something," meaning a decoration from Berlin.

After some verbal sparring, Von Knorr was

Aufgegeben 2.Januar 1914.

Georg Schleicher, Res., 165 West 64th. Str.,New York.

Werner Horn, Oblt.a.D.,Arietta Hotel, Arietta Str.,Staten Island.

Ich moechte noch einmal an den am 29.Dech. aufgegebenen

Arthur Schmidt,Vicef.,Astor Hotel ,room 661 erinnern.

EXIT RUROEDE, ENTER WERNER HORN

Ruroede's career of crime ended in a three-fold drama—his own arrest, the fatal admission which closed the career of Von Wedell, and the strange episode of Captain Von Knorr, who unconsciously gave the government a missive which introduced the Department of Justice to Werner Horn, the man who tried to destroy the international bridge at Vanceboro, Maine. The date 1914 is evidently the common mistake for 1915 made early in each new year

allowed to drift off the scene as innocently as he had entered it, and he has yet to learn that his visit was in an office of American law and that his dealings were with the officers of Justice.

But he left behind a legacy quite as valuable as his carefully remembered spoken words. This legacy was the paper which he had brought from Franz von Papen. This paper proved to be not a letter, but rather a memorandum—though all doubt as to its origin was removed by the innocent insistence of Von Knorr that he had come with it from Von Papen's hand. It was typewritten, and the German of it can be gotten by reading the illustration reproduced directly from it at the bottom of page 527.

Two most important facts emerged ultimately from a study of this innocent bit of paper. When Ruroede was arrested, among other papers taken from his desk by the officers of the law were numerous typewritten sheets containing lists of names of German officers, their rank and other facts about them. Ruroede never would admit that these were from Von Papen, but that admission was made for him by a far more trustworthy testimony than his own. This testimony was an expert comparison, under a powerful magnifying glass of the typewriting on these sheets and the typewriting on the Von Knorr memorandum which had undoubtedly come from Von Papen. They were beyond all questioning identical. The same typewriter had written all. By this little microscopic test Von Papen and the other ruthless underlings of Germany were first brought tangibly within sight of their ultimate expulsion from this country, for crimes of which the passport frauds were the least odious.

The other pregnant fact about the Von Knorr memorandum was that the eyes of Justice rested on the name of *Werner Horn* and lingered long enough to fix that name in memory. Here first swam into its ken the man who tried to destroy the international bridge at Vanceboro, Maine, and whose story is one of the most romantic and adventurous of all the German plotters! That story will be told in full in the WORLD'S WORK for April. Hence it need not be dwelt on here.

One last touch in this drama: A few moments ago we left Von Wedell—ambitious, timorous Von Wedell—on the high seas bound for Norway. But Fate was after him. Ruroede's moment of weakness—his moment of pique, when he swore he would not shoulder all this bitterness alone—had set her on his trail. A cable message to London, a wireless from the Admiralty, and then—this entry in the logbook of the *Bergensfjord* for Monday, January 11, 1915:

All male first and second class passengers were gathered in the first-class dining saloon and their nationality inquired into.

About noon, the boarding officer of the Cruiser —— (English) went back and reported to his ship. About 0:45 P. M. he came over with orders again to take off the six German stowaways and two suspected passengers. These passengers were according to ship's berth list as follows:

1. Rosato Sprio, Mexican, Destination Bergen, Cabin 71, second-class. . . .

Rosato Sprio admitted after close examination to be H. A. Wedell. Claimed to be a citizen of the United States. . . .

Dr. Rasmus Bjornstad claimed to be a Norwegian. . . .

As both passengers apparently were traveling under false pretense, the Captain did not feel justified to protest against the detention of the two passengers. These were accordingly . . . taken off and put on board the Auxiliary Cruiser ——."

Unhappy Wedell! "The Cruiser——" was a ship that never made port. Wedell's high connections in the German Foreign Office could not save him from the activities of the high officials of the German Admiralty. A *U*-boat fired a torpedo into "the Cruiser ——" and sent her to the bottom with Rosato Sprio, *alias* H. A. Wedell aboard.

Exit Wedell and Ruroede.

Enter Werner Horn.

(*To be continued in the* WORLD'S WORK *for April*)

THE WAR OF DELIVERANCE

(See Map on Next Page)

IN his speech of January 8, 1918, the President made the following specific demands in reference to the subject races of the German alliance:

VIII.—All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

IX.—A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

X.—The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

XI.—Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan States to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States should be entered into.

XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

XIII.—An independent Polish State should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

In the President's address to Congress of February 11th, last he seems to take away something of the force of his former specific demands by the following paragraph:

The United States has no desire to interfere in European affairs or to act as arbiter in European territorial disputes. She would disdain to take advantage of any internal weakness or disorder to impose her own will upon another people. She is quite ready to be shown that the settlements she has suggested are not the best or the most enduring. They are only her own provisional sketch of principles, and of the way in which they should be applied.

But he returns again to the fundamental principle of government by the consent of the governed, which would normally mean the emancipation of the French of Alsace-Lorraine, the Poles, the Bohemians (Czechs), Rumanians, and Southern Slavs, from the Hohenzollern and Hapsburg yoke, and the Armenians and Kurds and Arabs from the Turk.

Third—Every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims among rival States; and,

Fourth—That all well defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe, and consequently of the world.

The attention of the United States has been directed chiefly on the evils of the German dream of world conquest. It is the principal menace because it is the most vigorous and all-embracing. But the Government of the Hapsburgs in many respects has been far more tyrannical than that of the Hohenzollerns, and one of the chief intentions of the present Turkish Government is to deport or murder a third of its population—the non-Moslem third.

Austria and Turkey may be weaker than Germany, but they are no less wicked. Any compromise that would put subject races again under the arbitrary rule of Hapsburg or Turk would be a confession that the high aims of the war are abandoned.

THE PEOPLES AWAITING DELIVERANCE

There were nearly 50 million people in Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey who were subject races before the Great War broke out. It was the plan of the Prussian junkers who controlled Prussia which controlled Germany to make Germany control its allies and the whole alliance control the world. The control of the subject races shown above, with the destruction of Serbia as a nation, is the key to the whole plan. With the 50 millions once delivered into freedom, the world is freed with them from the German menace. [See article on previous page.]

HOW THE DYESTUFFS CRISIS WAS MET

The Work of American Science, Capital, and Industry—Why Germany Cannot Again Control Our Colors—Only Staple Shades Available Yet, But the Whole Spectrum On the Way

BY

ELLWOOD HENDRICK

(Author of "Everyman's Chemistry")

IN 1915 the textile mills of the United States were about to close down for lack of dyes. There were more than 900 artificial dyestuffs in general use and the market was bare. The situation was serious. Agents of German houses could not import without returning cotton or copper or something needed by Germany for purposes or war, and that was not allowed. The situation was very like that of a farmer's wife who wants to bake a pie. She needs flour and lard and salt and eggs and, let us say, apples. Across the road is a field of wheat, back of the house is an apple orchard, there are pigs in the pen and chickens on the roost, but she has neither flour nor lard nor eggs nor apples. The United States, like the rest of the world, used to buy its colors ready-made, and it got them mostly from Germany. The native American coal-tar dyestuff industry was represented by the Schoellkopf Works in Buffalo, Heller & Merz in Newark, the W. Beckers Works in Brooklyn, and four smaller establishments, one of which was owned in Germany. The first three, despite the German names, were thoroughly American concerns, struggling along as best they could against hot competition from Germany—yet having to buy most of their materials from that country. Everything to make them of—to make the things that correspond to flour and eggs and lard and apples, if we are thinking of pie instead of dyestuff—was here in abundance. The Hudson River Works was purchased a number of years ago by the Bayer Co., of Elberfeld, and so far as I am aware it is still owned in Germany. It had nearly ceased to make colors and was making drugs, as a more profitable enterprise.

In regard to intermediates, which are the coal-tar materials out of which dyes are made, the condition was interesting. The iron and steel industry had attained great proportions, but right here we meet the text of many sermons preached by scientific men before the war. American business men—not as individuals but as a great class—were not sufficiently hospitable to applied science. There was plenty of boasting but still more neglect. We find an example in the making of coke for blast furnaces. It was made mostly in bee-hive coke ovens in which all the gas, ammonia, and tar are destroyed. Only a small percentage was made in by-product coke ovens in which these are saved. It was very wasteful to destroy all these valuable products to make coke, but we have always been lavish in this country and are less distressed by the consciousness of waste than other peoples.

In 1909 three interested companies started the coal-tar intermediate industry. These were the Solvay interests of Syracuse, which make soda and, through an allied corporation, build and operate by-product coke ovens; the Barrett Co., which buys tar, refines it, makes roofing and other tar products—the so-called crudes—and the General Chemical Co., which is a large producer of acids, which are needed at every step. They knew that by-product ovens were sure to replace the bee-hive type in time, because of the saving of gas and the increasing value of gas fuel, and they organized the Benzol Products Co., secured competent management and began to make aniline oil at Frankford, Pa., making about 200,000 lbs. per month. This is merely one of a great many coal-tar intermediates, but it is largely used. The writer of this article had made aniline oil at Albany in 1883, but his company did not last. Dr. Jayne, the elder, of the Barrett Co., had also undertaken to make it, but not for long. This new establishment, however, had such financial strength back of it that the alarm was sounded in Germany and they flooded the American market with aniline at less than cost. It was a losing prop

sition, but the American owners stuck to it, while the Schoellkopf Works and Heller & Merz continued to buy and use the American product. Congress put a duty on aniline, but the Germans discounted the duty and continued to sell below cost. The fight was still on when the war broke loose. A great deal of aniline is used by textile mills for black dye. Before the war more than 12,000,000 lbs. were used annually, but the American mills generally used the German product.

THE SCIENCE OF DYEING

To get the dyestuff situation clear in our minds we must note another fact. Dyeing is an art, but it is also a science. "Don't talk about theories, give us practical men," has been the slogan of the American business man for many years—and yet theory is the basis of science. The textile industry participated in this attitude, despite the fact that there were far-sighted mill men who combated the anti-scientific heresy and established such splendid institutions as the textile schools at Philadelphia and Lowell. The application of dyes to fibres in this country is still in transition from a trade to a professional calling. The agencies of German houses, some of which were American and some German owned, gave service along with the goods they sold. They sent textile chemists around to the mills to teach the dyers how to work with their products and to get the best results. This established very close relations between many of them and the agents of German manufacturers. The relationship was made all the closer because in many mills there is not a chemically trained man in the whole establishment. I am not speaking of the great, progressive manufacturing concerns whose works are models of efficiency, nevertheless I am describing a vast number of American textile mills.

Then came the war, and in 1915 the strain was on. The market was bare. A few importers started in to manufacture in a small way, but to this day the main product is from American factories that have developed as we shall soon see. We were still in the position of the farmer's wife who wanted to make pie and had nothing nearer to her ingredients than a field of wheat and an apple orchard. Munitions had to be made and they call for coal-tar intermediates. Water-gas, so largely produced in this country, yields no tar, and tar products were needed in the worst possible way. So by-product coke ovens were substituted for the bee-hive type as fast as they could be built, and now about 50 per cent. of our coke is made by the modern process. The owners of the one concern that made intermediates plunged in and built for the future. This concern is now producing more aniline alone than was formerly used in the entire country. The Du Ponts, with their great research laboratory and chemical staff, became tremendous users of coal-tar products, and it goes without saying that their handling of these is competent and intelligent. The Merrimac Chemical Co. near Boston and the Newport Chemical Co. in Wisconsin began to make intermediates, and so did Marden, Orth & Hastings, and the Butterworth-Judson Co. of Newark,

A SERIOUS ECONOMIC QUESTION

In the meantime the dyestuff situation was desperate. Schoellkopf and Beckers were working three shifts and throwing back into extensions every penny of the big profits they made. The same may be said of Heller & Merz. Sherwin, Williams & Co., paint makers in Chicago, had to have certain colors for pigments and, as they could not buy them, they made them and are now producers. The big printing ink concern of Ault & Wiborg of Cincinnati could not buy, so they built and built well and are now producing. Dow of Michigan is already making indigo. Marden, Orth & Hastings of Newark are producing a considerable line. So is John Campbell and also the Butterworth-Judson Co. Herman A. Metz, formerly one of the leading importers, is manufacturing in two factories, and the Hudson River Works of the Bayer Co. at Rensselaer, N. Y., has gone back to making some colors again. The brothers Blum of the United Piece Dye Works at Paterson needed some colors for silk which they could not procure, and now they are producing some for the market. The Arnold Print Works at North Adams, Mass., is making a few of the dyes that it needs. And there are a vast number of other makers, some putting out only one or two colors and others more. The Du Pont interests are building on a very large scale to make indigo and other colors. Much the largest producer of dyestuffs is the National Aniline & Chemical Co., Inc., which now includes the Schoellkopf Works of Buffalo,

the W. Beckers Works of Brooklyn, the Standard Aniline Works at Wappingers Falls, N. Y., the Benzol Products Co. at Marcus Hook, Pa., and the research plants, for products specifically needed, of the General Chemical, Barrett, and Solvay companies, all of which are large shareholders. An interesting note in this connection is that a large participant in the Solvay companies at Syracuse is Ernest Solvay of Brussels, who saved that city by the payment of the great indemnity, said to be $6,000,000, to the German invaders to save that city from the fate of Louvain. Syracuse, N. Y., helped to save Brussels, Belgium.

Well, then, what is the situation to-day? Are American makers producing all the colors formerly obtained from Germany? Very emphatically they are not. Are those that they make as good as those made in Germany? Yes, the same thing is the same thing, no matter where it is made. The only qualification to this statement is that there has been, under slap-dash rush of work, an occasional lack of regularity of product, but among responsible makers this is well overcome. There is no serious defect in the quality of dyestuffs made by the best American makers. *The shortage is in variety.* Some colors are good for wool, others for cotton, others for silk, and others for two or more fabrics. Some are faster to light, others to washing, and some are not particularly fast but dye evenly, which is a great desideratum. Others are needed for the pure beauty of shade which they produce. There is no such thing as an absolutely fast color and there never has been, from Gothic times to ours. The greatest fastness in dyes to light, washing, and bleaching is found in certain products of coal tar.

THE REASONS FOR THE SHORTAGE

Now let us explain why the different varieties are not coming out more rapidly. Some are easy to make and there are little factories all over the country making them. When it ceases to pay they will stop business. Others are exceedingly difficult and involve eight, ten, a dozen or more processes, every one of which is of the greatest delicacy and is full of chemical tricks. Sometimes one product may be obtained, but as we advance in complexity there are two, three, and more different products resulting from one process. By what amounts to chemical chicanery—to use a bad word for good practices—we can increase the yield of one over the other occasionally, but this has its limitations whether the process is carried out here or in Germany. Therefore, uses must be found for these by-products, or else the cost of the thing obtained is entirely too high. Some dyes imported before the war were not made because of their merits but rather to use up the by-products of some manufacturer. They were made in limited quantities and only brought high prices when some special use for them was found. There is a possibility that greater control in yields may be developed, and in the lines of thought that lead to such control American chemists are among the world's leaders.

What scientific men engaged in this pursuit like to do best is to work out new and improved colors; those that are lovelier in shade or faster to light or washing or that dye more evenly than any that are known. That is a line of effort at once pleasing and profitable. But conditions do not allow it. Mills must be supplied and the old colors must do until immediate problems are met.

Remember, please, that dyestuffs are not made by a "formula." In the case of a color very much needed but never made in America before, it must first be produced in the laboratory. Knowledge of what it is and even how to produce it is not enough; it must be produced so as to furnish an adequate yield. There may be half a dozen ways of making it, but the problem is to discover the best way—a way that is economical. When that is worked out the matter is turned over to the works and here again there is testing to be done, because the conditions of mass, pressure, temperature, surface, and whatnot are all different in the works from in the laboratory. When this is completed and factory methods are determined upon, it is very often necessary to set up special apparatus and new machinery which, under wartime conditions, is seldom to be obtained as soon as it is wanted.

And there are other difficulties. For example, to make the color that is wanted, bodies are required that cannot be produced alone, and if everything that is made is thrown away except that which is needed, the whole undertaking is unprofitable. So the problem of working up the products that appear on the side, as it were, is likely to be present, and the laboratory must find uses for them. The situation is something like that of a clothing merchant who is compelled to buy suits to

meet a demand for trousers. The situation is met, time and again, but it stands in the way of haste.

A visit made by the writer to the research laboratory of one of the largest works showed how the subject is undertaken by American chemists of to-day. Not only is there provision made for research in the manner provided in the great German works, but it is fair to say that they have gone even further in providing for research in pure science than has been undertaken anywhere in the manufacture of these products. These provisions are for the future and it is a fair guess that when the war is over and there is time to turn around and work for the fun of it, this country will be a leader rather than a follower. In the greatest of American industrial research laboratories pure science goes hand in hand with that which is applied.

Now let us take a glance toward the future. Turkey red will be on the market early next year; so will hydron blue. The fast anthracene colors are coming along, but we must not be in too much of a hurry for them. Synthetic indigo is here in a small quantity and next year it will be available in large quantities. It is doubtful if the 10,000,000 pounds and more yearly needed here will be made immediately, but in the meantime we have natural indigo coming in from China and the East. It is not as pure as that made artificially, but—these are war times. The whole list of dyes made from toluol, which are among the most valuable, must be practically omitted for the present. The toluol goes to war as T.N.T. [trinitrotoluol, the high explosive], and that is more important than dyestuffs.

PLENTY OF CRUDE MATERIALS

The great big thing about the industry is that there are now enough by-product coke ovens in the country to furnish all the crude materials needed—except toluol during the war. That means that we shall not have to go abroad for them any more. The next is that great American chemical manufacturers have taken up the production of intermediates and these are now made, some in abundance, some in small quantities,—but others not yet—right here in the United States. And the third is the splendid equipment of great American works owned, controlled, operated, and manned by our own citizens. They are still too much rushed by the problem of keeping the mills moving, and they are a little out of breath, but they are going strong.

Then what are we to expect after the war? Let us leave all discussion of the tariff out of consideration in this article. There is a duty on dyestuffs, there is a very able tariff commission in Washington, and since everybody knows how the industry may be killed by German dumping let us not consider it at this time. What the industry must have is the support of those who use dyes. An insistent demand for dyestuffs that were convenient for special purposes but which are not actually necessary will throw the business back into German hands again because it prevents American manufacturers from making the things most urgently needed. If the users of dyes will work together with American manufacturers with good will, the American makers will solve their problems for them, because they have at their command the best staff of textile chemists in the country. Despite the fact that vast fortunes have been put into plants for future work, the industry can endure only if users and makers of dyes work together until in time all the colors really needed will be available. I cannot emphasize too strongly that the present trouble is not in quality but in variety, and this will care for itself as time goes on and one after another of the missing dyes is brought out. In June last year there occurred the consolidation, to which we have referred, of several great American works into one corporation. The two largest dye-making concerns in the country which were parties to the combination were running at 100 per cent. capacity. To avoid duplication, production in one of the two was reduced to 40 per cent. capacity by transfer of some of its lines to the other, and enlarging the units of the latter. By November, the first had increased again to 100 per cent. capacity, having filled its works with the manufacture of dyes that had not been made here before but were most urgently needed

The manufacture of coal-tar dyestuffs is the last cry in chemical industry. It is the most complex, the most scientifically erudite and difficult of all of them. It has saved the textile situation. It has been built for the future. It is organized with a view to progress in America. America needs it for her scientific development and standing, for preparedness, and because it is nationally unwholesome to let any other people control us. It is altogether a good thing for us and it is well worth the keeping.

TWO AMERICAN GENERALS

General Leonard A. Wood

THE "Plattsburg Idea" is one of General Wood's chief contributions to the military power of the United States. He originated it and popularized it, and is mainly responsible for its success. Secretary Baker, in his testimony before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, on January 28th, said of General Wood that he "originated the training camp idea and put it into practice at Plattsburg until it was a demonstrated success." As a result, the officers' training camps, of which Plattsburg was the first and the model for the others, have graduated nearly twenty thousand commissioned officers for the National Army. These men are the pick of many more thousands of the most eager and patriotic young Americans. Their response to a call to service is a remarkable tribute to General Wood's personality and foresight—for many of them undertook the training long before it became certain that we would enter the war.

His other chief achievement is the popularization of universal military service. When General Wood first undertook to make this principle popular, he ran against the sentimental prepossessions of the whole nation, as well as against its ignorance of our true military history. Nevertheless, the result was the adoption of the selective draft as the only democratic as well as the only efficient way to raise a national fighting force, and the system was almost unanimously endorsed by the country.

General Tasker H. Bliss

GENERAL BLISS, as Chief of Staff of the Army, was recently detailed to France to sit as America's representative in the Supreme War Council which coördinates the activities of all the Allied Armies from the North Sea to the Adriatic. General Bliss has had nearly all the kinds of experience that an American Army officer could have got in the last forty-two years since he graduated from West Point, including military service in Porto Rico and the Philippines, diplomatic service in Cuba and Spain, experience in teaching in the Army War College, command of troops on the Mexican border, command of military departments of the Regular Army, and work on the General Staff. He is 64 years old.

Drawn from a photograph © Brown Brothers

GEN. LEONARD A. WOOD

With our army in France, where he has been recently reported wounded

Drawn from a photograph © Harris & Ewing

GEN. TASKER H. BLISS

Military Representative of the United States at the recent Inter-Allied Conference in Paris

THE ITALIAN FRONT

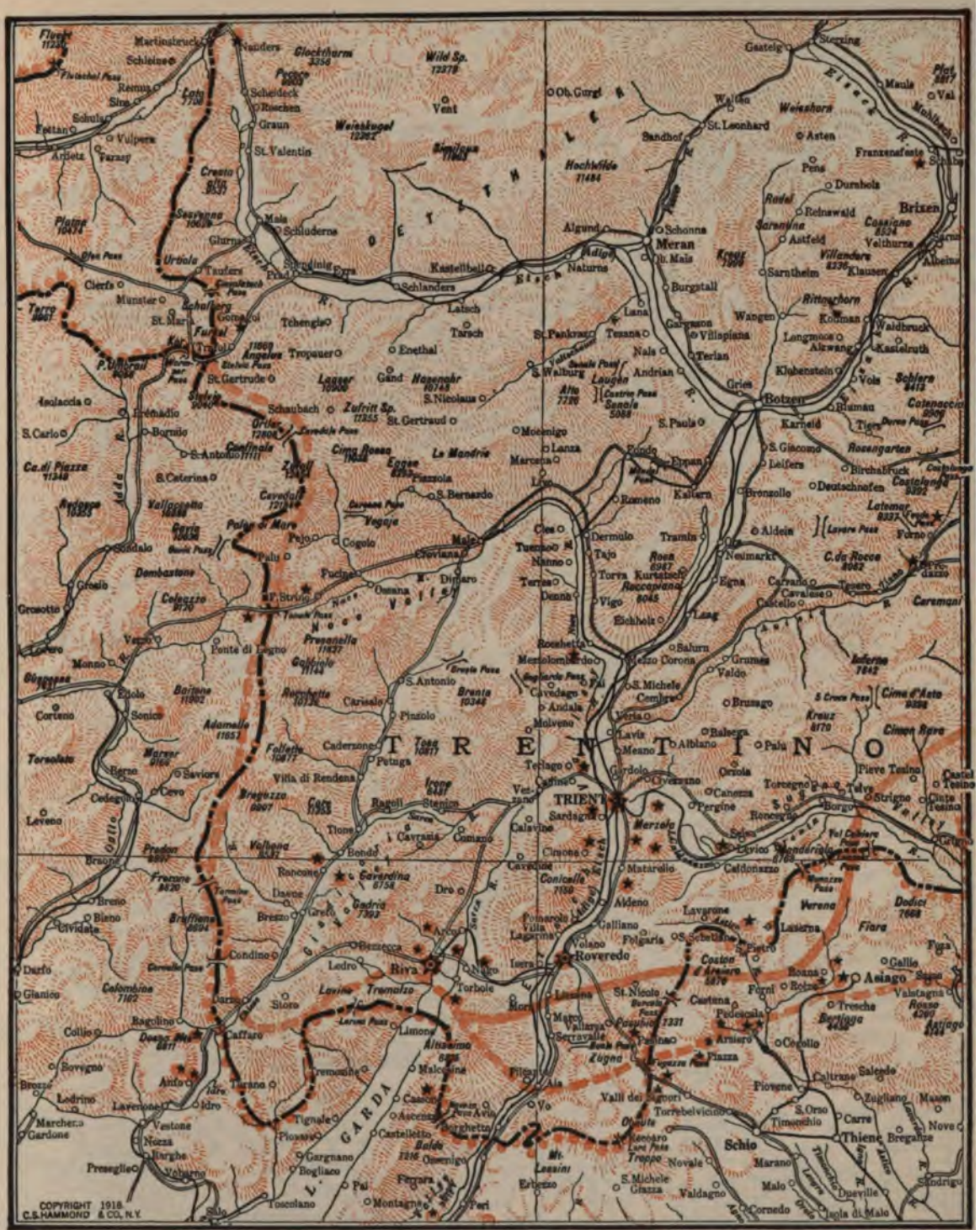
[*The Italian front is now practically the right flank of the unified Western Front of the Allied Armies. The following maps, therefore, appropriately supplement the detailed maps of the Western Front published in the* WORLD'S WORK *for last September and November.*—THE EDITORS.]

FROM the very configuration of the frontier line, it was inevitable that the Italian battle line should have taken a form which was both peculiar and dangerous. The Italian offensive was limited to the front along the Isonzo River. Once the battle line left the river, it ceased to be an offensive line and became purely defensive—blocking up the passes through the Carnic and the Julian Alps which eventually lead to the plain of northern Italy—the plain of Friuli. It will be seen from following on the map the battle line as it was before it broke under the German attack about Tolmino, that its general form was that of a horseshoe. Such a line is always a source of danger. If it is broken at any point, the entire front is of necessity affected.

Ordinarily it is an easy line to supply, as practically each part of it is readily reached from any central base. But the case of Italy is far from the ordinary. Italy must import all her war material. It comes naturally from France and England, the transshipping by rail enabling the ships to escape the submarine perils of the Mediterranean. This fact, therefore, destroys the advantage which would normally be hers by reason of the interior character of her principal lines. The Italian line as it now exists has certain other advantages over that held before the German attack. It is practically straight except for the very gradual bend where it leaves the mountains and turns down the Piave River. It is now practically one with the line in France so that the Allies' battle line may properly be described as running from the North Sea to the Adriatic.

The assistance which was sent to Italy after the break in her lines and the ensuing retreat was not needed because Italy was short of man power. It was because the morale of the Italian army had received a severe shock by reason of the defeat and needed bolstering up. The more than successful resistance which the combined armies have made to the efforts of the Teutonic Allies both in the mountains and along the Piave front has given the Italians new life and courage. There is no reason now why the Italians' ability to fight should not be just as great as when the Isonzo offensive was first started in the early fall. As near as can be estimated, Italy has at least 3,000,000 men under arms. As a purely defensive proposition, she can hold her lines with not more than half of that number. In return for the aid which the Allies have given Italy, it might be possible to effect the transfer of some of this surplus to France should they be needed to stem a similar Teutonic effort later on. Just how many men Austria has is not known, but it is not believed that she can muster 2,000,000 effectives.

There is, however, a disadvantage in the present Italian position over that which was held previous to the retreat. With superior numbers which Italy held, it was possible to man a much longer length of line without that line becoming too attenuated than could the Austrians with inferior forces. Moreover, the old Italian line was a constant menace to the Austrians and so constant a menace that they did not dare withdraw troops for service elsewhere and so weaken their front. But now the Italian line, as may be seen from the map, has been shortened by many miles. It can therefore be held by much fewer troops, so that Austria has, in effect added many thousands of men to her former strength. Moreover, the defensive advantages of the Italian positions are possessed in equal measure by the Austrians and for the same reasons with the single exception of the means of communication. The Austrian line from the point where it leaves the Piave Valley must be fed from mountain railroads over mountain trails. The Italian line has excellent supply lines in the plains with but a short distance to go through the mountains before the battle lines are encountered. But the Piave is between the two lines and must be crossed by either in attack, while in the mountains with the exception mentioned the difficulties are identical. In fact the entire Italian situation looks perilously like a permanent fixture.



For legend explaining map marks see page 543

THE TRENTINO

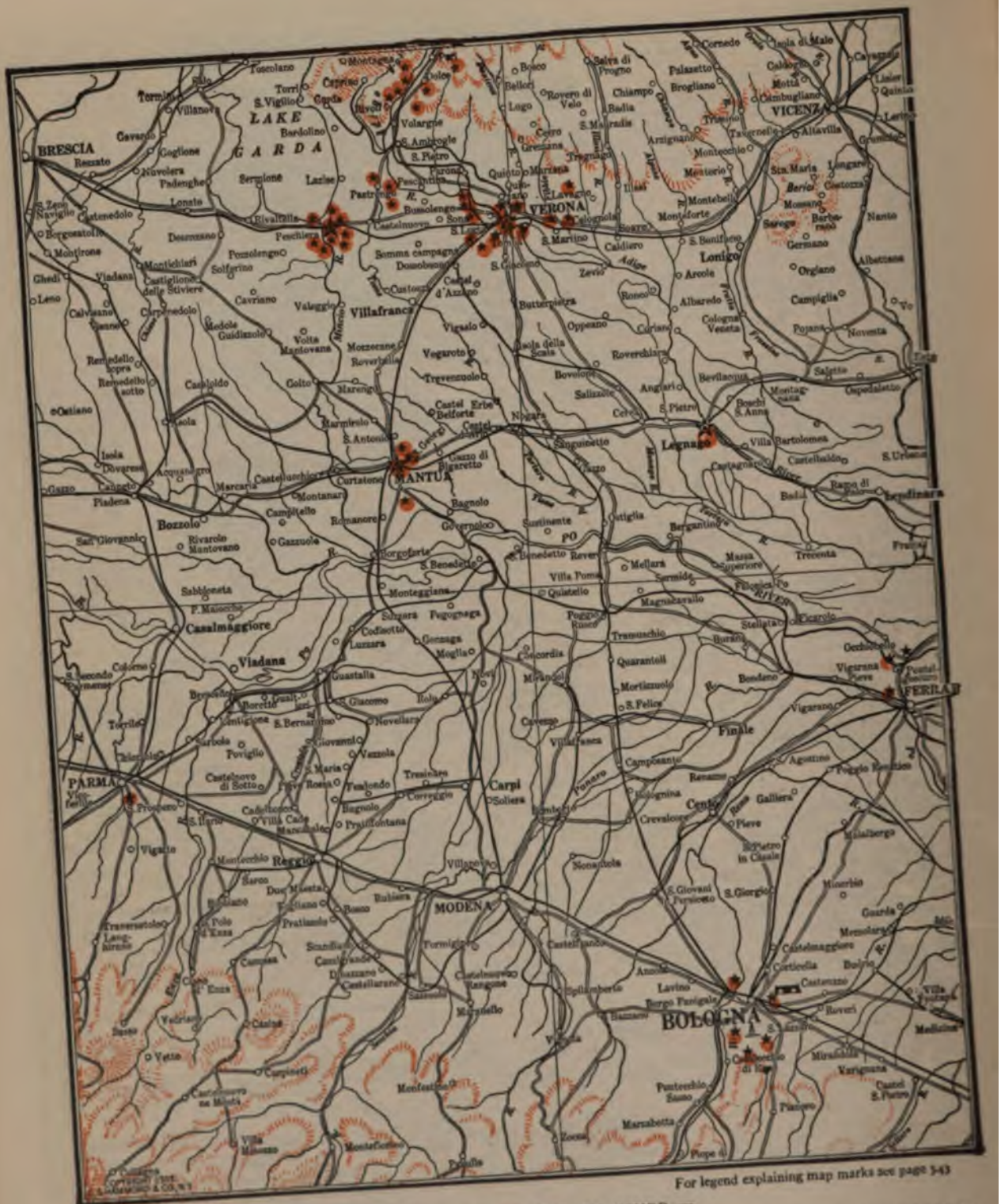
By the Congress of Vienna, in 1815, the Austrian boundaries were moved southward at the expense of Italy, so that Austria controlled not only the crest but the southern slopes as well of the great mountain barrier which is Italy's natural line of military defense. The paralyzing effect of this arrangement upon Italian effort in the war is nowhere better illustrated than in the comparison of battle lines and boundaries in this sector

Brixen
Bruneck
Innsbruck
Hochgall
Weissspitze
Hochstadt
Sand
Toblach
Landro
Cortina
Pieve di Cadore
Belluno
Feltre
Vittorio
S. Vito
TREVISO
Bassano
Castelfranco
Cittadella
Conegliano
Sacile
Pordenone
Udine
Gemona
Tolmezzo
Paularo
Pontebba
Tarvisio
Villach
Klagenfurt
Lienz
Sillian
Innichen
Bruck
Leoben
Mauthen
Kötschach
Paularo
Tramonti
Forgaria
Maniago
Spilimbergo
Codroipo
Palmanova
Cividale
Gorizia
Monfalcone
Trieste
Duino
Sesana
Postojna
Ljubljana
Idria
Tolmein
Caporetto
Plezzo
Flitsch
Malborghetto
Ponte di Legno
Edolo
Bormio
Sondrio
Tirano
Chiavenna
Colico
Lecco
Como
Bergamo
Brescia
Verona
Mantova
Rovigo
Padova
Venezia
Treviso
Vicenza
Trento
Bolzano
Merano
Meran
Lugano
Locarno
Bellinzona
Chur
Davos
Landeck
Reutte
Kufstein
Rosenheim
Salzburg
Hallein
Bad Ischl
Gmunden
Steyr
Amstetten
Melk
Krems
Wien
Wiener Neustadt
Graz
Leoben
Mürzzuschlag
Semmering
Bruck
Knittelfeld
Judenburg
Murau
Tamsweg
Mauterndorf
Radstadt
Bischofshofen
Saalfelden
Zell am See
Kitzbühel
Kufstein
Innsbruck
Landeck
Bludenz
Feldkirch
Bregenz
Lindau
Kempten
Füssen
Garmisch
Mittenwald
Innsbruck
Bozen
Meran
Brixen
Sterzing
Bruck
Lienz
Spittal
Villach
Klagenfurt
Völkermarkt
Eisenkappel
Kranj
Ljubljana
Postojna
Sesana
Trieste
Gorizia
Monfalcone
Udine
Cividale

For legend explaining map marks see page 543

—THE AUSTRIAN OFFENSIVE OF 1917

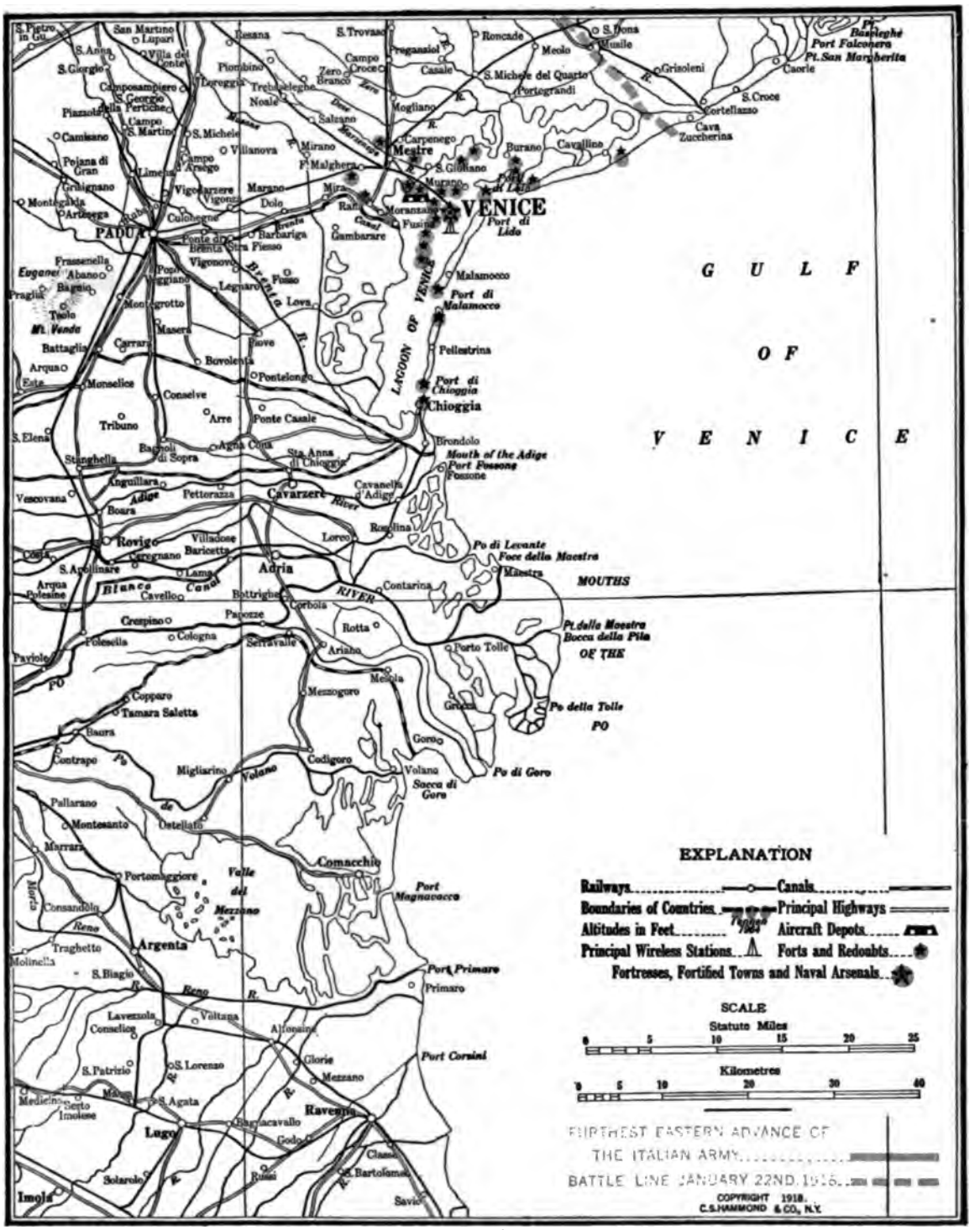
—part of the Italian high command, combined with the lowering of the morale of the Second Army due to fraternization with Austrian soldiers and the spread of Bolsheviki doctrine among the men, enabled the Austrians, reinforced by German troops, to sweep the Italians back not only from their gains but also to the Piave River near Venice. There the Italians held, after French and British reinforcements had restored their morale. Snow in the Julian Alps and the Carnic Alps, by interfering with communications, stopped the Teutonic offensive for the winter



For legend explaining map marks see page 543

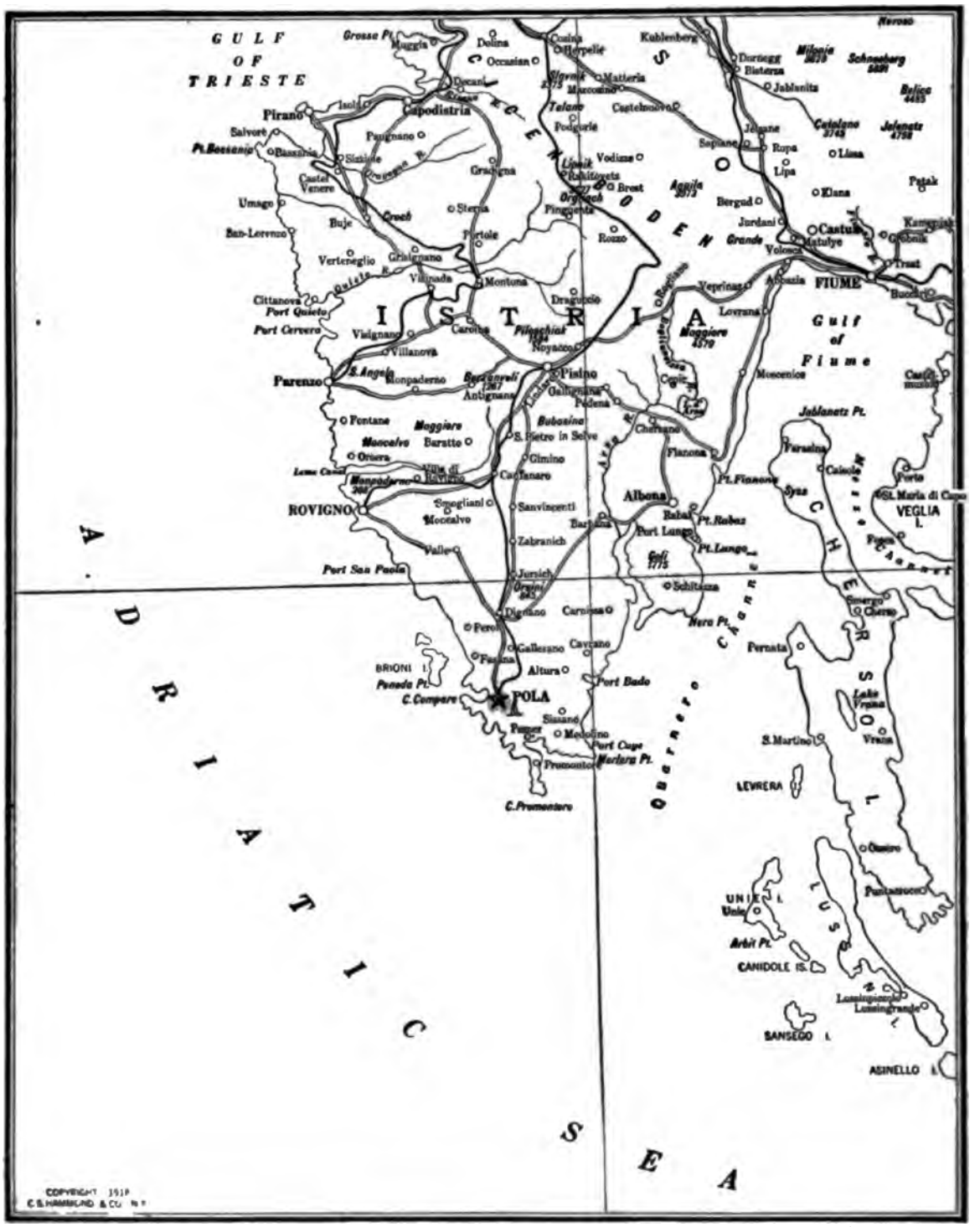
THE VALLEY OF THE PO RIVER—

This is the rich industrial region of Italy, the loss of which would disorganize Italian military operations not only by the destruction of its plants for the manufacture of munitions but also by cutting the line of communications for men and supplies from France, by occupying the home of the hardier sections of the Italian people, and by taking the principal—



—AND THE VENETIAN PLAIN

—fortified areas of Italy, including the naval base at Venice. This is the heart of modern Italy, and the hardest part to defend because it is a great plain dominated by the Austrian Alpine fastnesses to the north



For legend explaining map marks see page 543

THE KEY TO THE ADRIATIC

Istria is part of Austria but predominantly Italian in population. Pola is the chief base of the Austrian Navy, and, with Trieste and Fiume, the principal salt-water outlet of the Empire One of Italy's terms of peace is Italian control of this peninsula, which is the heart of the naval strategy of the control of the Adriatic Sea

WHERE 19,000 CHINESE STUDIED THE HEALTH EXHIBIT IN THREE DAYS

The native photographer who took the picture to the left charged $9 for it and one other view, because the crowds of Chinese, eager to get in to see the exhibit, trampled over him and his camera, and then the police ran him off for obstructing traffic. Afterward he persuaded the police to drive the crowd away long enough for him to make two exposures. (*Right:*) "China Surmounting Its Burden of Disease." The full story of the little health drama of which this is the climax is told on page 553

AN AMERICAN PHYSICIAN-DIPLOMAT IN CHINA

Dr. W. W. Peter and the Remarkable Success of His Original Methods of Converting the Chinese to Sanitary Reform—A New Way to Stop the Spread of Oriental Diseases to the United States

BY

FRENCH STROTHER

(Our international relations, as a result of our entry into the World War, have taken first rank in interest in American minds. And though our instant problem is our relations with Europe, forehanded men see that, the moment the war stops, the Orient will become the gravest problem of our foreign policy, for Asia is the last stronghold of autocracy. Hence the importance of Dr. Peter's work, which is profoundly affecting public opinion in China, favorably to us.—THE EDITORS.)

DR. W. W. PETER and the President of China met on two occasions, the second of which may well be one of the turning points in the history of the world. That sounds ambitious—but one moment. Their first meeting was on a day in 1912, in a city in central China. Dr. Peter was the Red Cross physician-surgeon in charge of a little hospital in Wuchang. The future President, Li Yuan Hung, was the general commanding the armies of the revolutionists who later forced the Manchus to abdicate the Dragon Throne. One evening a native messenger aroused Dr. Peter with the news that a whole company of Li's soldiers had been poisoned, and were dying in their barracks up the street. The doctor hastily gathered all the emetics and all the purgatives in his stock and hurried after the messenger to save their lives if he could.

DR. PETER (LEFT) AND THE "STAGE PROPERTIES" OF HIS HEALTH LECTURE IN CHINA

By means of these ingenious mechanical devices, Dr. Peter has made intelligible to thousands of China's leaders the outstanding facts of hygiene and public health. Several of these machines are described in the article herewith

"TWO CLASSES OF PEOPLE"

In his health lecture, Dr. Peter sets on a table a lamp the chimney on which is black with smoke, and asks one of his Chinese auditors to read from a newspaper by this light. Of course, the Chinese cannot see. Then he produces a similar lamp with a clean chimney and repeats the request. With this bit of symbolism caught by the audience, he produces these faces of "Two Classes of People," the one those whose view of life and effect on others is bad because they have darkened their light with bad health, and the other those whose lives and faces shine with the light of well-being

found a great dark room filled with Chinese soldiers in every stage of distress. There was no telling what poison had been used. Something must instantly be done. He mixed two pitchers full of medicine—one a powerful emetic, the other an equally energetic purgative. He then had the captain of the company order the least sick of his men to assemble in a line, and a coolie marched down the column, giving each man a teacupful of the emetic. Each man was ordered to fall out and get out—out of doors—after he had taken his dose, and to come back in ten minutes. Soon the barracks were emptied. Not much later the men returned, likewise and also! The line reformed, and the coolie went down it again, with the same teacup and the other pitcher in hand. Those who were very sick received individual attention.

And Dr. Peter left as fast as he had come. For he heard, between groans, round Chinese curses on the foreign devil who had given them the drafts. It was bad enough to be poisoned, was the sense of these rumblings, but the pangs they had suffered from the disease were nothing to those caused by the cure.

Nevertheless, none of the soldiers died. Hence General Li's invitation of a few days later, that Dr. Peter call and receive his thanks. They were duly given, with a medal besides.

Five years passed. Yuan Shih-kai had sat in the President's chair of the first Republic of China, had tried to restore the Imperial power with himself as the head of a new dynasty, had failed, and now had left behind in this world his more than twenty wives and seventy children while he journeyed through the hells and heavens of the shadow-land beyond the Chinese River Styx. General Li came to the Presidential chair. The fugitive leader of the motley revolutionists of the South now stood within the Temple of Heaven in Peking, the northern seat of national power. He was ruler of the oldest and most populous nation on the globe. Four hundred million people acknowledged his claim to power.

Again Dr. Peter happened to be near and to fall under his eye. No longer the doctor at a lonely inland post, he was now the apostle of a national health service for all China that should lift from this people the curse of its yearly scourge of smallpox, typhoid, and the plague. Backed by the Young Men's Christian Association of America, encouraged and supported by provincial governors and mandarins and literati, speaking daily to eager thousands in the greatest Chinese cities, he had carried the message of sanitation up and down China until his reputation was nationwide among the Chinese of education and leading. He was speaking in Peking when word came that the President would be pleased to receive him. He went, with an appointment for half an hour. The thirty minutes were quickly gone in explanations of the m

DR. PETER, WITH MR. REINSCH (THE AMERICAN MINISTER) AND CHINESE OFFICIALS

MOTHERS' DAY AT A CHINESE HEALTH MEETING

The lecture is usually on "How to Take Care of Your Baby." It is so popular that it had to be given four times in one day in one city visited by Dr. Peter. Part of the demonstration consists in bathing an infant correctly in view of the audience. In this city the impression got abroad that one baby was used at all four lectures. To bathe a baby at all in the winter the Chinese considered almost sure to be fatal, and, of course, four baths in one day was certain doom. The mistake was corrected, but a month after the meeting closed, the principal Chinese paper reported to its readers, as an important piece of news, that "the four babies bathed during *Dr. Peter's* meetings last month are still alive"

THE HEALTH EXHIBIT READY FOR TRAVEL

INSIDE A HALL WITH THE HEALTH EXHIBIT

The two and one half tons of apparatus and wall exhibits shown in the upper picture have accompanied Dr. Peter 22,000 miles through China, chiefly by houseboat and cart. The lecture which they illustrate has been delivered 600 times, and in all the principal Chinese cities. The gong over the door in the background of the lower picture bears the inscription, in Chinese and in English: "Each toll of this bell announces one death from consumption in China—852,348 every year, 2,335 every day, 97 every hour, one every thirty-seven seconds." The exhibits are marked in English as well as Chinese because the native students like to see the foreign writing

SOLDIERS IN PEKING STUDYING A HEALTH EXHIBIT

An acetylene candle, operated by one of Dr. Peter's trained assistants, to illustrate the special care that must be taken of babies and old people to prevent their lives being snuffed out

ing of sanitation to the health and national progress of China. The President's secretary came to him and said the President would be pleased to extend the interview another thirty minutes. Those gone, the time was again extended. Altogether for an hour and a half, Li listened to the story of a movement to make China strong.

That story has been told by Dr. Peter more than two hundred times to more than one hundred and fifty thousand of the foremost citizens of China, invariably at their request and at their expense. It is a story that is altering not alone the history of China; it will soon alter the history of the world—the United States included. For example:

Last summer, several cases of anthrax were discovered in Boston. Anthrax is a fearful disease of cattle, communicable to man, that affects the spleen, lungs, or intestines and ultimately the blood, causes disfiguring swellings on the body, and usually ends in death. Where did the Boston anthrax come from? The answer involves the pampas of Argentina, the assassination of the Hapsburg heir by a Serbian peasant in a Herzegovinian village, and a tanyard in Hankow. Boston is the port at which the hides are landed for the use of the shoe factories at Lynn and Brockton. These hides used to come, clean and sanitary, from the Argentine. Then came the assassination of Franz Ferdinand, the war in Europe, the distressed shipping schedules to and from South America, and the substitution of Chinese hides for Argentinian.

Now enters the foreman of the tanyard in Hankow. A foreigner, inspecting his place, asks him why the regulations of the United States Consular Service are not followed when he packs his hides for shipment. In harsh Chinese the foreman inquires to know why he should waste time and money dipping his hides in an evil-smelling liquor just because some foreign devil strings together absurd characters that read backward—from left to right instead of right to left, like civilized Chinese printing. Never!

Hence he ships hides infested with *Bacillus Anthracis*—and *Bacillus Anthracis* does not die when exposed to sun and fresh air, as do other deadly germs. Hence several Americans dead in Boston, who probably never heard of Hankow.

So the national health of China concerns the whole world. It is no mere figure of speech to say that the world's history will be affected. The Black Death of the 14th Century which destroyed twenty million lives in Europe was China's contribution to the most tragic page of English and French and Italian history in the Middle Ages. The horror of that slaughter of the innocents has not been forgotten to this day. China has in all history been the great plague spot of the world. The bubonic plague, which is still being fought in California and Louisiana, came from China. Five years ago, the pneumonic plague des-

troyed fifty thousand lives in three months in Manchuria, and threatened to sweep the world. China is the native home of smallpox.

And if she has scourged the world from her isolation, what will be when she joins the company of the nations, as she soon will do? Probably within the lifetime of this generation the centre of gravity of international politics will shift from Europe to the western shore of the Pacific, and China will be in full commercial intercourse with all mankind—and disease follows trade.

POLICEMEN LOOKING AT A HEALTH EXHIBIT IN TIEN-TSIN.
As the police are charged with the execution of health regulations, Dr. Peter always makes sure of their interest when he carries out a health campaign in a Chinese city

It is as much to forestall the menace of this plague upon the world as to help China itself that Dr. Peter has traveled twenty-two thousand miles up and down China, telling these people "The Relation of National Health to National Strength." That is the title of his lecture. It sounds a little dull to us, but it is joined to the psychology of the Chinese of to-day in a way easy to understand. Every intelligent Chinese knows that China has fallen behind in the race of the nations. He also knows that this most numerous of all peoples, the oldest in its civilization, infinitely rich in the very resources that its modern rivals have used to reach to power (iron and coal and forests), a people inferior to none in intelligence, unmatched in patience and industry and thrift—that this great race lacks something which has put it at the mercy of peoples contemptibly its inferior in numbers and history. That something is the "national" idea, "national" strength. China is a race, but it never has been a nation. They are eager to know how China may become a nation—what is the secret of national cohesion, what is "national strength."

Thus Dr. Peter's lecture is as popular in China as Dr. Russel Conwell's "Acres of Diamonds" is on the Chautauqua circuit in the Corn Belt. It "hits the spot." And, to tell the truth, it would "go" in America. For probably no such a lecture was ever devised for an audience of serious people. It is really a traveling show, two and a half tons of exhibits and ingenious apparatus designed to make plain to any man with eyes the vast practical meaning of some Western abstract ideas. Fourteen mechanics are kept busy building new "stage properties" to be used with the lecture. Two intelligent Chinese mechanics go with Dr. Peter to manipulate these weird but effective things before his audiences. They are his "Man Fridays," only, being two, he calls one "Friday" and the other "Saturday."

For example: Having his platform set like a stage, Dr. Peter stands before two black curtains suspended upon wires and meeting behind his back. Facing his Chinese audience, he tells them he has come, upon their invitation, to tell them what physical health has to do with the "national strength" of China. They have told him that China is weak, the China lags behind in the race of the natio

A MIDSUMMER ADDRESS IN NANKING

Dr. Peter is here lecturing on tuberculosis, illustrating his talk with the device pictured below. Every eight seconds the little figure of a man opens the door of the house, comes outside, and falls into the coffin—a pantomimic dramatization of the fact that the world mortality from tuberculosis averages one death every eight seconds. The cone-shaped mound is the Chinese conventional symbol of death

where each one is striving to make its full contribution to the world's industry and art, science and education, wealth and happiness, and they have asked him why. There are many reasons, but he is fully acquainted with only one—and that, one of the foremost.

"Let us have that race run, here, upon this platform."

Then from between the curtains a poorly dressed man with a load comes forward. On seeing him Dr. Peter says to the audience:

"This man represents China. Now here is another man, dressed in Western costume but also with a load. Let him represent Japan [a Chinese audience of to-day always picks up its ears when Japan is mentioned] or America, or England—any Western nation. Now, China carries this unusually heavy burden in its race, a great bag, loaded full of something hidden by the cord tied round its neck.

"Now," continues Dr. Peter, "all Western nations bear this same bur-

den, but they have vastly lightened it. Note the difference."

"Now for the race. Ready!" cries Dr. Peter. "On your mark! Go!"

The men run across the stage, but "Japan," lightly burdened, quickly leaves behind "China," who staggers under his big, heavy bag. Dr. Peter greets the victor, who disappears.

"Now I will show you the burden China has to carry in the race," says Dr. Peter, as he unties the bag. Out he pulls a great beam of heavy wood painted red, and the audience reads upon it, in big black Chinese ideographs, the symbol that means "Plague." Into the bag again, and out comes another, "Smallpox." Another: "Typhoid." And another and another. As each beam is read it is passed back through the curtain from Friday to Saturday.

No audience can escape—or forget—the meaning of that little drama. But it has another act.

"Would you like to see what China would look like, ready for the race, if it, too, threw off this burden of disease and death from its shoulders?"

And then the black curtains sweep aside and there is a Chinese athlete, lithe and strong, poised for the race, standing with his feet upon, and spurning, the beams that had been in the heavy bag upon the other racer's shoulders. The tableau never fails to get a roar of applause—and after the applause a sudden utter silence as the full meaning of the picture fills the minds of the spectators.

Dr. Peter's message has often been challenged. Remember, he does not address the coolies of China, but the flower of the nation. These men are governors of provinces as big as Ohio and as populous as New York, of cities comparable to Chicago and Philadelphia; the modern successors of the martial Kublai Khan and Ghengis Khan; the heirs of the subtle Confucius and Lao-tze; descendants in intellect and learning of the men who invented the printing press and gunpowder, the compass and the astrolabe. Hence, at one of his meetings, Dr. Peter came a cropper. He had waxed eloquent upon the man-saving power of sanitation, when a venerable pundit rose in the audience and challenged his argument.

"Pardon me, Dr. Peter," he said, in Chinese, "but may I interrupt? Your logic is all very well for America, with its hundred million people scattered over a great continent, or for France, with its seventy millions. But China—*ssu-pai wan*! [Four hundred million!] China has too many men already!"

And Dr. Peter had no answer. But he did not rest until he had found the answer, nor then until he had got his fourteen cunning artificers to make another two hundred pounds of weird apparatus to add to his platform equipment. And ever afterward he had a striking answer to this objection—for this objection was made at nearly every city. Beside him on the platform thenceforward have stood two tables, seemingly bare, even of a cover, but painted, one red, one yellow. Behind the red one, which represents Europe, stands "Friday"; behind the other, standing for Asia, "Saturday." Another venerable pundit rises to make his argument that China should not save lives because China already has more lives than it needs.

"But," objects Dr. Peter, "according to your logic, it is not the number of people that matters; it is the number per square *li*." [A *li* is the Chinese mile, one ninth as large as ours.]

"Quite so," assents the Chinese sage.

"Then how many people per *li* do you imagine live in these Western lands? I have studied that and know. What country in Europe do you choose?"

"England."

"Good! Now how many people per square *li* would you say there are in England?"

"Maybe ten; perhaps eleven."

"No. I will show you. Here on these tables you see rows of ten slots each. Each table stands for a square *li*. You shall see how many people, on an average, live upon every square *li* in England."

Whereupon "Friday" pulls a concealed lever and up jump forty manikins in four rows, like tin soldiers. Extension legs at the back of the table tilt it forward so the audience can see.

"Forty per *li* in England!" exclaims Dr. Peter. "Name another country."

"Germany."

"How many?"

"Twenty."

"No—thirty-six." And up pop other rows of manikins, thirty-six of them. Here Dr. Peter takes the initiative.

"Let us see Holland." Additional rows stand up. "Fifty-three per li in Holland

Belgium—before the war. Seventy-three per *li*."

"Now let us examine the Asiatic countries. Twenty-eight per square *li* in Japan. And only twenty per square *li* in India. Think of it!"

"So! So!" exclaims the audience, "but China! How many in China."

"Ah!" Dr. Peter says. "I am told you do not believe in any census of China except the *Min-djen-bu*. Well, according to the *Min-djen-bu*, China has nine people per *li*." Nine lonely manikins appear.

"Nine!" incredulously from the audience. Then a chorus: "In all China—Yes. But who lives in the Desert of Gobi? Who lives in Tibet? We mean China Proper."

"Very well," Dr. Peter replies, "The eighteen provinces, then. Twenty-three per square *li*." The nine manikins disappear and twenty-three pop up. The audience is dumb. Dr. Peter presses his advantage.

"Take your most populous province, if you like. What is that?"

"Shan-tung!" the audience shouts as one man, their hope renewed, for this province is famous the world over for its density of population.

"Shan-tung," echoes Dr. Peter. The row of twenty-three little figures drop out of sight and up come——

"Fifty-nine per *li*," announces Dr. Peter, "against seventy-eight per *li* in Belgium." Even "Saturday" is grinning now. That argument about "too many men in China" has been spiked again.

"Saturday" has seen city after city in China taught the gospel of sanitation, but though he has been behind the stage properties of this medical evangelism and helped make the wheels go round, he has never lost a particle of his enthusiasm for the work, and with his fellow, "Friday," counts it the fun of life to serve the Doctor on his travels. "I hope you have slept well?" is his anxious query every morning, quickly followed by "Friday's" unweariedly eager, "Breakfast is waiting: may you enjoy it!"

Speaking of "wheels going round"—another piece of symbolism in mechanical disguise is this: The black curtains will be opened and Dr. Peter will say to his auditors—"spectators" is a better word, for he gets these people by having them "listen with their eyes" Canadian colleague in China, since he has gone to teach soldiers in England, has proved by demonstration that 85 per cent of all knowledge is gained through the eye and only 15 per cent. through ear-nose-tongue-finger senses combined. And that three tenths of eye-received-knowledge is permanently remembered and only seven tenths lost, whereas in hearing only one tenth is remembered. Dr. Peter, then, will say to his eye-hearers: "That big wheel there, on which are painted the words Progress, Freedom, National Health, and National Strength, represents China's advance. Now, how shall we make China advance, how make that wheel go round? Those little figures of men you see in front of the great wheel, each with his hands upon a crank that bears upon its axle, are the diferent classes of your people. One man represents your public officers, another your learned men, a third your merchants, a fourth your workmen, and so on. Now I will show you how these classes of your people go about their tasks to-day."

At a signal, "Friday" switches on the current from a bank of storage batteries, and the manikins begin to move, every one turning his little crank around and 'round.

"What?" Dr. Peter exclaims. "All are working, but the great wheel does not turn! But no wonder. Look at the merchants—they are turning one way while the officials are turning another. And the learned men are not turning in time with either. Nor the laborers with any of the rest. How can China advance, how can the great wheel turn, when the men who should turn it work like that?"

At a signal, "Friday" switches off the current.

"But suppose they worked differently. Let us try again."

Changing to a second piece of apparatus, which seems to be an exact duplicate of the first, he repeats the signal.

Again the manikins begin their turning, but this time every one bends in unison with his neighbors, every back is straight at once, then all are bowed together. And the great wheel begins slowly but steadily to revolve.

"See! The wheel is turning. China advances—because all her men are working in coöperation. That is the secret of 'National Strength.'"

The black curtains draw again together, and while "Friday" and "Saturday" bring

out new apparatus, Dr. Peter continues his address:

"How, then, shall we get all China working together to gain National Health—that great element of National Strength? Here are a heap of stones [they are, in reality, big blocks of wood brought out by "Friday" and "Saturday."] I will let you name these stones of coöperation for National Health, and as you name them, we will build our foundation up. As each stone is added, I will place on top of the pile the cap-stone of National Health, and if the foundation is complete, the cap-stone will become luminous and shine on China. What is the most necessary foundation?"

"Money," some one calls from the audience.

"Good!" cries Dr. Peter, and his men put in the centre of the stage the first stone, the block so turned that it exposes a painted side bearing the symbol which means Money.

"I will set the cap-stone of Public Health upon this stone, and if Public Opinion is enough, Public Health will shine on China. No, it is still dark. What other stone is necessary?"

"Law."

"Yes, Law—the law that regulates life and the diseases. Place that under the stone of Money. Will Public Health now shine? Still dark! What other stone?"

"Education."

"Yes, Education in sanitary things. But still no light from Public Health: What else?"

"Public Opinion."

"Add Public Opinion. Now Public Health shines on China!"

And sure enough, the cap-stone bursts into a brilliant glow—prosaically enough done with a 100-candle-power electric bulb inside a box with translucent sides, but magically convincing in its effect in carrying home the symbolism to the spectators' minds.

By such devices as these, aided by the eagerness of the Chinese themselves to learn and by the prestige of the authorities, who are always the patrons of his campaigns, Dr. Peter has so greatly impressed upon the people the necessity of sanitation that his work has become nationally significant. In one city, for example, the average number of Chinese who applied at the foreign dispensary for vaccination jumped from ninety a day before his visit to eight hundred a day after he left. At each of his meetings during his five-day campaigns he addresses several thousand of the leading people of the community—the officials, the mandarins, the police, the gentry, the merchants, and the university students and faculty. One day is set apart for lectures for the women. And at every campaign, from five to thirty thousand people inspect the health exhibits which are arranged outside the lecture room, and ask questions of the squad of carefully coached university students who answer all inquiries about infections, prevention of disease, care of the sick, eradication of flies, mosquitoes, and other disease-bearing insects.

But in the international significance of Dr. Peter's work lies its chief interest for Americans. The menace to us of China's terrible infections is a grave danger. And what Mr. Franklin K. Lane said about the German menace is equally true of this: "If we don't go fight the Germans in Europe, we shall have to fight them on American soil." If we don't go fight China's plagues in China, we shall have to fight them in America. And it is a lot less costly in American money and American lives to fight them in China—for if we educate the Chinese, they will fight them for us and not only fight but pay the big bills besides.

Nor is the political effect a negligible consideration. China has long counted us its best friend—because we have not sought territory and because we were generous in the return of the Boxer indemnity. If, to these reasons for good-will, we add the vast permanent constructive reform of the physical conditions of human life in China, we shall earn—and doubtless receive—the lasting gratitude of the most populous nation. And we shall, at no distant date, in the Orient need a friend.

MEN ON THE JOB IN WASHINGTON

Mr. Alfred H. Smith

Assistant to the Director General of Railroads, in charge of the operation of lines east of the Mississippi, and north of the Ohio, rivers

WHEN Mr. A. H. Smith was brought from the lines west of Buffalo and made general superintendent of the New York Central Railroad, the traffic condition on the lines east was in bad shape. The large De Witt yards were jammed full; nothing was moving. Other yards were as bad. When his appointment reached him, Mr. Smith jumped on his car and started east. Some of the Eastern officials were waiting to criticize this young Lochinvar. But the first thing they knew the De Witt yards began to clear up and traffic began to move regularly over the lines. The new superintendent was out on the road, directing and encouraging the men, and getting results. The New Yorkers decided that he must be a pretty good man even before they came under his magnetic and stimulating influence.

That is Mr. Smith's chief qualification for the position as Assistant to the Director General of Railroads in charge of operation of all the roads east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio—he gets results. He has faced many situations similar in character, although not in extent, to the present traffic congestion in the East; and he has mastered every situation that has ever been put up to him. As president of the New York Central Lines he knows the problems of every man under him, for he has at one time or another been in most of their positions. He learns fast, and will soon know the particular problems of every road in the East, if he does not already. His ability to organize and inspire men largely accounts for his success. His healthy optimism is contagious. He is a remarkably keen judge of men.

In 1908 there was a serious traffic congestion on the Boston & Albany. He went up there to clean it up. In the Springfield station he found an assistant trainmaster who appeared to know what he was doing. Mr. Smith watched him work for a time, then went up to him and asked him what his name was.

"Truden."

"No, I mean your other name."

"James L."

"Jimmy, can't you be superintendent of this division and run it right?"

"I think I can."

"Beginning to-morrow morning then you are superintendent; you run the job."

Mr. Truden is now general superintendent of the Boston & Albany.

"Picking winners," is what Mr. Smith calls it.

The ice sometimes goes out of the Hudson up the river before it does below and the New York Central tracks are flooded. One year all four tracks were under water. Mr. Smith was one of the first to get there, but he found a supervisor on the job getting results. He talked with him and found that their views as to what should be done were alike; and, in his usual way, he left the supervisor to handle the situation. He is now a vice-president of the New York Central Lines.

Mr. Smith himself started as a messenger boy in the purchasing department of the Lake Shore Railroad in Cleveland. He was a boy with a bridge gang at $25 a month when he was given a job in the auditor's office at $40. This extra money meant a great deal to him for he was helping to support his mother. But he looked around at the gray-haired men filling some of the highest positions in the office, and had the good sense and courage to decide that the auditor's office was not the place for him. He resigned and went back with the bridge gang. He could write a good round hand, and used to make out the reports for his uneducated boss. When the bridge foreman came around and wanted information he was told: "Ask that boy, he knows all about it." It did not take the foreman long to decide that if Smith knew all about it he should boss the job. From then on his advancement was steady, for he always got results.

He is now fifty-three years old, but he keeps in shape for working under full steam by playing hard. He rides horse-back, rain or shine, usually in the evening. If he has to work at night, he takes time before or after lunch for his daily ride. That, and working on his farm at Chappaqua, thirty-three miles out of New York, are his hobbies. He can forget work when he leaves it. He will go to French Lick for a vacation, change into his riding clothes on the train, have a horse waiting for him, and go for a fast twelve or fifteen mile ride before going to the hotel. After two weeks of that he will weigh within two pounds of what he did at the start. He has a sound mind in a sound body and he takes good care of both.

When he goes out on the road, the telegrams come into New York like a snow storm. His powers of observation are remarkable. Sitting on the back platform of his "work" car, he will be telling stories about his farm and apparently thinking of nothing else.

"Last year I brought over four sows and two boars from Scotland——" "Buzz" will go the bell, and to his secretary: "Ask McDonald what those four Ontario & Western cars are doing on the tracks opposite Kingston; they should not be there."

"I loaned those boars to the farmers in our section and we are going to have a better quality of pigs——"

"Buzz" again—"Ask Colvin what's the matter with that fourth track of the Rhinecliff station; it isn't in the shape it should be."

And then Mr. Smith resumes telling about his pigs, until "buzz" again, and the secretary takes a message like this: "To Jones: just passed second section of No. 18. It had only 64 cars. Why isn't it carrying more?"

Thus the chief gives his staff the benefit of his observations and keeps them on their toes. But they like it, for they like him. They know that he understands their problems and that he is always fair, even to his enemies.

One of his favorite stories is about a section boss who was taken to task by his superintendent because a pipe culvert had not been filled in. The superintendent remembered that he had issued a general order that all culverts be filled when the pipes were put in.

"A jineral order, eh," said Patsey. "If orders would have filled that culvert, it would have been filled in long ago. It takes a man with a shovel to do that."

Common sense is one of Mr. Smith's greatest assets. Horse sense his associates call it, and spell it "hoss."

Mr. Richard H. Aishton

Assistant to the Director General of Railroads, in Charge of the Lines West of the Mississippi River

IT IS more than a coincidence that the three men chosen by Director General McAdoo to take charge of the operation of the railroads of the country all started at the bottom and have grown up in the railroad business. It means that, as a rule, the best railroad operators are not born but are made by hard work. It is a field of labor where long training is usually necessary to success in the higher positions.

The Chicago & North Western is one of the railroads that believes in training its own men. It sees to it that the bigger jobs are within the horizon of possible attainment for the man below. It seldom goes outside its own family to get men to fill vacancies among its officers. President Richard H. Aishton, now in charge of the operation of all the railroads west of the Mississippi, is a typical product of the North Western's system. He started as an axman with an engineering corps on the road at eighteen years of age. He moved up steadily, though not spectacularly, until thirty-eight years later, in 1916, he became president. His first seventeen years were spent in the engineering branch. From axman he became rodman, levelman, assistant engineer, superintendent of bridges and buildings and then division engineer. At thirty-five he was made a division superintendent. From then on his advance was more rapid as his success as an operating man became demonstrated. His reputation as a railroad operator is now one of the best in the country.

Mr. Aishton has a capacity for hard work. He is an out-door man of good physique and takes care of his health. His reserve power at nearly fifty-eight years of age is striking. The fact that he was born in Evanston, Ill., was educated in the public schools there, and now lives there is illustrative of his character. Stability and efficiency are his outstanding characteristics. He is not slow in deciding questions, but gives careful consideration to all matters. His fairness to those under him brings loyal support. He knows most of the men on the North Western and they know him.

Mr. Charles H. Markham

Assistant to the Director General of Railroads, in Charge of the Lines East of the Mississippi and South of the Ohio River

WHENEVER Southern Pacific officials go to Fresno, California, some one is very likely to ask them for late news of "Charlie" Markham. It is twenty years now since Mr. Markham had charge of the freight and passenger business there, but pleasant memories of the man and his ways still linger in the minds of all who knew him.

Born in Tennessee, of poor parents, Mr. Markham went West after receiving a public school education. He started work at Deming, N. M., on the Santa Fe Railroad as a section hand. He made friends from the first. Soon he became assistant to the Southern Pacific agent at Deming. Six years later, he was agent at Lordsburg, N. M., and later at Benson, Ariz., and Reno, Nev. In 1891, ten years after he started with the section gang, he was made agent at Fresno, in charge of both freight and passenger business.

Mr. Markham made it a point to know all the shippers. He would go out and meet them at their own places of business, and make their problems his problems. The people had reason to like the agent. They say that he could get more things done for them by the railroad than any other man. That was because he knew how to present things to the officials as well as to the shippers.

After six years at Fresno, Mr. Markham was made general freight and passenger agent of the Southern Pacific lines in Oregon. In 1901, after a second ten years in the service, he was promoted to vice president in charge of the lines in Texas. Here he got his first experience as a railroad manager. Before that he had been a railroad salesman. He here demonstrated his ability as an operating man. In 1911, the Harriman interests were looking for a man trained in their methods of railroad management to take the presidency of the Illinois Central, so they got him back.

On the Illinois Central, Mr. Markham inherited conditions that brought on one of the most disastrous railroad strikes in history. In that situation his fighting qualities were as well demonstrated as his ability to compose difficulties had often been before. In the face of adverse conditions his administration of the Illinois Central has been succe

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Gen. Charles B. Wheeler

Newly Appointed Chief of Ordnance, Succeeding General Crozier

GENERAL CHARLES BREWSTER WHEELER, the new Chief of Ordnance, when in West Point specialized in the artillery. In a competitive test he won a first lieutenancy and was sent to the proving grounds at Sandy Hook.

Lieutenant Wheeler studied the acceleration of free recoil of guns, a fundamental ordnance problem, and as a result he was placed in the ordnance division in Washington, where he assisted Crozier in working out improvements in gun carriages which are used against the Germans to-day. Next, he designed guns, projectiles, and fuses; then was sent to command the important government depot at Manila. Then he was assigned to command the Watertown (Mass.) arsenal, where ordnance is made. He not only commanded; he went into the shops and helped the men work out their fine problems. He made the officers assigned to the arsenal serve an apprenticeship in the shops until they had learned from practical experience the problems th which they had to deal. The system he installed there was all ready to be expanded to a war footing.

General Wheeler has made a special study of foreign systems and has visited the arsenals and gun-making plants of other countries, including the famous Krupp works at Essen, where the guns of the enemy are made.

His character is perhaps best illustrated by this story: Once, when he was at the Sandy Hook proving grounds, experts declared a certain ammunition dangerous to load and fire. Nevertheless, orders came from Washington to fire a little of it for experiment. Orders were given to load a shell when Wheeler stopped it.

"I won't let any man under me do anything I would not do myself," he said. "So if anybody loads that stuff, *I'll* do it."

So in spite of protests he began to ram the dangerous stuff down into a shell when suddenly there was an explosion and a piece of shell caught him under the chin, tearing a hole into his mouth and shattering teeth and bone.

By such leadership as this General Wheeler has endeared himself to the Army.

Drawn from a photograph © Brown Brothers

Mr. Walker D. Hines

Assistant Director General of Railroads in Charge of Legal Matters

ONE day in 1910, Mr. Walker D. Hines boarded the Congressional Limited at Washington and told his secretary that he would dictate most of the way to New York. As chairman of the Railway Advisory Committee he had been in Washington following, for several months, the deliberations before committees and in Congress incident to the revising of the Interstate Commerce Law.

Mr. Hines began dictating soon after the train started. He outlined in detail all the events that led up to the changes made in the law, all the points taken into consideration in connection with the changes, all the questions that came up in the deliberations and the way in which they were all answered. Fifteen minutes before the train reached New York he finished —like a Wellington with a perfect plan of operation—in time to get his things together to leave the train.

"I will not be able to read this over," he said to his secretary. "I want you to write it out and get it to the printer as soon as possible."

The next morning that report, comprising about fifty pages of printed matter, went to every railroad president in the country. Every detail of importance in connection with the changes made in the Interstate Commerce Law was covered, and its significance clearly indicated. For nearly five hours he had been reproducing from his perfectly ordered mind, in logical and complete form, this sequence of events of first importance to railroad executives. It needed no revision, for it was in correct form in his mind, and he was able to visualize it as a whole.

Thus can the brain of the man chosen by Secretary McAdoo to become Assistant to the Director General of Railroads be made to serve its master. The better you know this slight-built man with the large head and square jaw, the more he impresses you as having trained his mind from earliest years to serve his purpose completely. He says he has always tried to train himself to save motion, but that he never succeeded to his satisfaction. One wonders what the result would be if he did succeed. He can probably work wi

complete concentration and think in as straight a line as any man living. His vast store of railroad and other knowledge is completely classified in his master brain. Nothing, in fact, goes into his head that is not properly indexed, and he always knows just where to go in his mind for anything he wants. No time is lost trailing up side lanes and back again; he thinks along a straight road. He knows, after the first few words, what you are going to say, and usually how you are going to say it. Before you have finished, he has considered it in relation to his other knowledge, and even if it is an entirely new subject to him, he shows immediate mastery of it. In conference, he naturally assumes leadership because of his ability to grasp a subject more quickly than others and to put it into the clearest terms possible.

At the age of nineteen, then a stenographer in Louisville, he reported a murder trial—one of the most difficult cases for a court stenographer. He was secretary to the chief attorney of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, and was studying law. As soon as he could he went to the University of Virginia, where he completed the law course in less than the scheduled time, nearly breaking his health doing it. Then he went back to the L. & N. as an assistant attorney, and in eight years, at the age of thirty-one, he was first vice-president and chief attorney of that road. When Mr. Victor Morawetz wished to be relieved of his duties as general counsel for the Atchinson, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad in 1906, he got Mr. Hines to come to New York and take the job. He had found on his trips to Washington that this Kentucky lawyer knew more about the Interstate Commerce Law than any one else he knew. Since then Mr. Hines has become chairman of the executive committee of the Santa Fe, and for nearly two years past he has been chairman of the board of directors. With this latter change he gave up his legal practice and has been moving more and more into the field of railway management. He is only forty-eight years old.

Mr. Hines has appeared in the most important railroad cases tried before the Supreme Court of the United States in the past ten years. He has won cases that other lawyers have been unwilling to attempt. In the Minnesota and North Carolina rate case of 1908, which involved the question of whether the roads were bringing suit against a state, he convinced the court that its decision in a former case—generally conceded to be an exact parallel—although the proper decision, had been based on the wrong grounds. He brought out clearly a distinction between the two cases. His brief in that case is considered by legal authorities as one of the finest ever written. In the case of the Interstate Commerce Commission against E. H. Harriman, Otto H. Kahn and other Union Pacific directors for refusal to answer certain questions about the Chicago & Alton Railway, many prominent lawyers appeared for the defendants, but the assistant district attorney who helped prepare the case for the Government gave the full credit for the decision of the Supreme Court in favor of the individuals to Mr. Hines. His success before the higher courts is credited by Mr. Victor Morawetz to his "honesty of mind" and ability of clear expression. "He never evades a point, but meets it fairly." Of equal importance to knowing a subject completely, in Mr. Hines's opinion, is ability to express it clearly. Those two points he impresses on all who work under him. He recognizes few excuses for failure in the former, and lack of the latter grates on his mind like a discord to an artist.

Because Mr. Hines is complete master of his mind and never becomes excited or disturbed, he was able at one time to be finishing up the Express rate case, where he had to keep five sets of figures and conditions clearly in mind; to be helping in the New Haven dissolution negotiations with the Government; to be preparing the Anthracite Railroad case; to be busy as chairman of the Railway Advisory Committee, and to be performing his duties as chairman of the board of directors of the Santa Fe. He says he does not work at night, but once confessed that he did think things over while shaving in the morning. He impresses you, however, as one whose brain is always working, except when he sleeps. He can sleep no matter what the pressure on him, for he is complete master of both his brain and body. Those who have worked with him say they have seen him, prior to a vacation for instance, drive his mind to do in half a day work that would ordinarily take him a week. One of his time-saving rules is to take up one thing at a time and finish it before he puts it down. He never spares himself when he has work to do

but deliberately refuses to think of his physical well-being when important matters are in his hands. He has never learned to play; the theatre being about his only diversion. He is devoted to his wife and daughter, but outside of his family his thoughts are largely concentrated on his work. His square jaw means he never gives up. He has a quiet optimism which finds solutions others can never see. Because his knowledge of general railroad problems is more complete and far more available than that of any other living man, he is considered by railroad men generally as the ideal assistant for Mr. McAdoo in his job.

WILLIAM G. McADOO

Builder of the Hudson Tubes—Secretary of the Treasury—Director of the Liberty Loan Campaigns—Member of the Federal Reserve Board—Director General of American Railroads

A Pen Portrait

BY

THEODORE H. PRICE

THE Editors of the WORLD'S WORK have asked me to send them a pen picture of William G. McAdoo as I see him. I am glad to do this and mention the fact that the opportunity comes to me unsought only because I wrote and published another sketch of the same subject in the *Outlook* of October 17, 1917, and would not have either the public or Mr. McAdoo think that I am an overzealous biographer of one whom I greatly admire.

It is natural that the American people should be interested in the man who has been selected to manage their railroad system. Their comfort, their prosperity, their military efficiency and, in fact, their very existence, have become so dependent upon the maintenance of transportation and communication that the Director General of the Railroads of the United States becomes by virtue of his office a veritable *deus ex machina* to whom both omnipotence and omniscience will be attributed and of whom wonders will be expected.

The acceptance of the job required great courage, and still greater courage will be needed to administer it. The other day the New York *Evening Post* printed a description of Sargent's portrait of President Wilson, recently on exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum. It says that "If the picture were an abstract study rather than a personal portrait it would be called 'Concentration'." A similar study of William G. McAdoo would probably be called "Courage," for it is that quality which has given him a quiet but constantly increasing distinction throughout life.

He was born near Marietta, Georgia, October 31, 1863, just as the Civil War was drawing to a close. His parents were Southern gentlefolk. His father was a lawyer who had served as a lieutenant of volunteers in the Mexican War, but did not think himself too old to fight for the Confederacy. His mother was Mary Faith Floyd, and a gentleman who knew her says that she was a woman of extraordinary force and ability. After the Civil War the McAdoo family found themselves financially stranded at Milledgeville, Georgia. There they struggled for a time and finally decided to move to Knoxville, Tennessee, where the father took a position as Professor of English and History in the University of Tennessee that he might give his children an education. Young McAdoo became a student at the University, but left in his junior year to become Deputy Clerk in the United States Circuit Court so that he could study law. He was admitted to the Bar when he was twenty-one and soon became counsel a railway company.

The transportation business fascinat

and it was not long until he thought he saw an opportunity for doing some constructive work in consolidating the street-car lines of Knoxville. He undertook it and became president of the consolidated company. About this time the electrical trolley was invented. In order to apply it the financial reorganization of the Knoxville street-car line was necessary, and young McAdoo went to New York to obtain the necessary capital.

The metropolis attracted him and he stayed there. His career since has already been described many times. Creative work appealed to him. He was continually looking for it, and found what he thought was a great opportunity in an abandoned tunnel that had been run a few hundred feet under the Hudson River in an effort to connect Manhattan Island with New Jersey.

THE "McADOO TUNNELS"

It made no difference to him that it had been a failure. He took hold of it, raised $70,000,000 to complete it, and by 1908 had built four "tubes" connecting "uptown" and "downtown" New York with the railways whose termini were in New Jersey and whose only access to New York previously had been by ferry. These tubes are still called the "McAdoo Tunnels." From the first their management has been distinguished by efficiency and courtesy. In opening them their builder declared that "the public be pleased" must be the motto of the entire operating force, and this phrase expresses the spirit by which the officers and employees are animated today, and in which the man who coined it has spent himself in the service of the nation ever since he became Secretary of the Treasury in 1913.

No one knows exactly why President Wilson selected him for the post. As President of the Southern Society of New York, McAdoo had come in contact with the Governor of New Jersey, and it is probable that their friendship grew out of a community of political idealism that has since become almost telepathic. They had both fought hard for their enthusiasms. In the fight for academic democracy at Princeton Mr. Wilson was thought to have been worsted, and though the builder of the McAdoo Tunnels was recognized as a municipal benefactor his personal fortunes had not been improved, for he was and is a comparatively poor man. When Mr. Wilson made him a member of the Cabinet the appointment was much criticized, especially in Wall Street where people had made up their minds that a Democratic administration meant adversity and that McAdoo as financial minister of the Government would be its prophet.

THE FEDERAL RESERVE LAW

Those who can recall the summer of 1913 will remember the psychological depression that spread from the New York Stock Exchange over the country. The revision of the tariff was to ruin us, and the creation of the Federal Reserve System would complete the demolition by driving capital out of the banking business. Wilson was a college professor, McAdoo had never been a banker, and, between the two, business was to be destroyed.

It was then that the constructive courage of the Secretary of the Treasury commenced to manifest itself. He began doing things, and he has been doing them ever since. The tariff was revised. The Federal Reserve Law was passed. The Federal Reserve Banks were organized. And then the Great War broke out, and he kept on doing things. By his promptitude of action and capacity for leadership a money panic was averted. The Federal Reserve Banks were not in operation, but an immense amount of emergency currency was issued almost over night. It is said that one of the old employees in the Treasury Department nearly died of heart failure when he saw things moving with such unaccustomed swiftness.

FOREIGN CREDICT PROTECTED

The derangement of the foreign exchange market was swiftly corrected. The gold pool was formed to protect our credit abroad. Arrangements were made to finance the cotton crop and facilitate the movement of grain. The Federal War Risk Bureau was formed to provide marine insurance at reasonable rates. The Farm Loan Bill was passed and the Farm Loan Banks were formed, and then Mr. McAdoo went to South America to promote the economic alliance between the A. B. C. powers of that continent and the United States, through which it was hoped that a solution of the Mexican problem would be found.

When he came back he was the first to

realize America's need of a mercantile marine and he went to work to provide it. Out of the bill that was introduced at his instance, then known as the McAdoo Shipping Bill, the measure that provides for our present Shipping Board and Government-owned merchant fleet was evolved.

THE LIBERTY LOANS

About this time, or shortly after we declared war against Germany, McAdoo got into action again. Two Liberty Loan bills and numberless appropriation bills were prepared under his direction, and were promptly passed. Two bond-selling campaigns were successfully conducted under his leadership. People were aghast when he made the first bond issue two billions, but he sold it. Then he sold nearly five billions more and the country has ceased to wonder, for he has taught us to think in billions and brought us to a consciousness of our financial power. He has been given enormous discretion and has been burdened with enormous responsibilities. Incidentally, he has supplied the Allies with nearly five billion dollars; has reorganized the Treasury Department for the war; has appointed committees to construe a very confusing revenue bill; has conceived and made effective a plan for insuring the lives of American soldiers that will end the pension abuse, and up to the 28th of December, 1917, had done and was doing so many other things that it seemed impossible that he could take on any additional responsibilities.

PUBLIC OPINION REVERSED

By this time public opinion in regard to him had completely changed. He had come to be known as the dynamo of the administration. His tact in dealing with men; his disregard of prejudice and his wisdom in the selection of coadjutors and subordinates; his willingness to trust them and put responsibility upon them once they were selected, made it almost inevitable that he should be chosen as the one man who could resolve the chaos of the railways into comparative order.

It was my privilege to be with him just after the President had asked him to take the job and while he was still considering whether he ought to accept it. He said "I am not afraid of the work. The Treasury Department is pretty well organized and the men who are there can do their work, but the administration of the railways is a material problem exclusively. There is but little room for idealism in it."

IDEALISM AND MATERIALISM

I differed with him and said so, for I believe that materialism and idealism run along lines that converge sooner than most of us realize, but it seemed to me that in this remark the man revealed the secret of his power.

He has been working for the ideal rather than the material. He has been thinking objectively of humanity and society rather than subjectively of himself. The "public be pleased" was his motto and he lived up to it. He is still living up to it and it is for this reason that I believe the public will be pleased with his administration of the railways. It is a tremendously difficult task that he has assumed. No doubt there will be many to drop a monkey wrench in the machinery and say they couldn't help it. Sabotage is not entirely confined to those who get their pay in envelopes. The American people are not, however, slow to understand the man who is working for them rather than for himself. In William Gibbs McAdoo they have such a man, and with their support he is sure to win. In the inherent mental facility of most educated men there is not much difference, but their success depends upon their possession of courage, which implies honesty; of sympathy, which implies tact; and of idealism, which implies imagination and a willingness to spend one's self that a vision of the future may be made a reality of the present.

If I were a Sargent and could paint a portrait of the Director General of the American Railways I would try to inform it by a suggestion of these qualities, and then, and not till then, would I feel that I had done my subject justice.

MAN AND HIS MACHINES

The Government and the Manufacturers
Transportation Facilities the Equiv

IN THE present crisis in freight congestion it may well be that the motor truck will save the day for us. There were approximately 435,000 registered motor trucks in the United States in 1917. Can they be so utilized that we shall be able to proceed with our war activities?

That is the problem that the Government and the men of the motor-truck industry are tackling. The Highways Transport Committee of the Council of National Defense is already breaking its teeth upon it. In early January a convention of motor-truck manufacturers was held in New York City, attended by about 125 representatives of seventy of the leading motor-truck concerns of the country and by representatives of the United States Government. The purposes of this gathering were:

(1) Service to the Government, coöperating with its motor-truck programme;

(2) Service to the Government in assisting to relieve the railroad congestion by the use of motor trucks; and

(3) Service to the motor-truck industry so that manufacturers may better understand the demands to be made upon them and be better prepared to meet them.

We already have a beautiful example of what the Government in coöperation with the men of the motor-truck industry can accomplish. A few score of their engineers and hundreds of their draftsmen burned their energies, a few months ago, at the Government's request, in the planning and construction of the Liberty Truck. The result of that coöperation is that American forces are already using this perfected truck and a score of factories are turning them out in great numbers. It is safe to presume, therefore, that a working plan will soon be devised by which the motor truck will supplement the overburdened railroads.

The estimated amount of goods hauled by the 435,000 motor trucks in the United States in 1917 was 1,200,000,000 tons. That figure is probably not accurate; at best it can only be a rough approximation. Exaggerated though it may be, however, it represents only a comparatively haphazard utilization of the haulage facilities that we have at our disposal or can create to supplement the railroads. Motor-truck production in the United States has increased twenty fold in the last eight years: in 1910, the number of trucks produced was 9,500; last year, 190,000 were turned out of the factories, and the manufacturers estimate an increased production in 1918 of more than 60 per cent. A few weeks before Mr. McAdoo assumed control of the railroads, the Railways War Board at Washington, which was then in charge of the railroad situation and which was composed of five members nominated by the railroads themselves, recognized the part that these trucks can play in relieving the present freight congestion when it urged the railroads of the country to place upon the highways and the inland waterways as much of the short-haul traffic as was feasible. The War Department has organized a motor-transport service, with an officer in charge at Washington, Buffalo, and Detroit, and it has a carefully worked out plan to deliver the 30,000 Army trucks ordered a few months ago from the factories to Atlantic seaboard by their own motive power over about 2,000 miles of highways, some of which will have to be built and 50 per cent. of which will have to be repaired. The practicability of this plan was demonstrated last December, when a fleet of thirty Army trucks was driven from Detroit to Baltimore. Trucks have been driven over a similar highway from factories in Buffalo, N. Y., to seaboard. On a basis of one freight car being necessary for

MOTOR TRUCKS TO SOLVE THE FREIGHT PROBLEM

BY

JOHN A. CRAIG

Coöperating to Add to Our Wartime alent of Thousands of Railroad Cars

the delivery of two trucks, this plan alone will release 15,000 cars that are so sorely needed in the present emergency, not to mention the vast number of cars that would be required to transport automotive equipment that these trucks themselves can carry.

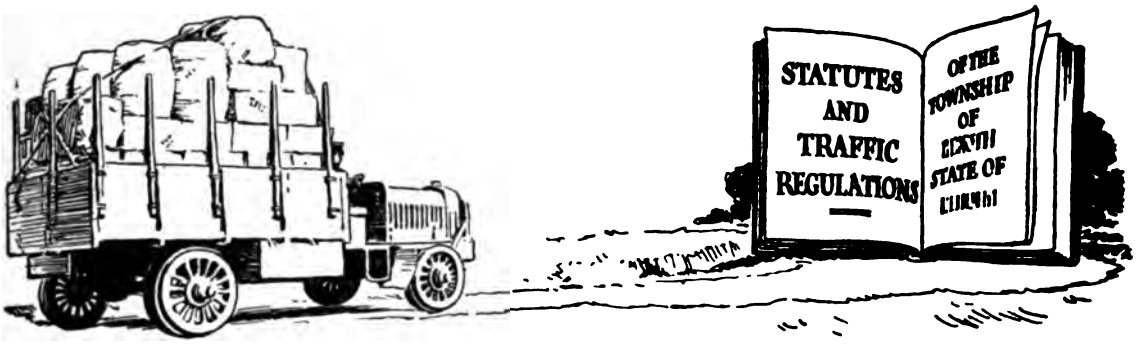
Indeed, there have been any number of demonstrations of the adaptability of the motor truck for hauling freight over long distances. A tire company in Akron, Ohio, maintains a regular motor-truck service for the delivery of its supplies between Akron and Boston, a round-trip haul, with the trucks carrying full loads both ways, of approximately 1,560 miles. Four trucks are used for this purpose. The route swings down from Akron to Pittsburgh, over the Lincoln Highway to Philadelphia and New York, and thence over the Boston Post Road by way of New Haven and Hartford, Conn., and Springfield and Worcester, Mass., to Boston. There are sleeping compartments on each truck, each carrying a two-man crew, one sleeping while the other drives. Stops are made only for meals and fuel and oil, or for necessary repairs. Shipments are made from Akron to Boston in from three to four days. What these would require at the present time is incalculable; when railroad conditions were normal, shipments were handled in from four to five days by railroad express and in ten days by freight.

A chain of drug stores extending from Waterbury, Conn., to Reading, Pa., and south as far as Washington is supplied from its headquarters in New York by four and five ton trucks, all of which have paid for themselves and their contingent equipment in one year by the lessened expense of distribution. The round trip of approximately 225 miles between New York and Philadelphia is made in two days, and similar long-distance trips are made to cities in New Jersey, upper New York, and Connecticut.

THE NEW YORK-PHILADELPHIA MOTOR EXPRESS

There is in operation at present a motor-truck express service between New York and Philadelphia which makes the one-way trip of about 104 miles in ten hours. Recently, because of the rail congestion, similar freight shipments have taken from seven to ten days. The trucks—five-ton machines—are used principally in hauling manufactured goods and raw products, and one of them is equipped with a special refrigerator body that will enable it to transport perishable goods the year round. They travel by night, starting from their Philadelphia depots between eight and ten o'clock in the evening on a no-stop run to New Brunswick, N. J., where the drivers delay long enough to eat their "midnight lunch," and arriving in New York between six and seven o'clock the following morning. Some idea of the value of such a service in relieving the congestion of the railroads may be had from the fact that in one week, recently, 400,000 pounds of finished leather destined for European shipment was carried from Philadelphia to New York. During the recent sugar shortage in New York City, 100,000 pounds of sugar was hauled over from Philadelphia, and 100,000 pounds of ammunition was rushed through in order to meet the sailing date of one of the trans-Atlantic munition ships—deliveries which would have been impossible by freight. The trucks are also used in irregular haulage between Philadelphia and cities in nine different states, the longest haul being that to Boston, of about 340 miles.

Similarly, there was recently organized in Detroit a daily motor-truck freight service between that city and Toledo, a run of about sixty miles. There are perhaps two dozen or more motor-trucking companies in New York



SHORT-SIGHTED AND CONFLICTING LEGISLATION VS. THE MOTOR TRUCK

Before we shall be able to utilize our motor-truck facilities to full advantage in relieving the present freight congestion, we shall have to do several things, one of the most important of which is to enact legislation throughout the country of a somewhat uniform nature. Rules and regulations concerning motor-truck traffic vary in the different states to such an extent that if strictly enforced they would in some cases make it impossible for motor trucks to operate. In Ohio, in 1916, for example, the drivers of trucks used in a coöperative delivery of milk through seven or eight towns were compelled to stop off at one town on the route each morning, be arrested, fined, and then allowed to proceed. This is one of the results of allowing the cities and townships to formulate their own traffic laws. A law that went into effect in New Jersey on January 1, 1918, if enforced, would prohibit the operation of from 60 to 70 per cent. of trucks manufactured in the United States, over the highways of that state

with regular routes extending over a radius of twenty miles to cities in Long Island, New Jersey, and the northern suburbs of New York, and numerous motor-truck moving vans that haul as far as Boston and Washington. And so on.

THE MOTOR TRUCK IN THE POSTAL SERVICE

Postmaster-General Burleson has long been a believer in the motor truck as a medium for the short haul. On June 30, 1917, according to his report made public last December, there were 774 motor-vehicle routes in operation for the transmission and delivery of mail, of a total length of 41,762 miles, an average length per route of fifty-four miles. The annual cost to the Government of the motor vehicles used over these routes was $1,382,744. Had the routes been served by horse-drawn vehicles, the cost, according to the Postmaster-General, would have been $1,703,000; the annual saving to the Government, therefore, was $320,256.

In a short while, between 3,000 and 4,000 miles of motor-truck parcels-post routes will be in operation in various sections of the country. One chain of these routes will extend from Portland, Me., to New Orleans. Another will cover a large stretch of territory in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and West Virginia. On the Pacific Coast routes will be established between San Francisco and Sacramento by way of Stockton and Fruitdale, a distance of 125 miles, and between Redlands and Los Angeles, by way of Ontario and Pomona, a route of 76 miles. Mr. Burleson recently called for bids for inter-city motor-truck service between New York and Philadelphia, New York and Hartford, Conn., and between Detroit and Toledo. A further extension of the use of Government-owned motor trucks for the parcels-post service of the rural districts will be made when a bill that is now pending in Congress becomes a law. The Post Office Department believes that the operation of these routes will aid materially in the distribution and in lowering the cost of food products. Much of the hauling of mail in the big cities is done by contract with private trucking concerns. During the last few years, however, the Postmaster-General, by permission of Congress, has been using Government-owned vehicles. In early January of the present year the Post Office Department was using its own trucks in eighteen of the large cities of the country, New York being one of the latest to be included.

ECONOMY IN COÖPERATIVE DELIVERY

The removal of a million and a half men from industry for service in the Army and Navy has been responsible for a vast extension of coöperative delivery systems throughout the farming sections of the West and in the smaller, and some of the larger, cities throughout the country. Here, again, the motor truck is used almost exclusively. Up to a recent time there were coöperative delivery systems in forty-seven cities of twenty states of the Union. One package delivery com-

pany in Boston handles between 7,500 and 10,000 packages a day, using about forty motor trucks for this purpose. Two large department stores in New York—Lord & Taylor and James McCreery & Company—pool their deliveries in a separate delivery concern. The importance of coöperative deliveries in these days of war economy may be seen in the experience of Ottawa, in Kansas, a town of 7,700 population, which recently reduced the number of delivery trucks used by the merchants of the town from 34 to 9, and effected savings of from 25 to 70 per cent. of their former delivery expenses. In another city of 12,000 population, the number of trucks was reduced from 20 to 14. One grocer in a town of 4,000 population has in this way effected a saving of 50 per cent., cutting his yearly delivery expense from $1,638 to $806.

On the subject of economy and food production and conservation, so necessary at this time, the dyed-in-the-wool motor truck enthusiast can produce statistics in favor of the motor-driven machine that are fairly overwhelming. For example, according to Mr. H. W. Perry, secretary of the Commercial Vehicle Committee of the National Automobile Chamber of Commerce:

It has been determined by the United States Department of Agriculture that five acres of land are required to maintain a horse. Now this land ought to raise 75 bushels of wheat, worth, at $2.20 a bushel, $165; or say 250 bushels of potatoes, worth—well, any farmer knows what five acres of good land are worth.

But a motor truck does the work, not of one horse, but of at least three horse-drawn vehicles, or say six horses. By using a motor truck, therefore, the farmer can devote thirty acres of good, tillable land to the profitable production of human food. In wheat, this would represent nearly $1,000 a year. The labor involved in raising the wheat would be no greater than in raising oats or corn for horse feed, and the horse would eat the oats while the wheat could be sold.

There are in the country at least 1,650,000 farms of 160 acres or more in size, every one of which could make good use of one or more trucks. These trucks would do the work of probably 10,000,000 horses, and this would release 50,000,000 acres of arable land. As only three acres are required to support a human being, these would feed nearly 17,000,000 people. What a tremendous help that would be in the present threatened food crisis!

Mr. Perry figures that the horse works, on an average, only three hours a day on the farm. On the other hand, one man can drive and take care of a motor truck and do as much work with it as three men driving teams—a saving, among other things, of the hire of two men, which is of some consequence in these days of high wages and scarcity of farm labor.

In the hauling of small shipments by motor truck, the elimination of the cartage expense usually involved at both ends of the railroad is another consideration which makes for economy in the motor-truck method of trans-

"BRIDGES OF STRAW"

The Federal Government defrays 50 per cent. of the cost of building highways, the states contribute the rest, and then the states delegate the building of the roads to their various counties. This method of passing the responsibility for the building of roads has resulted in an unfortunate lack of coördination of the highway systems throughout the country. But there enters another absurdity into our present practice: the building of bridges, which certainly are a part of a highway, is often determined by townships. The result is that, because a township either is not rich enough or is disinclined to go to great expense, bridges connecting important roads are in many instances not strong enough to bear the weight of a load that is allowed on the highways they connect

THE AKRON-TO-BOSTON EXPRESS

The trucks travel by day and night, stopping only for meals for the drivers and for fuel, oil, and necessary repairs, and making the one-way haul of more than 750 miles in from three to four days. There are sleeping compartments on each truck, and two drivers, one man driving while the other sleeps

portation. Then, too, there is the lessened danger of damage by handling: three or four handlings are often involved in shipping by freight, whereas only one handling is necessary in transportation by motor truck.

We therefore have at our hand a convenient and economical medium for relieving the railroads of their present burden. We have the vehicles and can turn out still greater numbers of them; the recent standardization of types of trucks used by the Government is already showing its effect throughout the industry in the tendency to standardize the kinds of trucks used for commercial purposes and in the increased speed and facilities of production. Despite recent beliefs to the contrary, also, we have more than sufficient gasolene to run them. Mr. H. L. Horning, of the Automotive Section of the War Industries Board, at the convention of truck manufacturers in January, said that because of the recent development of "cracking" processes, by which the constitution of heavy oils is broken down, there is now an overproduction of gasolene in this country of a million gallons a day. In the meantime, devices for burning kerosene have been perfected and resources developed; so that, according to Mr. Horning, we shall probably not again face a shortage of gasolene.

Before we can obtain the maximum, or even the near-maximum, effectiveness of which the motor truck is capable in the transportation of freight, however, we have a long road to travel.

Obviously we must have the highways, of proper durability and strength, over which the trucks are to operate. The latest figures on road construction in the United States showed that although 324,798 miles of improved roads were included in the total mileage of 1,439,297 miles of roads in thirty-three states of the Union, only 1,000 miles of highway were capable of withstanding heavy motor truck traffic.

The present system of the Federal Government defraying half the expense of road-build-

FREIGHT IN TEN HOURS FROM PHILADELPHIA TO NEW YORK

A motor-truck express for which the freight congestion holds no terrors. The trucks make the trip to New York by night, and are also used in irregular haulage between Philadelphia and cities in nine different states, the longest haul being that to Boston—about 340 miles

IN THE PARCEL POST SERVICE

In the near future between 3,000 and 4,000 miles of motor-truck parcel post routes will be in operation in the United States

ing in the various states, and of the state legislatures subsequently delegating the actual construction of the roads to counties and townships has resulted in a lack of coördination of the highway systems throughout the country. The thing to do, according to Mr. George C. Diehl, chairman of the Good Roads Committee of the American Automobile Association, is to abolish the authority of the township over road-building and to classify the roads of the future under three heads: federal, state, and county, the federal roads being the main cross-country arteries of traffic, the state roads being subordinated to these, and the county highways in turn being feeders to the state thoroughfares. It is essential that the roads be constructed of sufficient width and strength to accommodate the estimated volume of traffic, which could be approximated by a preliminary survey. The present system of allowing local officials to determine the width and strength of bridges should also be remedied. An incongruous phase of existing laws is that although the states and the Federal Government pay for the construction of roadways, the burden of building bridges in many instances is placed upon the townships, which oftentimes either have not the money or are disinclined to build bridges strong enough to accommodate the maximum load allowed upon the highways that they connect.

ARMY TRUCKS ON THE WAY TO SEABOARD

The Quartermaster's Department has planned to deliver the 30,000 Liberty trucks, recently ordered, by their own motive power over highways from the factories around Detroit and Buffalo to seaboard. If delivered by railroad, these 30,000 trucks would require 15,000 freight cars

Somewhat of the same helter-skelter conditions prevail concerning the rules of the road. Mr. Windsor T. White, president of the White Company, of Cleveland, and chairman of the recent convention of motor truck manufacturers and Government officers, has indicated some of the anomalies of present state legislation. At the meeting in January, Mr. White said:

The Connecticut laws of 1917 provide that "the Highway Commissioner may restrict the use of motor vehicles of over four tons' capacity on any trunk line or state highway." The Maine laws of 1917 provide that "the State Highway Commissioner may regulate the speed, weight of load, and time of year when trucks may be operated on regular sched-

ule." The laws of South Carolina provide that "local authorities may regulate the use of commercial vehicles and license them."

The Texas State Highway Commissioner is authorized by law to "change the rules and rates relating to motor traffic." The laws of 1917 of the State of Vermont provide that the "gross weight of motor vehicles is limited to five tons except by special permit allowed on hearing by the Board of Selectmen or Trustees of any town or village." And the laws of the State of West Virginia authorize the State Highway Commissioner to make regulations for the protection of roads.

These are instances selected at random of some of the laws which hedge the operator of a motor truck. Until we make state traffic regulations of a reasonable and somewhat uniform nature, therefore, we shall not be able to utilize the motor truck to full advantage in supplementing the railroads.

The difficulty of keeping roads open during the winter will also have to be faced. Pennsylvania recently set an example which other state highway boards might well emulate. In coöperation with the Highways Transport Committee last November, the state highway authorities placed six large motor snow-plows in service along the main east and west roads of the Lincoln Highway in order to obviate the handicap of closed roads for the overland drive-away of Army motor trucks from Detroit.

The problem of full and return loads is another phase of motor truck haulage that will have to be worked out. Besides being a loss to the shipper, the wear and tear on the mechanism of the truck is greater when it travels empty than when carrying at full capacity, paradoxical as that may seem. Mr. Roy D. Chapin, chairman of the Highways Transport Committee, has described how this problem has been solved in Connecticut: "The plan followed is this: In all the principal cities of Connecticut, there is a telephone number known as Return Loads. Any truck that goes from one city to another and wants a load for the trip back calls up this Return Loads Bureau. The Return Loads Bureau is presumed to be the centre of information on material ready for shipment in that particular city." The idea surely is adaptable to other states. At least we shall have to formulate some such plan before the motor truck can operate to its full effectiveness in relieving the railroads.

Courtesy of *The Commercial Vehicle*

"THE BEST TRUCK EVER MADE"

One of the types of Liberty trucks which are being used by the American forces. Every one of its parts has been standardized, and it is the product of the combined genius of the motor truck industry and the War Department

These are not all, they are merely the most salient, aspects of the problem that confronts us. Before the Government can say definitely that short-haul traffic is to go over the highways by motor truck, there is a vast amount of facts and figures to be presented and working plans to be demonstrated. But the foregoing statement of what is being done is a fair basis for presuming that the Government, in coöperation with the men of the motor truck industry, will in the near future reduce the problem to its simplest elements; that in the present crisis, as at the Marne, Verdun, and the Somme, the motor truck will be the salvation of Democracy.

The World's Work

ARTHUR W. PAGE, EDITOR

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TERMS: $3.00 a year; single copies, 25 cents. For Foreign Postage add $1.00.
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Entered as second class matter at the Post Office Department, Canada.

Unsolicited manuscripts are welcomed by the editors and are carefully read. They cannot, however, be returned unless they are accompanied by proper amount of postage.

F. N. DOUBLEDAY, Pres. H. S. HOUSTON, Vice-Pres. ARTHUR W. PAGE Vice-Pres. S. A. EVERITT, Treas.
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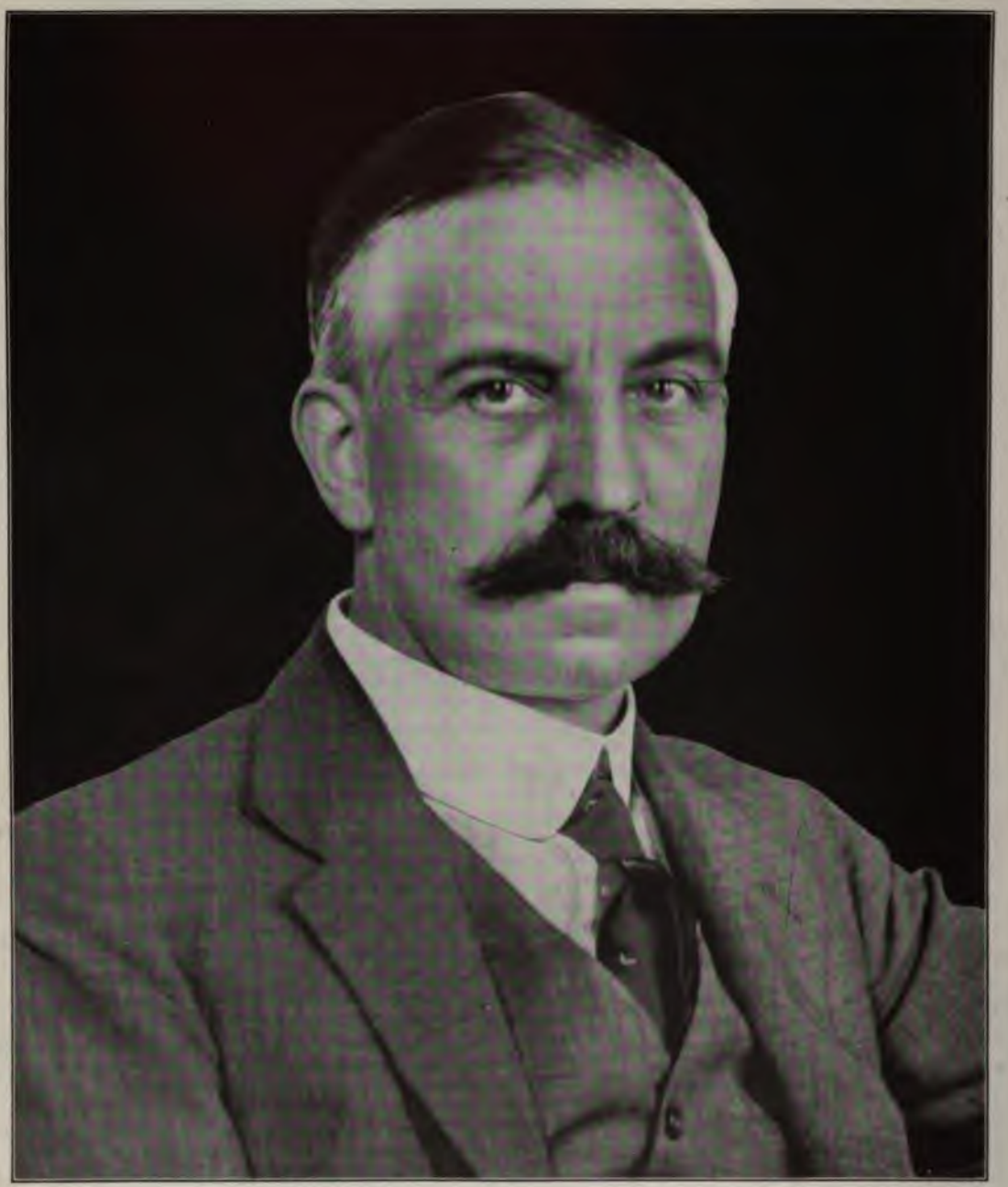
DOUBLEDAY, PAGE & COMPANY

The NEW COUNTRY LIFE — The GARDEN MAGAZINE

CHICAGO: Peoples Gas Bldg. GARDEN CITY, N. Y. NEW YORK: 120 W. 32nd Street
BOSTON: Tremont Bldg. LOS ANGELES: Van Nuys Bldg.



SIR RICHARD CRAWFORD

Who, as commercial attaché of the British Embassy in Washington, has played a very important part in the management of the blockade of Germany, both before and since our entry into the war

THE
WORLD'S WORK

APRIL, 1918

VOLUME XXXV NUMBER 6

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

ON THE sixth of this month we shall have been at war with Germany a year.

In most every way the contest has gone rather against us, and yet we have reason to believe that there is something in the situation like General Green's campaign in the Carolinas, in which he never won a battle but nevertheless finished the year with his adversary in a position in which he was doomed to defeat.

We [meaning our allies and ourselves] have not subdued the *U*-boat menace and we have lost far more ships than we have built. The battle at sea has not been in our favor.

The blockade was immediately tightened on the West when we entered the war, and very soon after collapsed on the East.

Our victories in France and Turkey were balanced by our defeats in Russia and Italy.

Altogether the fighting of 1917 was not to our advantage.

Yet it is not on their armies or their navy that the Germans fix their hope of winning the war. Their hope lies in peace talk and propaganda. They know that ultimately, if they can not get their enemies off the battlefield by corruption or promises, their cause is lost. They have had most of the advantage so far, but the stakes are still on the table, and unless the game can be stopped they can not keep what they have. The disposition of everything will be in the hands of the final victor. The fate of Constantinople, Kiev, and Kiao Chow as well as of Porto Rico and the Philippines are all dependent on the final decision in France.

Our defeats and mistakes put off the final day of victory, but it's still within our grasp. Success after success comes to the German arms, but final victory is just as unattainable to them as ever. The decision still rests with the armies on the western front. There sooner or later, according to how we in the United States do our part, the final victory will be won.

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MR. MERLE SIDENER

Chairman of the National Vigilance Committee of the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World, whose article in this issue on "Patrolling the Avenues of Publicity," tells the story of the effort being made to rid the press of fake advertising (See page 638)

Photographed by Pirie MacDonald

MR. ALLEN B. FORBES

Chairman of the Capital Issues Advisory Committee which, subject to the approval of the Federal Reserve Board, passes on the issues of securities in an endeavor to prevent new money going into non-essential industry

MR. WILL H. HAYS

The new chairman of the Republican National Committee, who is faced with the task of harmonizing the different forces of the Republican party and giving it a constructive programme on which to bid for popular favor

COUNT TERAUCHI

The Premier of Japan whose willingness to put an army into Siberia was not altogether in harmony with the policy of our Government

Is the President's Peace Talk Effective?

DURING the winter, when military operations were quiescent on the decisive Western front, the war of words was in full swing. The British Prime Minister made a speech on January 5 on Britain's war aims. On January 8th the President followed, defining our position quite specifically under fourteen headings. Both Count Czernin, for Austria, and Count von Hertling, for Germany, replied. On February 11th the President replied to them and Mr. Lloyd George did likewise on February 12. In the meanwhile Lord Lansdowne and the Bolsheviki talked peace from time to time, also. The French did not mix much oratory with their military activities.

The President's January speech, at the time it was made, seemed to be an attempt to fulfil for America the demand for a statement of war aims which he made on the belligerent powers in the famous "peace without victory" speech before we came into the war. And it seemed a very successful attempt to meet the problem. The American public was satisfied to fight it out on that basis.

However, after the Germans and Austrians answered it, and after Trotzky began to sign separate peace treaties, the President delivered another address before Congress, on February 11th, in which he said that the fourteen definite war aims previously announced were only our "own provisional sketch of principles and of the way in which they should be applied."

In this address of February 11th, the President laid down four general principles concerning the freedom for self-government for all people and added, "a general peace erected upon such foundations can be discussed."

The question is, with whom can that be discussed? Can it be discussed with the Kaiser and Emperor Charles, Czar Ferdinand, and the adventurous Talaat and Enver Pashas, with the unbeaten armies of the Teutonic Alliance behind them? In his letter to the Pope the President said that "We cannot take the word of the present rulers of Germany as a guarantee of anything that is to endure unless explicitly supported by such conclusive evidence of the will and purpose of the German people themselves as the other peoples of the world would be justified in accepting. Without such guarantees treaties of settlement, agreements for disarmament, covenants to set up arbitration in the place of force, territorial adjustments, reconstitutions of small nations, if made with the German Government, no man, no nation, could now depend on."

There is no reason to put more dependence in the word of Austria, Turkey, or Bulgaria. Lloyd George made it clear in his speech of February 12 that he put no dependence in the sincerity of any of them. The result of the Russian attempts to talk peace with an unbeaten German army is the last of a long line of proofs, beginning with "the scrap of paper," that discussion with governments which do not regard either the truth, their own promises, or any moral code is useless.

After the experiences of all the nations in Europe and his own efforts after the sinking of the *Lusitania* the President can no longer believe that the written or spoken word, either their own or any one else's, has any effect on the actions of the German Government or the other governments which it controls. There is no reason to talk to them, then, except as the talk may affect some one else.

If the President's speeches are meant to arouse the American public they have not been altogether successful. With the exception of the speech of January 8th they almost always appear in the papers under some such headline as "The Presidents' Peace Views." Their tendency is to allay, not to arouse the fighting spirit of the nation.

Their effect on our allies seems to be something of the same kind. They even arouse in some people both here and abroad the fear that the President contemplates a premature and inconclusive peace.

However, there are indications that the President is really not talking so much to Americans, British, French, and Italians, as to the peoples of Germany and Austria. But these people do not get the message as everyone else does. The German and Austrian governments are able to control the press so effectively that they can withhold, garble, or explain his messages so as to denaturize them. Whether the President's logic has sown any seeds in Germany that will sprout to our advantage later is difficult to discover. It is certain, however, that the German public has so far withstood privation, hunger, and the President's logic sufficiently to support their present government with its annexations and with the barbarous policy of emasculating Belgium, Serbia, and other occupied territory. It is

true there are voices of protest in Germany and Austria, but they are drowned by the logic of German victories and the strength of the unbeaten armies. It is true, also, that the Germans and Austrians want peace, but they prefer a victorious and profitable peace to any other kind. The Kaiser promises them this. On the Eastern front he has made good his promise. The German armies brought peace with the sword. And with this achievement to bolster up his future promises he says:

"It [the peace with Russia] is only a small beginning made by Germany's sword against the closed door leading to a general peace. I am filled with gratitude. May God help further."

Under these circumstances are we not playing into the hands of the Kaiser when we continue to discuss peace? Are we not giving him the very material he needs to keep his people convinced that what has been accomplished in Russia is in process on the other front? He can well argue that peace can not be so far away when his enemies are so eager to discuss it. And he can well argue that his Government is better able to achieve peace than any other because the President answers its speeches.

It was a fairly general impression that the President's aim was to convince the German people that their main or only chance of getting the early peace which they desire would be to change their government from the present one to one which it would be safe for the world to trust. The President's speech of February 11th seems on the surface designed to have the opposite effect and to offer some encouragement that we would be willing under certain conditions to enter into negotiations with the unprincipled group who now control the Central Empires, even though their military power remained unbroken.

The President has accomplished so much in the United States by the force of his logic that it must be difficult not to believe that it can also be effective against the Germans. And yet it seems possible that the peace offensive may be more harmful than helpful to our cause. It may be that a year of grim war accompanied by horrid silence from all the Allied capitals would do more to make the German people doubt the wisdom of continuing their present rulers in power than any amount of peace discussion which always arouses anew the hope that the peace conference is near.

There are a number of people both in and out of Administration circles who deplore and condemn any frank doubt as to the President's course and intentions. They base their condemnation on several grounds; first, that such doubts tend to prevent the unity of the country in supporting the President in the war; secondly, that the President has more sources of information than other people, and consequently is likely to be right, and, thirdly, that his speeches have actually greatly affected German opinion so that they have been justified by results.

All of these arguments have weight. If everyone agreed completely with the President's course of peace addresses there is no question but that the country would be more unified than at present, though not necessarily more unified for the vigorous prosecution of the war. It is also true that the President has many sources of information which other people have not. And yet this is not conclusive either, for the President had these sources of information when he wrote his series of notes concerning the *Lusitania*, and when he decided that war with Germany was not sufficiently probable to justify military preparation. As for the third item—that the President's speeches have embarrassed the German military party—there is little definite proof either way. But it is certain that the embarrassment so far has had little or no military effect.

Under these circumstances it does not seem unreasonable for those people who believe in reducing the German Army to a point where it can not take advantage of its government's lies, to advocate a policy of silence toward the German Government, unremitting warfare against the German armies, and whatever propaganda to the German people that we can get to them which will not in any way encourage them to believe that we can ever reach a permanent peace basis with their present military autocracy.

Our Warfare Abroad and at Home

AMERICAN troops besides holding a four and a half mile sector in Lorraine have also figured in the fighting in several other places along the French front.

The conduct of our troops in the various raids and other actions in which they have been engaged is gratifying, not that it is sur-

prising, but a belief confirmed is more gratifying than almost anything else.

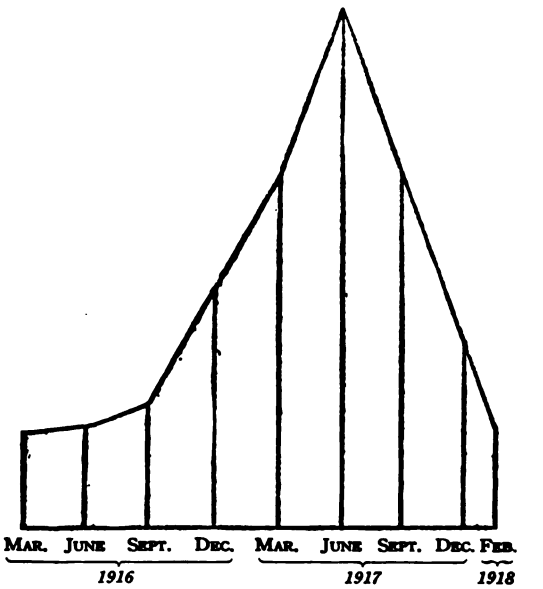
The newspapers have announced that the First Field Army is now being formed and that it may be able to hold over a hundred miles of French line, and that, by January 1, 1919, we shall be holding more than the British did after two years of war. Length of line held means very little, for some parts of the line take four or five times as many men to hold as other parts, but if these despatches mean that we can begin a great and sustained offensive in less than two years of war they are encouraging.

There is beyond this, too, reason for a sober optimism. Most of our part of the war is still on this side of the water. We are still largely in the preparatory stage, and the machinery of preparation has been improved. The public criticism and the Congressional investigations considerably increased both the vision and the effectiveness of the War Department. It has been pretty thoroughly reorganized and in large part the important posts have been filled by men with executive ability. Moreover, Mr. Baker has gone abroad to get a nearer view of the pressing problems of the war. The machinery for coördinating all the war work of the Government has not been greatly improved, but the Administration has had ample evidence that there was a lack of coördination and there is reason to hope that it will do everything in its power to prevent another such general breakdown as the transportation crisis brought on this past winter. If there was not the foresight to forestall that breakdown there is now the experience of that one to use in preventing another. This does not mean that either in manufacture of munitions, in transportation, shipping, or ship building we are in a satisfactory condition. But there is more prospect of becoming so than there was six months ago. The public dissatisfaction has stirred the Government to greater efforts and the fact that public dissatisfaction has acted once and might at any time act again will have a continuing, stimulating effect. In the meanwhile, having got in a reasonable degree what it wanted in the shape of a reorganization of the War Department and also an enlarged and invigorated conception of our part in the war, there is little to be gained in any further campaign of criticism. There is every reason to give the new order a fair chance even though it is not as thoroughly new and revised as many hoped it would be. The compromise between the Administration and its critics is practically effected. If the new order of things works, everyone, especially those who have been critical of the old régime, should be satisfied. If, after a reasonable trial, it does not work, the public will have to try again and try harder. The public wants to fight this war to the utmost of its strength, and one way or another in the long run it is going to get an organization through which it can do it.

The War at Sea

THERE are still somewhat confusing reports about the shipping situation, the loss by submarines, and the destruction of submarines.

There seems to be no doubt but that the total amount of shipping which can go to sea



LOSSES OF MERCHANT TONNAGE

This diagram shows the rise and decline of the damage done by submarines operating against Allied and neutral shipping

is less by two or three million tons than it was at this time last year. But the arrangements made with the neutral countries and improvements in the handling of the shipping under Allied control have, or can offset this loss at least to some extent.

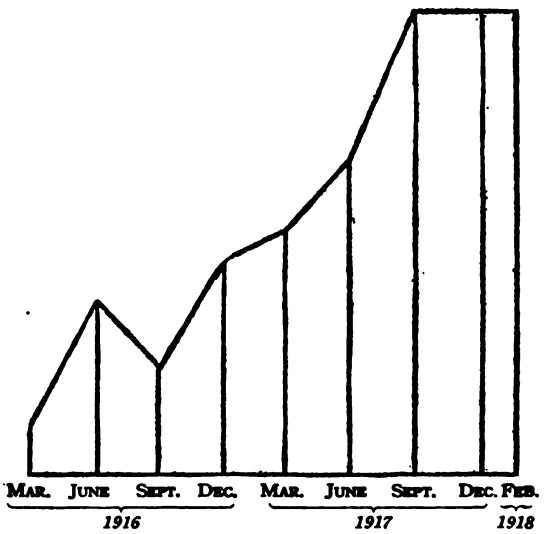
The loss by submarines, according to the official figures and charts of the British Admiralty, is declining in a satisfactory manner.

but this general statement, is modified by the fact that certainly up to the first of March the sinkings were still greater than the new tonnage put into commission. In other words, the policy of attrition was still working against us and our merchant fleets were growing smaller.

The first method, of course, to rectify this situation is the offensive method of destroying the submarines. In this, the British Admiralty's chart again shows an encouraging tendency and Sir Eric Geddes, the British First Sea Lord, said early in March: "For some months we believe that we and the Americans have been sinking submarines as fast as they are built."

There is other encouragement beside this in the fact that the increasing facilities for anti-submarine work have enabled the Allies to improve the campaign in the Mediterranean without relaxing the work off the French and British coasts. Sir Eric Geddes said of this situation:

"The efforts of the British Navy and the



GERMAN SUBMARINES SUNK

The increase in the number and effectiveness of anti-submarine devices is raising the total of submarines sunk so it is now said to equal the number built

navies of its allies are being steadily developed, and a larger programme of anti-submarine craft and devices is being pushed forward, although the lag in the mercantile shipbuilding is reflected here also. Nevertheless, we and our allies are now able to devote more resources to the Mediterranean, which in the past has been regarded by submarine commanders as a rest cure and happy hunting ground. The convoy system has been greatly developed and is a real success. Since it was adopted 35,000 ships have been convoyed with very low losses. Additional protection is afforded by the fact that the ships in convoys closely follow the Admiralty instructions.

"On many occasions the enemy has been assisted by negligence. Unless the ship is completely darkened in accordance with the Admiralty orders, night is no help against the submarine. In fact, the slightest visible light is an excellent target. We know this not only from unfortunate sinkings, but from the reports of our own submarine commanders and coast watchers who have observed unconvoyed ships. I appeal to the shipowners and shipmasters to heed three points: First, obey instructions; second, keep a good lookout; third, thoroughly darken the ship.

"One result of the convoy system has been to drive the enemy closer to the shore, thus rendering the open sea safer for navigation. During the first months of the unrestricted submarine war 50 per cent. of the losses occurred more than fifty miles from land and only 21 per cent. within ten miles of the shore. To-day, the losses outside the fifty-mile line have fallen to 1 per cent., while the losses close to land have risen to 61 per cent.

"This transfer of attacks nearer the coast gives increasing opportunities for attacking the enemy by patrolling surface craft and airplanes, and enables us to save many vessels which would otherwise have been lost. The improved salvage arrangements have made tremendous demands on labor and material. Repairs are to-day occupying more men than new mercantile construction.

"The salving is so efficient that of all British armed ships damaged last year only eight were abandoned."

The protection of ships and the destruction of submarines are, therefore, both improving. The necessary further improvement depends, as the anti-submarine campaign so far has depended, on destroyers. More destroyers is the crying need. The destroyer's shallow draft and great speed make it nearly immune against torpedo attack. At thirty knots an hour it can go 1,200 yards, about the limit of accurate torpedo range, in a little more than a minute, which means that a periscope once sighted within range to torpedo a ship will have to dive extremely rapidly to get away from the convoying destroyer with its depth bomb.

Ships with a proper destroyer convoy can be pretty well protected against submarine attacks. If there were sufficient destroyers, convoys could even be carried through infested waters with comparative safety no matter how many submarines were built by Germany. But at present there are not sufficient destroyers. We are building a great number, and new names for destroyers are announced from time to time, but exactly how many beyond our original flotilla we have in commission is a secret of the Navy Department's.

However, the protection of the present shipping has at best but a negative effect on the situation. Even if no ships were sunk, without new construction there could be only the positive improvement in the situation effected by better handling. To make any significant addition to our shipping facilities we need both the improved use of what we have and large additions to it. These large additions are not coming with the hoped for rapidity. We have known for some time that the original estimates of construction here would not be fulfilled, and while there is good reason to hope that our progress in building is now improving, we have to face the fact that the British building has been disappointing. Sir Eric Geddes stated in Parliament that the construction in January and February was below the estimates.

Altogether, while there is much evidence to prove that by defence and construction we can increase the tonnage at work, the fact is that so far it has been decreasing, though of late at a diminishing rate. The two vital points of this campaign to protect our lines of communication at sea are both on shore. They are the construction of merchant ships and the building of destroyers. We can not have too many of either or have them too quickly.

State Police a Cure for Lynchings

AROUSED by the torture and lynching of a Negro recently at Estill Springs, Tennessee, a group of representative citizens of Nashville have organized a Law and Order League to prevent such occurrences in future. Their purposes and the methods by which they intend to achieve them are:

"To bring about by a campaign of education, and by all other lawful means, the development of a sound public sentiment that will lead to the prompt and certain enforcement of existing laws for the prevention and punishment of crime. To aid in the preparation and enactment of whatever new laws may be necessary for securing early and effective punishment of crime and maintenance of law and order.

"To create and arouse a more active public sentiment in the young and old in favor of enforcement of law and to combat the evils of lawlessness.

"To cultivate a spirit of higher respect for the majesty of the law, for the officers by whom and the agencies by which it is administered, and to uphold the officers of the law in the proper performance of their duties.

"To hold public meetings, prepare and distribute literature, provide lectures, and to urge the pulpit, press, and schools to stress the necessity for the suppression of crime and the maintenance of law and order, to the end that mob violence, at least the more serious crimes, shall be condemned by public sentiment and certainly punished by the established process of the law."

One of the most encouraging things about the formation of this organization is the support which it is receiving from the press, not only in Tennessee but also in other states where lynchings occur practically every year.

Even under the difficult conditions which the presence of the Negro creates in a large section of the country the toleration of the number of lynchings which occur annually is a terrible commentary on our management of the race problem. It is not only a terrible commentary but a fearful bar to progress in managing the problem. Every lynching degrades the white men engaged in it, lowers the morality and lawfulness of the community in which it occurs, and embitters the Negroes as far as the news of it reaches. There is every reason based on law, humanity, and civilization for the Law and Order League's programme. And there is the added incentive that may make some people support its efforts in the fact that every lynching is likely to increase the already large exodus of Negroes from the South where the labor supply is already greatly depleted.

The programme of the League is based on the fundamental basis of public education,

which, continued in, must be successful. But like most fundamental processes it is at best slow. There is a more immediate remedy that could properly and profitably be applied in the meanwhile—a mounted state police. If the founders of the League will study the records of Pennsylvania before and after the formation of the state police there they will find a cogent argument for the formation of a similar force in Tennessee. The recent action of New York in following in Pennsylvania's footsteps is an encouraging sign that the record of the Pennsylvania force is not lost on the rest of the country. New Jersey also has been discussing the creation of a similar organization. In all these states the mounted police are needed and greatly needed, but in none can their usefulness be as great as it could be in the rural states which have large Negro populations and where the forces of law and order have been weakened by successive and unpunished lynchings.

Mr. Hays's Slogan

MR. WILL H. HAYS, the new chairman of the Republican National Committee, has announced as the slogan of that party, "Win the War Now." This phrase, in its expression of an intention and a wish, belongs to Republicans and Democrats alike. To make it distinctively Republican Mr. Hays will have to add to it a bill of particulars explaining how it is to be translated into fact.

The Republican party broke up in 1912 because part of it was progressive and part reactionary. It failed again in 1916 because the split was only patched up—in so far as it was patched up—for the purpose of getting into power. It had no issue. Its programme, like the Democratic programme, was much peace and little preparedness. There was a large body of opinion in 1916 in favor of real preparedness, but the President did not believe in it and the Republican party was afraid to force the issue. Had it done so then, it would have had a firm foundation for its war cry now. But in 1916 neither party had a very clear idea of the significance of the war, nor any genuine interest in preparing for our inevitable participation.

Mr. Hays may, of course, build a successful Congressional campaign next fall on the Democratic Administration's failures in the conduct of the war. Attacking the other party's record is a big part of every campaign of the outs against the ins. Such a campaign may deprive some Democratic Congressmen of their seats next fall, but it will not remake the Republican party into a cohesive organization with power and purpose.

At present the party stands for nothing definite in the conduct of the war or in the readjustment afterward. We do not know what improvements the Republican party would try to make if it had a majority in Congress. There is, then, little in Mr. Hays's slogan except an attempt to capitalize the failures of the Administration. At the present time that might be quite effective, but if the vigorous criticism to which the Administration has lately been subjected bears fruit, as all sincere critics hope, that issue will not amount to a great deal later.

In any case, the Republican party needs a constructive programme, for no party can be of great service to the country, that merely awaits its rival's mistakes.

Russia

A MONTH or two ago there was everywhere the talk of a great German drive. If it was a German idea to spread this talk abroad it was very successfully executed, for it permeated every Allied country and was disseminated here as a warning issued by the Secretary of War in one of his weekly communiqués.

While we were all discussing this drive the Germans were working their fake promise and real threat combination on the over-trustful or corrupt Lenine and Trotzky, with the final result of the German military penetration of Russia.

This gives to Germany a tremendous potential store of resources, of food, raw materials, and, in the long run, of men, if the release of the Russian pressure and the new food supplies enable Germany to reconstitute the somewhat demoralized Austro-Hungarian army. The reorganization of the production and transportation of Russia so that it can supply all the material deficiencies of Germany can not be done instantaneously, but the Germans can do that kind of thing quicker in Russia than we have done it here because they are not to be limited by any scruples about the after effects of their operations. They are just as ready to

bleed one country white as another so long as it suits their needs. Our entrance into the war gave Germany's enemies a vast preponderance of material resources which would sometime appear on the front in the shape of guns, ammunition, airplanes, etc. The conquest of Russia will open great stores of material to the Germans which will ultimately appear on their front in warlike form. It is a question with the German now how soon he can get his material reinforcements to the front to offset ours. Every day that we are ahead of him makes the task of beating the German army cost us fewer lives, and anything that delays heavy fighting on the western front gives him a better chance to shape affairs in Russia to his liking. When we have an advantage of the enemy in material, beating him costs us fewer men. When his material equipment equals ours we have to pay higher in life.

Of course the Russians may upset the Germans' plans just as they have ours. They may refuse to be organized for German uses and they might cost the Germans more men and more time than the Germans can spare. But if we make our plans to beat the German army even with Russian material and food we shall be all the more certain of victory if Russia successfully refuses to help the Germans in any important way.

Books for Our Men in the Army and Navy

THE American Library Association has started a campaign to collect books for our soldiers and sailors, and this campaign is to be continued during the period of the war.

Two million or more books are needed to stock the libraries and recreation buildings at our various camps in this country and in France, and the American Library Association is to keep an increasing number of books on hand to fill the need for new stocks, to replace worn out volumes, and to maintain a sufficient supply wherever it is possible for our men to use them to advantage.

In order that no more money be spent than is absolutely necessary, it is the desire of the Association to secure as gifts a large portion of the needed books. Already a comprehensive organization has started the work. In every state there is an agency, and practically every city and town in the country will be reached in the effort to collect the hundreds of thousands of books that the Association hopes to secure.

Many books, of course, will not appeal to the readers at the camps and cantonments. The Association suggests books along the following lines as being those most liable to be of use:

Fiction: Adventure, Western stories, detective stories, love stories of the best sort, stories of business, and historical novels.

Non-fiction: Military science, airoplanes, engineering, agriculture, business, automobiles, electricity, mechanics, horses, drawing, war books, especially "tales from the trenches," wireless telegraphy and telephony, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, poetry, biography and autobiography, travel, history, French conversation books, and popular books in foreign languages.

Out-of-date text-books are not wanted, and worn-out books will be of no use. Neither will the Association find use for books that appeal especially to women.

Further information concerning suggested methods for local collection, persons in charge of the work in each state, and instructions for local organizations in collecting the books, can be secured from Mr. Herbert Putnam, General Director of the American Library Association, The Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

In everyone's collection of books there are some that can readily be spared, and they could not go to serve a better purpose than to fill the shelves of the soldiers' and sailors' reading rooms.

The Bitter Enders

EACH new turn which the war takes, each new German offensive, whether by arms or talk or printed matter, adds evidence to the two most certain facts in the whole war situation. The first is that it is not safe to believe any German promise which we have not the force to compel her to fulfil, and the second fact that follows from this is that no promise or peace or bargain of any kind with Germany is worth more than a scrap of paper as long as the German army is intact. And what applies to Germany applies equally to Austria and Turkey.

To face these facts means fighting until Germany and Austria are defeated. There

the Government a direct and specific vote in favor of the conduct of the war to a lasting victory. If we, as a people, subscribe as we should to the third Liberty Loan, the administration will have again complete proof of the country's unanimity and fixedness of purpose, and it will also have the necessary wherewithal to make that purpose effective.

Ten million people voted for victory in the first two Liberty Loans. The voting should be heavier now—more voters and more money. This voice of the people will he heard above the confusion. It will maintain the morale here and among our allies, and it will also be heard on the other side of the trench line that marks the western front.

Every one who subscribed to the first and second Liberty Loans should subscribe to the third loan, and should, in addition, see that at least one other individual who has not so far voted on the war does so this time. Every one who owns a Liberty Bond is now a member of a Liberty Loan committee and should start an educational campaign among his neighbors.

Because the bonds of the first two loans have sold on the New York Stock Exchange as much as $50 on a $1,000 bond below the subscription price is no cause for concern for those who own them and intend to hold them until they see the war through.

Because a few soldiers have dropped their burdens and fallen out of line, it only means that there are opportunities for others to take their places. That is the patriotic part of it and usually patriotism means sacrifice. In this case it means profit. The buying of the Liberty Bonds that are offered for sale by those who are dropping out of the fight gives the buyer not only the ordinary interest but also an added profit which has been, at times, as high as 5 per cent. And this is obtained with perfect security. Our experience in previous wars is a good indication for the future.

The year after our war with Spain, the 3 per cent. bonds brought out to finance that affair sold at a premium of $107 a $1,000. From the low point of our Government's credit in the Civil War, in 1864, when it cost the equivalent of 15½ per cent. interest in gold to borrow funds to continue the war, there was rapid improvement and in fifteen years the Government's credit was back on a 3¼ per cent. basis. The person who supports the Government with his money in this war need have no cause to worry about the security he gets—it is the best in the world.

Foreign Holders of American Securities

ONE of the most noticeable effects of the war upon our industrial life was the natural one that the constant stream of foreign money that stimulated our activities suddenly stopped, and the stream flowed the other way. The stocks and bonds which we had been selling to European buyers for years began to flood our markets. And we were glad to buy them back, for we had lots of money and we could buy them cheap. Now that we need our money to finance the war it is satisfying to know that the American securities held abroad are not still being forced on our markets. The figures recently compiled by the United States Steel Corporation seem to show, if its securities are a fair criterion, that the amount of American securities now held abroad is likely to remain at least at its present level.

At the outbreak of the war, approximately 25 per cent. of the $508,000,000 common stock of the Steel Corporation was held abroad. On December 31, 1914, after five months of war, there was still nearly 23½ per cent. of it so held. It will be recalled that the New York Stock Exchange was closed during practically all of that time. The heavy selling from abroad, however, did not start until after March, 1915. It is interesting to note that the lowest price at which United States Steel common sold after the outbreak of the war—38—was early in February, 1915. In other words the foreign selling did not start in volume until the stock began the advance in price which culminated at 89½ in December, 1915. Between March 31st and December 31st of that year, the foreign holdings of the stock were reduced nearly by half. The percentage of the total held abroad was brought down from 22¼ per cent. to 13¾ per cent. In the succeeding year and nine months it was further reduced to below 9½ per cent. In the last three months of last year more than 7,000 shares were added to the foreign holdings, the percentage being increased from 9.39 to 9.52 per cent.

More than forty foreign countries are represented in the list of shareholders of the Steel Corporation. Before the war England was by far the largest foreign holder. Holland now is. It is interesting to note that the prosperous West Indies have more than doubled their holdings of United States Steel stock since 1915. Canada also increased its holdings last year.

British Labor's Programme

LABOR and the New Social Order" is the title of a report on reconstruction by a sub-committee of the British Labor Party. This report probably comes as near as any single document to expressing what the party's programme is. As the Labor Party can hold the balance of power—if, indeed, it can not soon command a majority in Parliament—its programme is of great interest as it affects Great Britain, and as its programme will react upon thought here.

The underlying motive of this programme is to discontinue "the competitive struggle for the means of bare life" and institute "a deliberately planned coöperation in production and distribution for the benefit of all who participate by hand or by brain," in order to achieve not the present "utmost possible inequality of riches," but "a systematic approach toward a healthy equality of material circumstances for every person born into the world."

"The four pillars of the house we propose to erect, resting on the common foundation of the democratic control of society in all its activities, may be termed

"(a) The Universal Enforcement of the National Minimum.

"(b) The Democratic control of Industry.

"(c) The Revolution in National Finance.

"(d) The surplus wealth for the common good."

The universal enforcement of a national minimum wage is a principle very generally looked upon with favor by many people, both laborers and employers. What it means is that those industries or particular employers who can not afford to pay a living wage will have to go out of business, and other industries, or the taxpayers in general, would have to take care of the people thrown out of work by this process. In the United States the number would not be large, for most of the businesses which underpay people in this country could afford to pay more if pressed to do so. The conditions in the British Isles are probably sufficiently alike to make a national minimum wage apply all over the kingdom, but the cost of living varies so in different parts of the United States that if the experiment were tried at all some zone method would have to be devised.

The democratic control of industry means state ownership of the means of production and distribution, beginning with such things

as railroads, mines, steamers, canals, electrical companies, etc., and ultimately including practically everything.

In the words of the programme:

"It demands the progressive elimination from the control of industry of the private capitalist, individual or joint-stock; and the setting free of all who work, whether by hand or by brain, for the service of the community, and of the community only. And the Labor Party refuses absolutely to believe that the British people will permanently tolerate any reconstruction or perpetuation of the disorganization, waste, and inefficiency involved in the abandonment of British industry to a jostling crowd of separate private employers, with their minds bent, not on the service of the community, but—by the very law of their being—only on the utmost possible profiteering. What the nation needs is undoubtedly a great bound onward in its aggregate productivity. But this cannot be secured merely by pressing the manual workers to more strenuous toil, or even by encouraging the 'Captains of Industry' to a less wasteful organization of their several enterprises on a profit-making basis. What the Labor Party looks to is a genuinely scientific reorganization of the nation's industry, no longer deflected by individual profiteering, on the basis of the common ownership of the means of production; the equitable sharing of the proceeds among all who participate in any capacity and only among these, and the adoption, in particular services and occupations, of those systems and methods of administration and control that may be found, in practice, best to promote the public interest."

In a country where the "democratic control of industry" is in force, practically every one in the country except those selling personal services would be on a Government salary. All industry would be conducted by the State, which would be one single, all inclusive, monopolistic, political, and industrial corporation, guaranteeing a job at at least a living wage to every industrial worker of every kind, using all capital, buying all raw material, doing all transportation both at sea and ashore, and selling all finished products. The whole thing would be a single national coöperative society.

The authors of the programme are convinced that this organization would not only be sufficiently productive to make at least a living wage for the entire population, but that it would even increase the total productivity of the population. The increased productivity, combined with the fact that no one would have a very large salary, would produce "the healthy equality of material circumstances" which is one of the main objects of the programme.

The whole question of State ownership or democratic control of industry is whether or not it could be made efficient enough to make enough money to support the population.

The revolution in National finance and surplus wealth for the common good (the third and fourth pillars on which the programme stands) means direct taxation arranged so that those who are making merely a bare living pay nothing, but rising rapidly from this point to the practical confiscation of any very great wealth. Once the huge fortunes were reduced, in a country where industry was under democratic control, they would have little opportunity to rise again.

These four major demands, which in their entirety constitute a complete reorganization of the British State, could be met in part even under the existing economic system. A national minimum wage, the state control of at least some industries, and direct taxation and very high taxation on wealth, could all be done under present economic conditions. The further demands of provision for work for the returning soldiers could likewise be met.

The two main political features of the Labor Party's programme, the extension of the suffrage and the abolition of any hereditary privileges or positions in Government, except the royal family's, are already accepted in America, and we have the same intention of fair dealing toward all other nations which the Labor Party's programme proclaims.

However much or little of this programme of the British Labor Party achieves, it is significant in that it is a concrete expression of a determination to see that the oft repeated phrase "that things will be different after the war" comes true. That same feeling is very prevalent in this country and, while it does not take the same form with us as in England, it will have to be met in some form.

The root of the whole matter is that the people at the bottom of the economic scale feel that they are not getting a fair deal, and the difficulty in disabusing them of this idea is that they are right. In a country where there is as much natural wealth as there is in the

United States and where the machinery of production is as highly developed as it is here, it is a confession of failure to admit that any one who really tries should be unable to earn a living wage. The fact that there are some among us who are so very rich and so many who are so very poor has led to the general assumption that the total amount of money made each year in this country is sufficient for everyone's needs if it were only distributed better. This is not as true as is generally supposed. According to the income tax returns for 1916 there were only 437,036 people in the United States who had incomes of more than $3,000. Of these, 307,700 had incomes of less than $10,000. If all the income of the 437,036, which amounted to about $6,800,000,000, were divided amongst the population of the United States it would amount to about $70 apiece. There is no doubt that endeavors to attain a somewhat better distribution of the nation's income should be made, but the more fundamental thing is to make a programme for an enlargement of the national income so that the standard of living in this country, already higher than in most other parts of the world, can be still further raised and so that the nation will be rich enough to keep the lowest level of life among us out of the depths that its ignorance and our neglect has allowed it to reach. A constructive national programme of increased production and more equitable distribution is needed with us as well as in Great Britain. If it is planned and put into operation like the Federal Reserve banking system, we can have it with little trouble. If it is not done that way we shall probably have years of some other Mr. Bryan with some industrial 16 to 1 to reckon with.

Will Things Be the Same After the War?

IN A year of war we have achieved a great number of what in peaceful times would be considered monumental changes with little discussion and less opposition.

No man can now export or import anything without a license; one has even to give a good excuse before being allowed to leave the country personally. No company can issue securities in large quantity without Government permission. The Government has taken control of all railroads and shipping. It has formed a monopoly to control the whole sugar supply of the country. It fixes the price of wheat, and of various other commodities and stands ready to commandeer any material or any manufacturing plant that it wants, just as it drafts men for the army.

In war time what used to be considered the rights of private business do not exist. But in truth the Government always had the right to do in either peace or war anything which it has done now. In peace times we did not consider these measures necessary. In war we do. There is, however, quite a tendency to feel that if these extensions of Government activity are useful in war they would be equally effective in peace.

If we were able and willing during peace to pay as much for the added production as we have to do and are glad to do in war, the analogy might hold good. But if in peace we should build cantonments or shipyards or factories at the prices we pay in war the country could not long survive. The two factors which make Government control necessary in war time are arbitrary power and unlimited money. It is against public policy that any private organization should have either of these attributes. The Government has both. Therefore, when things must be done rapidly, on a big scale, and regardless of expense the Government must step in.

But when the emergency is over and a new set of conditions comes into force, these particular Government attributes are not necessarily beneficial. Normally it is advantageous to the country to have production and transportation conducted with the greatest economy and as little arbitrary power as possible. How much the Government can do and meet these requirements is a question which will have to be decided without regard to Government activity in war. The first test of the desire for Government ownership and operation is likely to come over the railroads. Railroad rates practically amount to taxation. The power to fix these rates amounts to the power to tax. The Government can not leave this in the hands of private companies who are not responsible to the Government—which is why the Interstate Commerce Commission supervised rates. On the other hand the Commission's policy of being responsible for keeping rates down without much consideration for the maintenance or improvement of the roads has pretty well shown itself to be a failure. To go back to Commission control on the old basis

would be to invite disaster to the roads. To go back to unregulated private control would be to invite abuse of the public. Almost all experience here and abroad has been that Government ownership and operation is inefficient in the long run. What is left? There are still various ways of coöperating between public and private organization which have given evidence of being better than either, separately. The public ownership and the private operation of the New York and Boston subways has been an improvement over any other transportation arrangements in those cities. The private ownership and operation of the Baltimore street railways with the provision that all profits above a reasonable per cent. shall be divided between the railroad company and the city has worked admirably. Under this arrangement, if the car lines are charging unduly, the city has the power to reduce fares but it is not likely to do so unreasonably because such a reduction would cut off the revenue the city gets from its division of the profits and make a direct tax necessary to make up this loss. The car lines also are less likely to declare more dividends than is wise if they have to divide with the city. The tendency has been to put back money into the property for maintenance and improvement. This practise means good public service.

This Baltimore experience at least furnishes an interesting suggestion for the future solution of our railroad problem, under which our former attempts to prevent railroad combinations need not be continued.

After the war there will probably be a good many Government owned and operated ships which will remain in that status unless they become too expensive. If they should begin to lose much money they would probably revert to private management as have the railroads built by the various states.

There is little reason to suppose that price fixing, export licensing, and similar purely war measures will continue after the war.

On the other hand, graduated taxes which will bear heavily on large incomes and on inheritances have probably and properly come to stay. There must be good rewards for energy, ability, and genius, but there is no reason why we should overpay our successful men. The country could have had all of Mr. Carnegie's ability for a third the sum it paid him. If there had been a high tax on large incomes it might encourage Rockefellers or Schwabs to retire earlier than they now do, but this is unlikely, for after a certain point is reached these men continue in business not so much for the money as for the sake of the game and the feeling of power and success.

After this war, as after other wars, taxes will be high and labor will be scarce. If we are wise we shall make a better distribution of taxes than heretofore, and also devise some system of education or improvements in production for making labor more productive and better paid and with better opportunities than it has had.

If conditions following the Civil War are any criterion of what will happen when this war is finally over, a boom period will set in which will somewhat obscure the necessity for these improvements. With labor scarce from five or six years of little immigration, with wages and prices high, and many great tasks waiting to be done, there will probably be what are called "good times" and plenty of work for all. But the world will not continue to buy from us at abnormally high prices any longer than it can help, and sometime a period of readjustment will come—poor business, falling wages, strikes, unemployment and misery. The test of our statecraft is the plans which we make for the periods of stress.

A Way For Those at Home to Help

FOR the ninety-nine million people in the United States who don't go to France the most important problem is the proper financing of the war. With that problem is closely associated the winning of the war. Our John D. Rockefellers cannot pay the bill. They may have little more ready cash than you have. Their fortunes are invested; and before they could loan them to the Government they would have to find some one with cash to buy their securities. They could borrow money on them at the bank, but that is not the way the war should be financed. Furthermore, the combined fortunes of all our millionaires would pay the bills for only a short time. The entire savings of the nation are needed to win the war.

As our education in regard to the war's demands progresses the truth of this is becoming more generally accepted. There are still some, however, who feel that they are doing their duty if they subscribe for Liberty Loans by borrowing at the banks, and spend a corresponding part of their income for a

pleasure car. The pleasure car is used as the popular illustration of an unnecessary expenditure. Eighty per cent. of the cars in this country, however, cost less than a thousand dollars, and a good percentage of those have a high utility value to their owners. There are other things which are better examples of luxuries than the automobiles; things we can well do without along with the car bought solely for pleasure riding. A part of the public seems still uncertain as to what policy should be adopted in regard to such expenditures. For that reason it is encouraging to have a report covering that point from a committee of the ablest economists of the country, issued by authority of Secretary McAdoo. This committee was appointed to study the question of why the cost of the war and the cost of living are rising so rapidly. It was composed of Professor Irving Fisher, Yale, chairman; Professor E. W. Kemmerer, Princeton; Professor B. M. Anderson, Jr., Harvard; Dr. Royal Meeker, United States Commissioner of Labor Statistics; Professor Wesley Clair Mitchell, Columbia, and Professor Warren M. Persons, Colorado College. Its conclusion regarding Government loans and unessential personal expenditures was illustrated thus:

"If I buy Government securities by giving up the purchase of a pleasure automobile the Government can buy a military truck with the same money, and the labor and capital which would have made the pleasure car for me will make the truck for the army instead. That is the right way.

"The wrong method is employed if I insist upon buying that pleasure car and so can buy the Government securities only by borrowing the money at a bank. I have sacrificed nothing out of current money income. I have simply increased the money income of the Government. The bank which lends me the money does so by writing down a "deposit" to my credit on its books, which "deposit" I transfer to the Government. This "deposit" provides purchasing power without providing or releasing anything to be purchased. The result is that instead of labor and capital turning from the making of pleasure cars to the making of motor trucks they are called upon to make both. I give the Government my check to buy the truck, but at the same time I enter the market to prevent the Government from getting it. In short, the public, by its paper subscriptions, appears generous to its Government, but is selfishly refusing to make the actual sacrifice."

The relation between war loans and the increasing cost of living, which shows further why it is not the proper way for John D. Rockefeller to borrow on his securities and loan the money to the Government, was covered by the committee as follows:

"Loans to the Government made not from savings but from borrowings will tend to increase bank credits. Further extension of bank credit will chiefly bring about a rise in commodity prices. . . . And the rise in prices which come about from this sort of lending is cumulative. As the prices of war supplies rise the money cost grows and the Government has to borrow more. Bigger loans by us to the Government require bigger loans to us from the banks. This further expansion of bank credit favors a further rise of commodity prices, starting the whole process over again in a vicious circle.

"But rising commodity prices present only one of a series of evils which will follow if we continue far on the wrong side. In the wild scramble to buy—the public competing against the Government and the producer trying to satisfy both—there is increasing difficulty in getting supplies. There occurs railway congestion, car shortage, coal famine (for instance, from using up coal in non-essential industries and from using the cars needed to move it), and other dislocations.

"The best and quickest way of finding the right road—the road of thrift—is by reducing consumption and increasing production, by repressing non-essentials and by organizing a redirection of industry. President Wilson has well said: 'It is our duty to protect our people, so far as we may, against the very serious hardships and evils which would be likely to arise out of the inflation which would be produced by vast loans.' And again: 'Now is the time for America to correct her unpardonable fault of wastefulness and extravagance.'"

For those who are still in doubt as to the policy they should follow in regard to expenditures during the war, the answer is: Save all you can and loan the money to the Government for it to spend.

BUSINESS VENTURES vs. INVESTMENTS

Every month the WORLD'S WORK *publishes in this part of the magazine an article on investments and the lessons to be derived therefrom*

MR. PERCIVAL S. HILL, president of the American Tobacco Company, started work for the Durham Tobacco Company in 1894 because his partner in the carpet business put his money into a Colorado placer mining company and endorsed its notes to the tune of a few hundred thousand dollars.

Thus do events shape the lives of mortals; and thus did Mr. Hill get some costly investment experience due to the action of this partner, now dead. Other experiences have served to emphasize the lesson of that one.

"All the money I have put into business ventures other than my own," said Mr. Hill, "has earned me little or no return. If I had invested in safe securities all the money I have put into other businesses, and reinvested the interest and dividend returns, I would be worth more to-day than I am.

"Not every man can have a business of his own; it is the average man who works on a salary who most needs investment advice. If he would start while young and save a certain percentage of his income, put it in good securities, not with the idea of making a profit on them, but for the regular returns they pay, and each year reinvest that interest, he would soon find that he is accumulating enough to make him comfortable later on. The first year it may be only $100; the next year it will be $106. When he once gets well started he will keep it up, for the results are soon very evident.

"I have in mind three cases where savings are invested in a certain stock, and each year the dividends are used to buy additional shares of the stock. The growth of such investments in fifteen years is surprising. One will not get rich by this method but one will be sure of protection from want in later life. The man who risks his money in a business about which he knows nothing has not one chance in a hundred of making a profit. He should put his money into a business only when he knows all about it himself.

Mr. Hill himself has not saved in this way. He had a rich father, and in his youth the necessity of saving was not impressed on him. He now practices what he preaches, however, for he is educating his children to save regularly and invest safely.

"It is one of the most important lessons that our young people can learn," he believes. "This war, with its lessons in saving and experience in investing in Government bonds, is going to be a great educational factor of permanent benefit for this country. I feel very decidedly the need and importance of this kind of education.

"The American Tobacco Company tries to encourage saving and investing among its employees. It offers them its preferred stock and allows them five years in which to pay for it by systematic saving. The stock is bought in the market, and the employees are allowed a reduction in the price depending on the length of their service with the company. The amount they can buy is based on their ability to pay for it in five years, and no one is permitted to take more than $1,000 worth in this way."

Thus has the company for years endeavored to encourage regular savings among those in its ranks and educate them by experience in the matter of investing. In regard to the best investment that one can make to-day, Mr. Hill said:

"Liberty Loan bonds are by far the best security that a person can buy. No one will make a mistake in buying all of them he can. The man of small income and the farmer should be urged especially to invest in these bonds. They will start them on the road to financial independence. They are the safest security in the world, and I am sure they will sell at a good premium over the issue price after the war."

WHAT NEXT IN RUSSIA?

Prospects of a Counter Revolution Inspired by Hunger—A Wealthy Peasantry Eating the Food It Used to Sell to the Cities—Disillusion of the People and the Likelihood of Another Popular Upheaval

BY

ROGER LEWIS

(Recently Associated Press Correspondent in Petrograd)

WHENEVER I feel tempted to hazard a prediction about Russia, my mind runs back to a certain dismal winter afternoon in Petrograd early in March, 1917. Guy Beringer, correspondent for Reuter's News Agency in Russia, and I were playing English billiards in a clubhouse on the Morskaya. Beringer suddenly laid down his cue and remarked with utter irrelevancy but great feeling: "I tell you that nothing is going to happen in this forsaken country. I can't see a particle of use in being miserable in Petrograd. It's a good time for me to go to the Crimea for a holiday."

The door opened and a uniformed attendant entered, betraying more emotion than it is commonly supposed possible for Slavic features or club servants to express.

"It's begun," he announced incoherently. "The Cossacks are charging the crowds in the streets. . . . Revolution. . . ."

Reuter's correspondent was by no means the only person guilty of a mistaken judgment in this matter. The fine art of prophecy has won distinction for very few people in this war. Certainly no one has received any credit on this account in Russia. When the London *Times* reached Petrograd with glowing accounts of the brilliant Russian maneuver which was to envelop Lodz in the early part of the war, this city rested more firmly than ever in the hands of the Germans. Instead of trains bearing an entire corps of German prisoners into Russia, which the *Times* correspondent had vividly put before his readers, the trains were going in the other direction and carrying tens of thousands of Russian prisoners into Germany. When the American newspapers containing an optimistic statement concerning the unconquerable spirit of the Russian armies and the prospect of a general advance made their belated appearance in Russia, these armies, totally demoralized, were in headlong flight into the interior of the country. And to quote just one more instance out of a hundred, shortly after Washington received from Ambassador Francis in Petrograd, who was exceptionally well informed, the reassuring information that Russia was at last emerging from her difficulties, the country had plunged into an abyss of madness far exceeding anything which had gone before.

This introduction need deceive no one. The following prediction carries with it no guarantees. I wish only to lay before the reader my own sources of information and to see whether all signs do not point unmistakably in one direction. It may simplify matters to set down three main alternatives which, I believe, cover the possibilities, and to decide which of these is the most plausible.

The first is a gradual disintegration of Russia into independent states, later perhaps to become loosely federalized. The second is a perpetuation of a régime of ultra-radicalism. performing its political antics before a partly sympathetic but somewhat nettled audience. The third is a sudden or a gradual reversion to a relatively conservative government—an ebb-tide of extreme radicalism, dragging the Bolsheviki and their political platform back into the depths from which they were cast up by the tempest of revolution.

As this is being written, the renewal of German military operations on the Eastern Front introduces a fresh possibility—the possibility of a German subjugation of western Russia and a careful German surveillance and control over Russia's internal problems. But whether the German armies continue their advance into Russia or the German Government concludes a definite peace treaty with the Bolshevist Government it is impossible to regard the situation thus created as permanent or even stable. If Germany makes peace with

the Bolsheviki she has not made a lasting peace with Russia, and if her armies take Petrograd and Moscow, she has not conquered the Russian people. The will of the Russian people to settle their own destiny has gathered too strong an impetus to be permanently checked.

The first alternative has already matured beyond the stage of an hypothesis. With the Ukrainians recognized as a de facto government and with the Bolshevist Government's declaration that Russia is a republic of *soviets*, a federation of Russian states may be regarded as a distinct possibility. This, however, is not properly an answer to the question of Russia's future. If Russia splits up into smaller units along natural lines of cleavage, and becomes a republic of independent states, the same problem which confronts the empire will still perplex the republic. The class struggle, the decision whether Russia is to be ruled by the extremists, the moderate socialists, or one of the various conservative or bourgeois factions —which will, of course, involve the important question of Russia's future attitude toward us, our allies, and the Germans—must be fought to a finish by Russia united or divided. There is a certain national bond in this very conflict, common to all parts of the country, which is likely to postpone the possibility of disintegration. While the country is sharply broken up into national groups of radicals and conservatives, it will be difficult for a cross-current impelling a division into states to gather much headway. And, as I have said, if it does, its only effect will be to localize the social problem—to divide the national class struggle into an infinite series of local class struggles.

I shall, therefore, devote this article to a discussion of the alternatives which I have mentioned—the possibility of a reversion, violent or peaceful, sudden or gradual, to relative conservatism. Is Bolshevism to remain forever triumphant, forcing by tyrannic methods far exceeding those of the despised autocracy, its minority will upon the majority, or are there already signs of a reaction which will sweep Bolshevism off the political map?

In this connection let me attempt an explanation of that dreadful bogy of the Russian extremists—"counter-revolution." The prospect of such a movement is, in the words of the radical factions, "imperiling the safety of the democracy." It is easier to understand this fear of counter-revolution if one realizes that the Russian character is a victim of the constant illusion that some satanic influence is clouding the political horizon and threatening the liberty of the people.

There is and can be no counter-revolutionary organization in Russia, for the simple reason that the people will not allow it. There may be innumerable repetitions of the Kornilov uprising of last autumn. As long as Kornilov and Kaledine escape prison and death, they may conduct as many Cassock rebellions as they like, but until public opinion—that is to say, the opinion of the masses—veers around in their direction, there is no possibility of a successful counter-revolution of violence. The impulse toward a counter-revolution can not come from a few discredited generals and a very much overrated band of Cossacks. It must come from the people.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH

One must realize even here by this time that the masses are in absolute control of Russia. The autocracy of the mob is much more complete than the autocracy of the former Emperor and there is much less chance of conducting counter-revolutionary propaganda at present than there was of conducting revolutionary propaganda in the days of the imperial government. The newly acquired freedom of speech and of the press is a pure fiction. There is freedom of speech for any one who wishes to express socialistic or anarchistic beliefs, but there is no free speech or press for any one else. There is, in fact, a much stricter censorship at present than ever existed under the old régime.

If there are any doubts about this, it is easy to convince oneself by a simple experiment. Get up in a public square and express a few "bourgeois" ideas. Say, for instance, that the feelings of employers should be considered or that the best way to save Russia is by electing a coalition cabinet which will consult with the Entente Allies before making peace—and see how far you get with it. If you are a person judged sufficiently important to have real influence over the people, you will go to jail. Express the same sentiment in a Petrograd newspaper and both the newspaper and you will be effectively suppressed.

The moment a bourgeois leader begins to

show any signs of spirit, the numerous factions of the proletariat cease squabbling among themselves and unite solidly against him. They have the power of completely muzzling any member of the bourgeoisie. The consequence is that most of the counter-revolutionary material is in retirement or hiding, burying itself in the obscurity of the Crimea or the Caucasus, slipping quietly out of the country, helpless and frightened, looking only for a place of refuge from the mad, topsy-turvy country which the fatherland has become.

After the Revolution an Irish friend of mine, with a highly developed sense of humor, was traveling from England to Norway on a North Sea boat which was sunk by a German submarine. Among the wretched survivors who crowded into one of the lifeboats were several Russians. One of them who knew that the Irishman had spent most of his life in Russia and in whom the Russian love of political discussion triumphed even over the miseries of shipwreck, asked him to what Russian party he belonged.

"I belong," said the Irishman to his shivering shipmate, "to the party of the 'frightened intelligentia.'"

The phrase has become classic in Russia as a description of the helpless and intimidated non-socialist classes. To expect vigorous action from them is like expecting a manacled prisoner in the dock to perform sleight-of-hand tricks. There is not a bourgeois leader who is not under suspicion, who is not living in a period of stern probation expecting imprisonment or death.

If this counter-revolution, about which there has been so much fearful surmise, is really to take place—and it is my belief that it is as certain as anything can be in a country of infinite surprises, where logic leads one to false conclusions and the laws of cause and effect seem temporarily suspended—then it is not to be expected from the powerless aristocracy or bourgeoisie; it must come from the proletariat which now shudders at the very idea. But before going further with assertions which may seem extravagant and unwarrantable, let us examine the evidence. I will try, with illustrations of what I saw and heard in Russia, to show how this counter-revolution of the people is coming about.

The counter-revolution of which I speak had already begun when I left Russia, but it did not consist in conspiracies or plots against the people or their representatives. It is a slow but steadily gaining disillusionment in the hearts of the Russian masses with the result of the Revolution, in which so many high hopes were placed. To use the words of M. Shingareff, first revolutionary minister of agriculture and later minister of finance, recently murdered by the red-guard of the Bolsheviki, it is not so much a "movement as it is a mood."

The mood of the soldiers and workmen has drooped from the high exaltation of the early days of the Revolution to a brooding scepticism. After all, what has the Revolution done for them? Where are the mighty things which the release from past oppression promised? Where even, indeed, are the things more lowly but more vital to the comforts and welfare of the people? They were hungry and now they are starving. They wanted land and all they have received they have been compelled to steal or take by force. Formerly, they were oppressed by corrupt representatives of the imperial authority under German influence; and now they are bossed by dishonest representatives of the proletariat who have played even more directly into the hands of Germany.

The arguments of the Bolshevik leaders appealed at the outset to the workmen and soldiers, chiefly because they stood stubbornly for immediate peace, which is what all Russia, except the bourgeois classes, has ardently desired since the Russian Revolution. But these arguments were based on the conception of two democratic states making peace according to the principle of no annexations and no indemnities. Not even the wildest of the radicals dreamed of a peace on the terms which Germany is now dictating. The leaders who have driven Russian Democracy into this trap will have difficulty in retaining their hold over the outraged masses. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the definite acceptance of Germany's humiliating peace terms and the continued advance of German forces into the heart of Russia will both foment a counter-revolutionary spirit in the people against the Bolshevist Government which has brought this degradation upon Russian Democracy.

The immediate cause of the revolution last March was a vast swelling volume of political discontent, ignited and exploded by the spark, which, so far as I know, usually sets off

revolutions—physical suffering and hunger. This cause of revolution has changed in no way in Russia except to become more acute. The food situation in Petrograd and Moscow and in a great part of western Russia has become steadily worse since the Revolution, until it is now desperate. Starving people lose sympathy rapidly with idealistic experiments which fail to supply their primitive wants. Hunger has a way of eclipsing abstractions and drawing a clear line between the foreground of physical necessity and the background of political privilege. The starving man is much less interested in his right to vote than he is in something to eat.

Since the food problem is contributing in such a definite way to the counter-revolutionary spirit, I may, without digressing, briefly sketch the conditions in the cities and in the country. The poorer classes in Petrograd are now living on less than half a pound a day of a soggy, almost inedible substance, euphemistically known as black bread. There is no milk; there are no eggs; there is no white flour. There is too little tea and coffee and sugar, and the prices for what little meat there is are prohibitive. In the factory districts, on the Viborg side of the Neva, there is not even any milk for babies. The infant mortality, I have been told by physicians, has risen to alarming figures.

WANT OF FOOD

The forever-vaunted German efficiency and power of organization will be put to the supreme test when it attempts to bring order out of the Russian chaos and to disentangle the economic resources of the country from the total wreck which Russia has become. For months Russia would certainly be more of a liability than an asset to Germany.

Petrograd has become, since the Revolution, a dismal, starving city with endless queues of desperate people filling its wide, desolate streets. Wherever there are provision stores, these lines form before midnight and stand until the bleak dawn, like long gaunt arms of hunger, stretching out for food in a foodless city. They are mostly wretched-looking women, with chalky faces, almost smothered in dark shawls, and supporting wicker baskets and other receptacles for food. Sometimes these queues stretch for a quarter of a mile, making a somber, ragged human fringe for the somber streets. Now and then someone collapses and is borne away to a hospital and often later to a morgue. When the stores open the line moves slowly up, but before the latter end has reached the shop, everything has been sold.

I do not like to dwell upon these conditions. I have lived too long among them to see anything picturesque or colorful in this spectacle of hungry people. Moreover, everyone is too meagrely fed in Petrograd at present to be able to regard the misery of the masses as a detached phenomenon for which he can display a proper sympathy. I lived in Petrograd at the Military Hotel (formerly the Astoria) which had unusual privileges in the matter of Government requisitions of food. One was supposed to fare better there than elsewhere. But the best I could do for breakfast was a square chunk of black, half-cooked dough, sometimes with a small pat of rancid butter; and a cup of tea or chicory-coffee without milk, sometimes with a little sugar. A hundred dollars could not have procured an egg or a piece of white bread. You occasionally met some fortunate person who had mysteriously acquired a few pounds of white flour or a half dozen of cans of condensed milk which he would offer you at an exorbitant price. But if you were keeping house, there were equal difficulties. For example, wood which used to cost seven rubles a Russian cord, now costs more than seventy.

The food question as a topic of conversation has completely preëmpted the place formerly taken in polite social chatter by the opera, politics, or the war. In the manner in which an art collector used to exhibit to his friends some recently acquired masterpiece, a man now says instead, with the same pride of the collector, "I picked up something to-day which I think would interest you. It is a comparatively fresh and undoubtedly genuine Siberian ham."

Take this company of society women who are having lemonless, milkless tea in the five-o'clock room of the Military Hotel. They are not discussing music or clothes. They are debating the food question. And this prosperous-looking business man whose somewhat drooping and pendulous features are wrapped in a temporary grin of complacence. He has not signed a contract involving millions. I know because I asked him how he dared to smile in Russia. He said someone

has just sent him a leg of lamb from the country. There is another man in the tea room whose mental state demands explanation. He is a long-haired intellectual with a flowing tie and an expression of antagonism toward everybody, eyeing the orchestra for the moment with particular suspicion. He is not considering the ethics of the social question. He is wondering how the devil he is going to get a square meal.

A few days before I left Petrograd I met on the Nevsky a business friend, whom, it was easy to see, some tragedy had overtaken.

"I have just been robbed," he complained, "of two poods (about seventy-two pounds) of good white flour."

"How did it happen?" I asked.

"It was in the tonneau of my automobile in the garage," he said, "and someone stole the automobile!"

THE STORY OF IVAN PETROVITCH

The usual explanation of the food shortage in Petrograd and Moscow is the lack of proper railroad organization and transportation facilities. It is true that the economic condition of the country has suffered greatly from railroad mismanagement, but there is a deeper reason. I can explain best by letting Ivan Petrovitch, a Russian peasant temporarily in Petrograd, tell the story. Imagine then, Ivan speaking as he spoke to me a little while ago in Petrograd.

"I live in Samara on the Volga, and until the war began I was very poor and miserable. Tomara Andrevna (his wife) and the two boys and I hardly managed to live. We had a small piece of land which might have been enough to support us if we had worked well. But we didn't. We became drunk with vodka very often and sometimes the farm was idle for weeks at a time. Our *dacha* (cottage) was badly kept and we had little to eat. Nearly all the produce of the farm we had to sell to pay for clothes and other expenses. All we ate was black bread. We sent everything else to the city.

"Then the war began and my two boys had to fight. And there was no more vodka to drink. I found I was able to do all the farm work which three of us had done before. But every month the Government sent us money to make up for the service of our sons at home. And I saved all the money we used to spend on drinking. It was many rubles a month. We became rich. I had more than five hundred rubles in a savings bank.

"Then I found out there was nothing we could do with this money. We had all the food we wanted except sugar, and we couldn't buy sugar no matter how much money we had. And we couldn't buy plows or any other machinery for the farm. There wasn't any oil to be bought, either. So all we were doing was selling our food and getting money which we couldn't spend. I talked about it with my wife and the other farmers, and we decided we would not sell our grain any more. We would keep it and we would eat more. We began to eat things we had never thought of eating in the old days. We ate eggs—all the eggs we wanted. We drank milk and we began to cook white bread. We had never eaten these things before and we hadn't missed them. But we got used to them and liked them very much. It was better to eat them than to get money for them, for you cannot eat money. There was lots of grain left over, of course. We stored this until we could either get very high prices or something in exchange for it that we needed.

"Besides, we don't like the way our *tovarishi* (comrades) in the cities and in the army are acting. I do not understand politics, but I do not think that everyone should stop working and fighting to talk. We are working in the country and if the soldiers and the men in the factories do not work, we do not see why we should send them our food."

It is impossible for me to improve upon this statement of Ivan Petrovitch. One might write a five-thousand-word thesis on the economic condition in Russia without getting to the heart of the matter as he has in a few words. M. Shingareff gave me exactly the same information in different language.

"We have," he said, "the unique situation of a country whose peasants are prosperous, well-fed, and living like princes, while the people in the cities are starving. Let me give you a few figures. The peasantry of this country has received since the beginning of the war four billion rubles in allowances made to families whose male members are fighting. They have saved two billion rubles on account of prohibition. They are not merely comparatively, but actually, wealthy. There is no reason in the world why they should want to sell their grain. If you wish to know the primary reason why the cities are without

food, it is because the peasants are eating and storing it. They feel a natural resentment against the deserters from the army and the men in the factories, and really believe, I think, that the best way of punishing them is not to send them food."

THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION

I asked M. Shingareff if he foresaw a counter-revolution.

"It seems inevitable," he said. "It will be precipitated by the starvation of the people in the cities. February and March will be our hardest months. Snowstorms as usual will tie up transportation, and the little food which we are now receiving from the country will be held up. It seems to me exceedingly doubtful if Petrograd will survive this winter, at least not without the help of many American locomotives and cars.

"Meantime, the discontent and indignation of the people is growing daily. It is producing a distinct counter-revolutionary movement. The masses which thought the old government was responsible for the food shortage are slowly coming to the conclusion that their own socialist government is making a far worse muddle of things. But the counter-revolution will not be a question of reasoning or political wisdom; it will be physical—a pure matter of food shortage and hunger. When people are starving they revolt against their government."

One must banish, then, the conventional idea of a counter-revolution by the Russian aristocrats and conservatives and accept the notion of a disenchanted people rebelling against their own leaders. The power of the genuine reactionaries is gone beyond recall. I traveled across Finland into Sweden in the same compartment with a man typical of the class from which one has been led to expect counter-revolution. He was a captain in one of the old guard regiments. Every now and then he relapsed into fits of melancholy reminiscence and spoke tenderly of the glories, the pomp, and splendor of the old empire—of the days when he used to attend wonderful balls in the Winter Palace and was permitted to kiss the hand of his empress. But he always finished bitterly with the statement that he was no longer a Russian. "Not until my country has a government and a flag of her own, shall I again own or set foot in Russia," he said repeatedly.

There is pathos in the plight of these fugitives from the country which they once loved and honored, but there is little chance of a counter-revolution led by them.

The political pendulum has swung to its left-most limit. It has run all the way from Lvoff and Miliukov to Lenine and Trotsky. It is inconceivable that it will rest with the latter much longer than it tarried with the former.

There is nothing unique in the political evolution which has happened in Russia. It is natural for an oppressed people to hail revolution as a millennium. The cause of their suffering and unhappiness was an iniquitous and unjust government. Remove the government and you automatically abolish injustice and tyranny. This, I mean to say, is the way it appears to the masses. The new government must either immediately fulfill all the exalted expectation of a new government by the people or it is doomed to failure. It is, of course, doomed. The people decide they have not chosen the men who really represent them. For have not the people a supreme, unfaltering, if somewhat vague and undemonstrated wisdom which will make errors and injustice impossible? This, at least, is the Russian socialist's hypothesis.

So they delve into another political stratum and elect new leaders. Again the experiment fails. They have not chosen the real champions of the people. They dig lower still. And so Russian democracy tries all experiments and their failure begets the mood of disenchantment and discontent which I have described. The proletariat is beginning to feel and to express its doubts. Perhaps the supposed wisdom of the people is a myth. Perhaps, at least until they are trained and educated, it would be better for them to depend for leadership upon the hated but more competent bourgeoisie. This is the doubt which is assailing the disillusioned people of Russia. In this way, sobering public opinion, evolving slowly out of the turmoil, is about to push back the political pendulum. The question is, which experiment has been least costly, least dangerous, promising the nearest approximation to the revolutionary ideal. To this point the pendulum will race back and perhaps stick. Perhaps it will stop again with Kerensky or it may go back as far as Miliukov or some other representative of the cadet party. But it can not fail to go back. This will be the counter-revolution.

HEALTH AT HOME TO HELP THE ARMY

Improving the Sanitary Conditions in the United States in Order that the Flow of Munitions and Other Supplies will be Sufficient to Help the Army Win the War

BY

FRANK PARKER STOCKBRIDGE

VITAL to the success of America in its appointed task of winning the war is the health of our forces in the field and on the sea. Vital also is the health of our forces at home, behind the line—the vastly larger army of industrial workers upon whose complete and constantly maintained efficiency depends the production of the arms, ammunition, clothing, food and supplies to keep our fighting forces up to their work, and the ships to carry them overseas.

For every man at the front there are twenty men and women working in the shops and factories of America. The Nation's labor is more fully employed and at higher wages than at any previous period in history. Still the factories call for more workers; they cannot meet the insistent demands of the Government for the absolutely essential necessaries of war. Labor is on the move as never before. The "labor turnover" in the past two years has averaged, taking all industrial centres the country over into consideration, higher than 200 per cent.—in some localities it has been as high as 300 per cent. That is to say, a factory employing 1,000 hands has, in the course of the year, to employ 2,000 different individuals. There are even instances where the turnover has been as high as 500 per cent.

The temptation of high wages leads the workers from town to town, from factory to factory. Even before the war began it was difficult for the great automobile factories in Detroit to keep their help, so keen was the competition for the class of semi-skilled labor on which modern manufacturing so largely depends. Men and boys who had learned to operate the automatic and semi-automatic machines with which America's industries achieve their far-famed "quantity production" were constantly moving from this Detroit plant to that, and between Detroit and other lesser but still important manufacturing centres of the Middle West. Henry Ford astounded the world of industry when he fixed a minimum wage of $5 a day for unskilled help—but he reduced his labor turnover to a negligible factor and increased his *per capita* output thereby. To-day in some places factory workers in war industries scoff at the suggestion of a $5 wage as "boys' pay."

This high pay and manufacturers bidding against each other for help constitute an irresistible temptation to factory workers to move, with their families, to new locations.

Every effort to check this labor turnover thus far has failed. In that vast munitions works which comprise the whole of the Connecticut Valley, where every factory in every community is working two and three shifts on war supplies—when labor is available—the local newspapers, in some instances, are paid by the manufacturers' organizations to refuse "Help Wanted" advertisements from other cities, so difficult is it to keep the workers from moving on. It is Labor's harvest-time. No such opportunity to accumulate a competence by work has ever before come within the grasp of the American workingman, and he is, individually and collectively, seizing the opportunity with a strangle-hold.

With factories working three shifts where formerly the eight-hour day ruled; with huge new plants springing up and overshadowing the old ones, the populations of innumerable manufacturing communities have doubled and trebled. The housing problem has become so acute that no feasible plan to solve it can be devised, in view of the impossibility of procuring, shipping and erecting into dwelling-houses the necessary materials, when every pound of freight the railroads can carry and every unit of labor the country has available is so desperately needed for war supplies. The inevitable consequence is overcrowding to a degree unfamiliar in American experience, except perhaps in a very small part of New York City's East Side. Not only are housing accommodations which were originally, per-

haps, fairly adequate for 50,000, made to shelter 100,000—for there are plenty of instances of communities that have doubled and more than doubled their populations in the last two years—but the congestion is even more dense than such figures indicate, since it is largely confined to limited sections of the cities affected. Complicating the evil of such overcrowding is the doubled draft upon the community's water supply, the increased tax upon its sewage facilities — both of these too often sadly inadequate under normal conditions — and the practical impossibility, through lack of foresight or otherwise, of enlarging the community's public health service as rapidly as the expanding needs require, to say nothing of the usual inadequacy of preexisting sanitary ordinances to meet what is really an emergency situation, even though they were capable of full enforcement. Here you have the stage set for plagues and epidemics; for the spread of disease from localized foci of infection, through every known means of communication, into larger and larger areas and from one community to another. Conditions are ripe for the transportation of endemic diseases from their former localities into new and distant settings. Under such conditions the way is paved for such a sweep of disease, from one end of the country to the other, as to keep constantly incapacitated a really terrifying percentage of the workers, slowing down factory output, conceivably even to the point of ultimate disaster and the defeat of our fighting forces through our inability to provide supplies.

At any time the prevalence of unchecked disease is a serious matter. At this time it is the concern, the direct, vital, personal concern of every American that every individual worker be guarded against illness that will impair his capacity for labor and reduce the output of our factories.

Work will win the war. The defeat of Germany definitely depends upon the manpower of America—the men behind the men behind the guns. To continue the task of mobilizing, equipping, training and sending overseas its army the Nation faces the necessity of keeping its greater army of labor up to the highest pitch of efficiency.

It is not the croaking of a pessimist to allege that the United States is facing—may confidently expect this year and next, in fact—epidemics of cerebro-spinal meningitis, diphtheria, measles, pneumonia, trachoma and virulent smallpox of an extent unprecedented; that endemic diseases like typhoid and malaria will sweep through communities that have heretofore been comparatively free from them; and that there will result such a reduction in the efficient man-power of the Nation as seriously to threaten our success in this war!

"Unless the United States embarks without delay in the biggest 'clean-up' campaign ever undertaken, we are going to find ourselves face to face with a serious industrial situation."

That is the way one of the most famous and efficient health officers in the United States expressed the situation and the crying need to me. I asked Surgeon-General Rupert Blue of the U. S. Public Health Service if he would confirm the statement. "That is conservative," was his comment. "The labor turnover is the heaviest ever known; disease is being spread from one industrial centre to another, infecting *en route* passengers bound for still other points; the epidemic conditions of 1917 and the spread of endemic diseases into new districts carry their own warning for 1918. If we are to win this war, immediate steps must be taken to conserve our industrial energy and not let it be impaired by preventable disease."

Let me paint a picture of conditions in one industrial centre—it would not be fair to the community to tell its name. Enough that it is known all over the world as the centre of one of the great world-industries; that its principal product, the output of many enormous factories, is essential to the winning of the war. Three years ago this city had a population of about 70,000. To-day there are living within its borders, drawn hitherto by the urgent demand for workers in the factories and the high wages, nearly as many more. They have come from every part of the country; mainly from cities farther east, where similar lines of industry flourish. They are constantly going and coming—the labor turnover in this town has for the last two years averaged above 200 per cent. annually. Many of them are "floaters," but a large proportion bring their families with them, expecting and intending to remain.

Those who stay, or most of them, find it impossible to get living quarters except under crowded and insanitary conditions. Those who travel to and from the town do so in crowded day coaches, filled with other workers and their families, moving from place to

place. There is no surer means of spreading any communicable disease than to crowd a hundred people into a car intended to seat sixty and introduce among them a single individual infected with disease, or a "carrier" who may not himself be infected. Add to this the exhaustion of the physical reserves through long journeys and little sleep, with cars frequently inadequately heated and always insufficiently ventilated; tiresome waits in drafty, crowded railroad stations with inadequate sanitary facilities; washing in public basins with common towels, it is not to be wondered at that when travellers who have journeyed under such conditions arrive at their new homes infections break out and epidemics spread through the crowded and insufficiently guarded communities.

That is what happened and is happening in the city I have referred to. It is what is threatening in every industrial centre where the pressure of war work has increased the population and multiplied the labor turnover.

The factories in this city are modern and the sanitary conditions under which the employees work excellent. The factory owners are, almost without exception, alive to the financial as well as the humanitarian value of "welfare work" and not only make every necessary and reasonable provision for the health and comfort of their workers but go as far beyond these limits as it is possible for them to go. "But," as the president of one of the companies, whose output is 100 million dollars a year, said, "we have some measure of control over health conditions for eight hours a day. We can prevent those who are liable to be sources of infection from infecting others while in the works, but we cannot follow them into their homes or guard their families against illness. Even though a workingman himself may be in the best of health, a case of scarlet fever among his children puts him in quarantine and reduces the factory output by the volume of his productive capacity."

Now, this is what happened in this particular city in 1917—and it is typical of what happened in hundreds of other cities in the same year:

The total number of deaths increased 25.7 per cent. over 1916. This was to be expected, since the population of the town had increased. But the proportion of the total number of deaths due to infectious diseases, which in 1916 was 27.7 per cent., increased in 1917 to 30.6 per cent.—a rate of increase of about 11 per cent. Nor is that the whole story, for the increase in the number and proportion of deaths from diseases which assume an epidemic form was vastly greater. Diphtheria, for example, showed an increase of 176.9 per cent. of deaths in 1917 over 1916; cerebrospinal meningitis registered an increase of 600 per cent. in the number of its victims; pneumonia deaths increased 30.3 per cent., infantile paralysis 280 per cent., tuberculosis 45.3 per cent., typhoid 65 per cent.

The city I am telling about had regarded itself as in pretty good shape from the public health viewpoint. True, the water supply was designed for a much smaller community than this had suddenly grown to be. Parts of the city had sewer systems, fairly adequate according to the standards of twenty years ago, but really antiquated and their upkeep neglected, as is the case in most American cities; parts of the city had nothing approaching an adequate sewer system. The local health ordinances, covering the entire range from cesspools to the cubic feet of air space per capita in sleeping rooms, milk and food regulations, etc., were as good in theory as such ordinances usually are. Nor was machinery for their administration entirely lacking.

The city was, in fact, rather proud of its health department. The man at the head was a physician who had specialized in public health matters for years and had won a degree of national fame. He had at his command an active and skilled force of assistants—a thoroughly equipped laboratory service in charge of one of the best public health laboratory men, an epidemiological service in the hands of a man especially educated for such work in a famous university, eight physicians directly employed by the Health Department, a public health nursing service in charge of a trained director with 22 nurses, free tuberculosis clinics, free contagious hospitals, child welfare clinics and splendidly organized medical inspection of schools, with rigid exclusion from schools of every ill child. And there was no more of politics and political interference with the activities of the health department than is customary; hardly as much as in most communities, in fact.

Yet contagious disease increased and multiplied. I have cited some statistics showing the increase in the number of deaths, but it must be remembered that illness, even when

it does not end fatally, nevertheless takes the victim out of the ranks of active workers for a considerable period of time. There were in this city, for example, 562 cases of mumps in 1917. While nobody died of mumps, and only a small proportion of those affected were adult workers, there was an appreciable impairment of productive efficiency from this disease alone. There was only one death from smallpox, but 371 persons were incapacitated during the year, for longer or shorter periods, because of this disease. Twenty-two persons died of measles, mostly children, but 1,273 individuals, a large proportion of them adults, had the disease during the year. Out of 820 cases of diphtheria reported there were 71 deaths. Three deaths from scarlet fever represented 179 cases of the disease. There were 257 persons, including a fair number of adults, who were incapacitated by chickenpox, although no one died from it. German measles with 355 cases was no more fatal than chickenpox, but it took its victims out of industry for an appreciable time. So did the 48 cases of trachoma, likewise the 150 cases of cerebrospinal meningitis, with the appallingly high proportion of 93 deaths, the typhoid that laid up 123 persons while killing 33, and the pneumonia, with 275 deaths, although only 50 cases were reported. And there is a long list of diseases, not reported to the public authorities, each of which did its share toward rendering the workers of this town inefficient and reducing the output of its factories, so essential to the winning of the war.

Multiply these conditions by as many times as there are factory towns engaged in war work —say 500 for an estimate—and then consider the probability, amounting practically to a certainty, that health conditions in all of these communities are going to be worse instead of better in 1918. There is only one answer. Something must be done.

"But how can any one do any thing," you ask, "if such a splendid local health department as the one you have described couldn't prevent the spread of disease in its own community?"

To this, too, there is only one answer. The local health department can do no more than this one was able to do, simply because it *is* local. It is, in the first place, bound and limited by local ordinances and regulations and by state laws, or the absence of them. Its authority extends only to the municipal boundaries. It cannot control travel in and out of the city. The maintenance of an effective quarantine by local authority alone is almost impossible in any community, and entirely so in communities where political influence is exercised upon the health department. The local health officer cannot even compel physicians to report communicable diseases—witness the pneumonia record of 275 deaths with only 50 cases reported! The particular city I have been telling about thought it was doing well to have a "clean-up week" once a year. No power resides in the health department to compel householders to keep their premises "cleaned up" in a sanitary sense at all times. Pollution of the city's water supply by drainage from areas outside of municipal control cannot be effectively prevented by local regulation. And even the state's authority ends at the interstate line.

The one answer, then, is Federal control of public health in the war-industrial centres—control as complete and effective as the Government's control of health conditions in the camps and cantonments and their adjacent areas.

Intelligent public health officers everywhere are becoming alive to this necessity. The authorities at Washington have awakened to it and have asked Congress for the necessary legal sanction for the taking over by the United States Public Health Service of the sanitation of every community, district, state or section of the country in which industries related to war preparations are carried on. A measure conferring this authority passed the Senate and with important amendments was favorably reported by the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. This Senate Joint Resolution establishes and creates a Reserve Corps of the United States Public Health Service, just as the Medical Reserve Corps of the Army has been established, with its 22,000 civilian physicians mustered into the service of the Nation for the protection of the health of the soldiers. The Reserve Corps of the United States Public Health Service is to be composed of officers of state, county and municipal health organizations and other persons skilled in sanitary science. Appointments are to be made by the President for four years or during the continuance of the war. The Reserve Corps, under the direction of the Surgeon-General of the Public

Health Service, will work in coöperation with state, county and municipal health organizations and industrial establishments "toward the proper sanitation of ports and places within the United States or within the jurisdiction of the United States Government, including especially places in and near which industrial forces are or are to be mobilized."

How will this measure solve the problem?

First, it will place a National organization in charge of a job that is distinctly National in its scope. Second, it will give that organization, especially if certain additional clauses recommended by Surgeon-General Blue are incorporated in the measure, the power to go in and "clean-up" any part of the country just as the Public Health Service cleaned up San Francisco and New Orleans when bubonic plague threatened those ports, as it has cleaned up the areas adjacent to our military camps and cantonments. And, for fear I have not sufficiently demonstrated the importance of immediate action or the gravity of the menace to our industrial efficiency, let me tell a little more specifically of some of the ways in which disease is spreading almost uncontrolled.

In 1917 cerebro-spinal meningitis, which had formerly been confined to small local outbreaks, began to spread, with the movement of labor, until now it is spreading rapidly through all the industrial centres. I have referred to the 150 cases in one comparatively small city in 1917. Yet in the whole state of New York there were but 327 cases in 1916. Forty per cent. of those infected with this disease die; 60 per cent., if not given promptly the serum injection which is the most effective treatment yet available. "As fatal and as sudden in its killing power as bubonic plague," is the way an officer of the Public Health Service characterized it. Death within eight hours after the first symptoms are noted is the rule rather than the exception. It attacks able-bodied men, young men particularly. Case after case is recorded where a young man has gone home from work complaining of a bad cold and a headache and has died before the next noon from cerebro-spinal meningitis. It is exceedingly contagious, and is known to be spread by carriers who may themselves be in perfect health or suffering only from some of the minor manifestations which give immunity but do not prevent the communication of the disease to others.

"Cerebro-spinal meningitis is being spread rapidly throughout the country, on railroad trains, in the crowds at terminals waiting for trains—wherever people are involuntarily crowded together the menace exists. And every case comes from somewhere." That is the expression of one of the Public Health officers. Federal control over the reporting by physicians of communicable diseases, complete quarantine powers that can cross state lines at will, would keep the actual and potential carriers of this dreadful disease from moving freely about the country, spreading pestilence as they go.

What threatened, in the summer of 1916, to become a nation-wide epidemic of infantile paralysis, or poliomyelitis, started in New York City. It was due to the coöperation of the United States Public Health Service with the local authorities of New York and the adjacent states that the disease was kept within bounds and efficient quarantine regulations established and enforced. Twenty thousand children were infected in the epidemic area; 9,023 in New York City alone, with a high percentage of mortality. Conditions are ripe for another outbreak of this disease. Two years ago the local authorities recognized the menace and accepted the Secretary of the Treasury's offer of the services of the Public Health Service. This year there is a different set of local authorities. Without their invitation the Public Health Service cannot now intervene. Under the resolution now pending New York could be protected against the introduction of infantile paralysis from the outside even if its officials refused to ask for help, and the rest of the country could be protected against another outbreak of this disease originating in New York.

We think of measles as a children's disease, because in the older and more thickly settled communities "everybody" has measles in infancy, gets over it, usually without complications, and is thereafter immune. But the process of the selective draft has brought together from the farthest outlying regions thousands of young men whose youthful isolation has been such that they have never been exposed to measles. They are as susceptible to infection as were the Fiji Islanders, one-quarter of whom died of measles in three months when the disease was first introduced there in 1875, or as the Indians of New England, who died from the same disease, brought to them by the Pilgrim Fathers. In the first

week in January, 1918, there were 1,723 new cases of measles reported from the National Guard camps and the National Army cantonments. The soldiers have picked it up on their way to camp, and through them it has spread to the civil population. Measles can be checked, possibly stamped out, by effective isolation and quarantine measures, such as local authorities are seldom in a position to apply.

Pneumonia, both as a sequel of measles and "on its own" has proved a scourge of almost as great proportions in the Army camps. Its prevalence in the industrial centres —indicated only by the number of deaths attributed to it, since the disease itself is in most states not in the "reportable" list—is rapidly forcing the public health authorities to the point of insisting that pneumonia shall be regarded as a communicable disease and reported, quarantined against and isolated accordingly. During the winter just past, the ravages of this disease in the important industrial centres have been among the most potent factors in lowering factory output.

It is not merely protection against these and other directly communicable diseases, like diphtheria, tuberculosis, scarlet fever, and trachoma—which, in passing, is spreading rather rapidly in some sections of America, is extremely contagious and if unchecked results in total blindness—that the powers of the Public Health Reserve will be directed, but against the transplantation of the endemic or localized diseases. Most dangerous of these is malaria, a serious handicap to the economic efficiency of labor in the South, and which, through the movement of labor to the North, tempted by higher wages, is being transplanted into virgin soil. Wherever the anopheles mosquito has its habitat, malaria may become endemic, since its transmission from individual to individual is through the agency of this particular species of insect. Both shores of Long Island Sound, bordering on which is the territory of the New England munitions plants, are now distinctly malarial, thanks to the introduction of the disease in very recent times and the presence of ideal breeding-grounds for the anopheles mosquito. In the Lake region, where Negro labor from the South has been pouring in great volumes, to work in the automobile and munitions plants, malaria is gaining a foothold for the first time, and spreading rapidly.

Yet there is no disease more easy to control, even to stamp out, provided authority somewhat beyond that of local boards exists and a reasonable amount of money be available. In one district where the Public Health Service had only $10,000 at its command to work with, the breeding places of the mosquitoes were drained and the district rendered practically immune, whereas there had been an average of 2,000 cases of the disease annually. And the effect upon labor efficiency of this sort of preventive sanitation is illustrated by the record of the work of the Service at Electric Mills, Miss., a lumber town in which 95 per cent. of all illness was formerly due to malaria. When the Service undertook to clean up the town, it was ascertained that nearly 12 per cent. of the workers at the lumber plant were so infected as to be incapacitated a considerable part of the time. By the following spring less than 4 per cent. of the workers were suffering from malaria and the general health of the entire population was greatly improved.

There has been developed definite evidence of the transplantation of the hookworm from the South into certain regions of the North. Typhoid is being carried from one section to another all over the United States, and in the absence of efficient local regulation of food and milk supplies its spread cannot be checked. Virulent smallpox has been epidemic for months in some of the most important industrial centres, and is spreading. What to-morrow may bring forth in the way of new epidemics, new assaults upon the efficiency of labor, no one can now foresee.

It is just as much the Government's duty to keep the industrial army fit as it is to sustain the fighting forces in the field. It is just as much our war—this war on diseases that threaten our efficiency in the greater war on the Mad Dog of Europe—as is the conflict raging overseas. We have the weapons at hand with which to fight, in the scientific knowledge and experience of the Public Health Service. We have the army ready to mobilize, in the state and municipal public health services. We have the General ready to take command, in the person of Rupert Blue. All that is lacking is authority for the mobilization of this force —orders for it to take the field. That rests with Congress. The passage of Senate Joint Resolution No. 63 will start the great fight against disease and death.

WHAT RUSSIA'S SURRENDER MEANS TO US

A Longer War Because Germany Can Get Food and Coal From the Ukraine—Effects on Our Peace Aims—Why We Must Not Falter in Our Struggle to Make Our Future Safe From Teutonic Domination

BY

J. B. W. GARDINER

RUSSIA, following strictly her historical precedents, has incontinently forsaken her allies, who, it will be remembered, are fighting her battles as well as their own, and made peace.

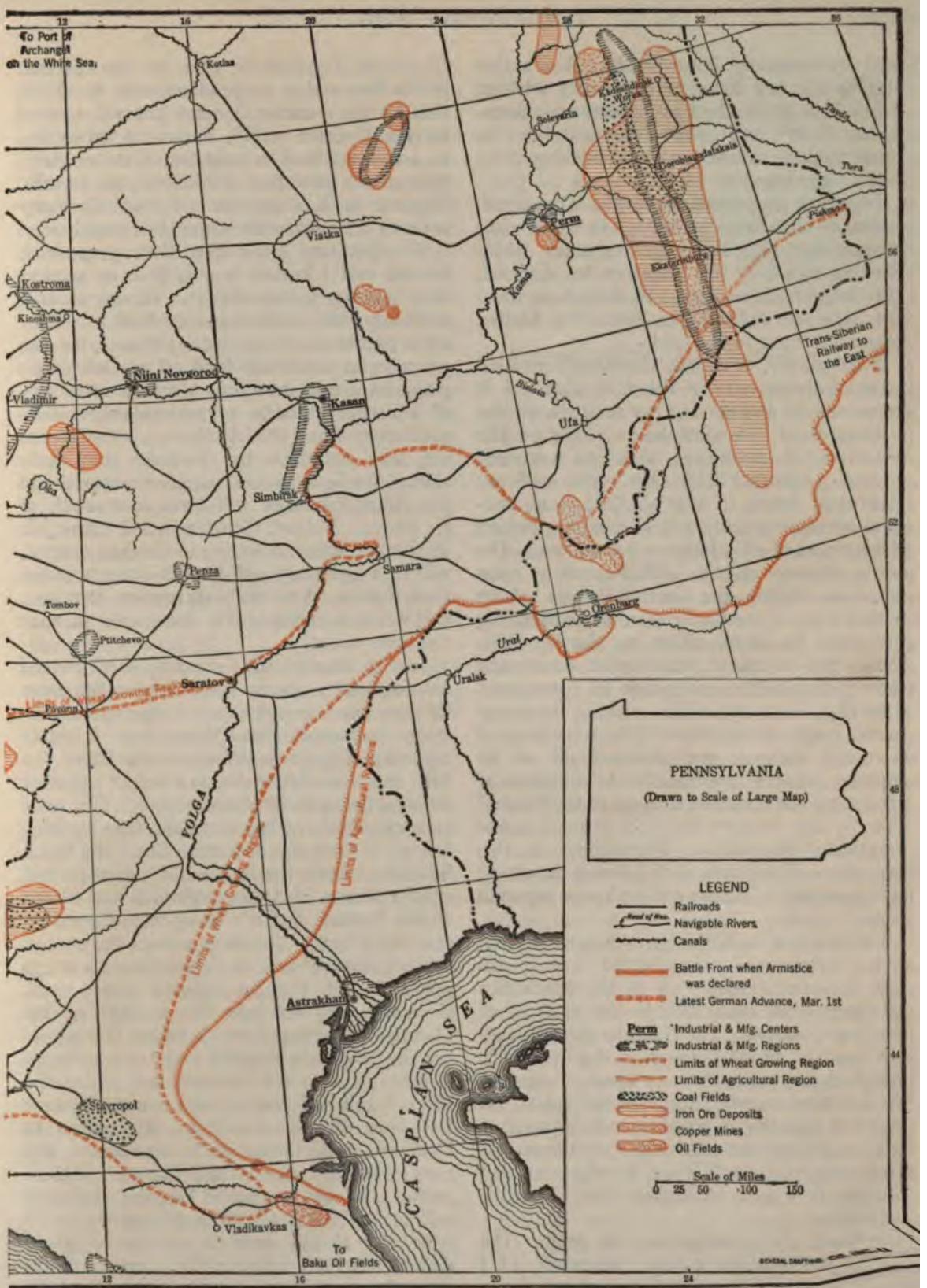
What does this mean to Germany—to the Allies? How will it affect the terms of peace between the Central Powers and the Entente? These are vital questions, pregnant with importance.

The military questions thus opened up are many and divergent. Nothing more will be attempted in this article than to sketch the more prominent. The first has to do with men. In the latter part of January, the last occasion on which we had definite data, Germany had in the field in Europe—that is in France, Italy, and Russia—230 divisions of troops. Of these, 175 divisions were on the French front, 51 in Russia, and 4 in Italy. The transfer of troops from the Russian front, to France was already under way—had been, in fact, for several months. Up to this time, however, no attempt had been made to transfer large bodies as complete units. The conferences at Brest-Litovsk showed apparently irreconcilable differences—an agreement seemed far off. The Russians had indicated an intention of carrying out their peace programme or of continuing to fight. To denude the Russian front of troops then was, under the circumstances, a proceeding too dangerous to attempt. The ability of the Russians to fight was, however, admittedly seriously impaired through shortage of military supplies and food, and because of poor transportation. But at least a strong guard for the lines was necessary. Accordingly the 62 divisions were being picked over, the best men between the ages of 19 and 35 were drawn out and these were sent west either to fill up gaps in existing units or to form new divisions. This situation is not even yet totally changed. The necessity of a guard in Russia still exists. Troops are still needed for police duty and it will therefore probably be necessary to hold a certain number of troops at important centres from which they can be readily shipped to any points where local disturbances may occur. Some of the force now on the Russian front will, of course, be available for service in France and Italy as soon as transport can be had. This is, however, far from being as simple as it would appear on the surface. We speak of transferring large bodies of troops from the heart of European Russia to the front in France as if the Germans were in possession of a magic carpet through the medium of whose mysterious power thousands of men with their equipment can be wafted over these hundreds of miles in an hour's time. The Germans, however, are still dependent on railroads. Obviously, no chain is stronger than its weakest link, and the limiting element in this transfer of troops is the railroad system of Russia, a system notoriously weak and inadequate. It is true that we need consider only that portion of the Russian system which has been in German hands and German control since December, 1915. The Germans have, of course, improved it somewhat and have perfected it as far as lay in their power. But it is also true that the number of through lines running from east to west is small, and it is this east and west trackage which fixes the limit on troop transport. To move an army of 40,000 men with its full quota of artillery and general impedimenta requires 110 continental railroad trains. It demands plentiful sidings, excellent terminal facilities, every advantage for loading and unloading. While all these are probably found in the excellent military railroads of Germany, they are conspicuous for their absence in Russia, and Russia, not Germany, must be the gauge.

But the Russian collapse cannot be capital-

RUSSIA AND THE RESOURCES GERMANY—

The two battle lines enclose the area occupied by German troops while various peace negotiations on the basis of no annexations were being discussed. The important industrial centres of Ukraine, although not served by many—



—MEANS TO ORGANIZE FOR HER OWN BENEFIT

—railroads, will have little difficulty in delivering what supplies they may have to the Central Powers becau
excellent water route through the Black Sea and the Danube River

ized by Germany immediately. Any action this spring will have to be fought without much help from the East, and the reinforcements from the Russian front will later be offset to some extent by the increasing numbers of our troops.

In either case Germany works at a disadvantage—the first negative, in that she cannot use the increased resources which Russian treachery has placed at her disposal; the second positive, in that the longer she waits the stronger will be the force the United States will have in the field.

Strategically, of course, Germany's position is much improved by the fact that she is permitted to concentrate her strength on the western front, whether she is acting on the offensive or defensive, with an excellent system of railroads behind her. Also, with her additional forces in the West, she can concentrate more quickly and in greater numbers either to ward off a blow or deliver one. The entire theory of the Allied strategy was based on circling the Central Powers about with a ring of steel and then by contracting the ring, to choke them to death. This theory has, of course, now broken down, and there remains only exhaustion as a means of defeating Germany. The war is, in every sense, a war of attrition. The starvation of Germany through the shutting off of all supplies, always questionable as a means of producing the complete collapse of the Central Powers, has through Russia's action become practically impossible. Particularly is this true through the action of Ukraine in acting independently of Russia and making a separate peace.

Ukraine has made claim to a wide stretch of territory from Russian Poland to the Black Sea, including, indeed, all of the Black Sea provinces from Bessarabia to the territory of the Don Cossacks. The claim to this territory has brought about a two-fold dispute. The Polish elements, on the one hand, claim that the Ukraine country does not extend so far west and that the proposed boundary therefore bites deeply into what is really Polish territory. The Bolsheviki, on the other hand, claim that Ukraine is a part of Russia, that Russia is indivisible.

Look at the situation on the map. The territory of Ukraine extends eastward, as I have said, to the western boundary of the Don Cossack country. Practically the full length of Ukraine is east of the present battle line and is perpendicular to it. With this territory under German control, opened to the German army, Russia is powerless in a military way to hold any of the country, west of the meridian of Moscow, six months. The left flank of the line is turned; Germany is far in their rear and across their supply line.

The Germans know that their peace with Russia and Ukraine is only just as good as their military force makes it. Having secured their advantage they mean to hold it. They have put their troops into Ukraine, for the purpose, so expressed (and all of Germany's purposes are expressed in terms of altruism), of assisting Ukraine to maintain her independence. But if the Ukrainians, with German aid, can maintain the position they have taken, the German food supply is assured and the Allied blockade will have lost much of its power. Poland, Courlands, and Lithuania in German hands, Ukraine in German control, will feed Germany and Austria—they will not feed Russia. And with starvation rampant, still worse conditions are inevitable in that unhappy country.

Just to what extent Germany, hard pressed for food, can obtain immediate relief from Ukraine no one can say. It has been generally supposed that there was a great quantity of grain in storage in the Black Sea belt, an accumulation due to a lack of sufficient transportation facilities to move it. This same lack may prevent the Germans from making full use of their new treasure. But if the Black Sea fleet follows the Bolsheviki lead there will exist a means of transport which was closed to the Entente but is now open to Germany, the Black Sea. Ukraine possesses the port of Odessa from which, in ante-bellum days, 70 per cent. of Russian exports were made. Germany also controls the mouths of the Danube by means of which barges of supplies can be sent into Austria and from there to Germany. This will discount, in a degree, the lack of railroad transportation and, if there has been this accumulation of supplies in Ukraine, will immediately ameliorate the food situation in the Central Powers. If there are no available supplies in Ukraine, Germany will get nothing until the next harvest.

It has always been a matter of grave doubt, however, whether Germany could be starved into defeat in any event. All of the authoritative testimony we have received has

seemed to discount this possibility. The German per capita food consumption has always been greater than that of any other people of the world. They can well afford to reduce this consumption and, while they may be forced into a situation where it is necessary, they can still sustain life, and, to a certain point, health. But, in any event, if the present status can be maintained, with the single exception of fats, the German food shortage will be by the next harvest, completely made up from the Ukrainian larder. The gain from the rest of Russia, other than that from the occupied provinces which have been in German hands since 1915, may be dismissed. The entire situation is too uncertain, too chaotic, to permit an opinion. The changes have been so rapid, so kaleidoscopic, that any opinion expressed now would probably have to be changed before this article appears in print.

We may, therefore, as a result of all this, draw the following positive conclusions.

1. Germany can draw from Russia a certain proportion of her forces for service in the west, but not all.

2. In addition to the Russian provinces already occupied, Germany can, should she so desire, occupy the territory west of the Moscow meridian, almost without fighting.

3. Ukraine is practically a German vassal state.

4. The possibility of starving Germany has gone, if the present status can be maintained until after the next harvest.

So much for the present effect of Russia's peace—of the effect on the Great War as a military conception. What effect will it have on the peace terms, or, what is the same thing, on the future peace of the world? This is, after all, the important thing. Whether the war lasts one or even two years longer is, after all, relatively unimportant, sad and disastrous as the effects of such prolongation may be. We went to war in self defense, because we were attacked on land and sea by German paid agents, because our territorial integrity and our national sovereignty were conspired against and threatened. But there is something more at stake, something which, blind as we were for nearly three years, we had to recognize. This war is a crusade of civilization against barbarism, of Christianity against atheism. Those things are at stake which are bigger, more important than any man, any people, any government. Shall chivalry, decency, and right rule the world, or shall it be ruled by brute force, by materialism, by barbaric savagery? The answer to this determines the nature of our battle, and as long as we attain the end that the decent thinking world demands, Russia's action is of minor consideration. The end is the thing, even though we must regard the means necessary to attain it.

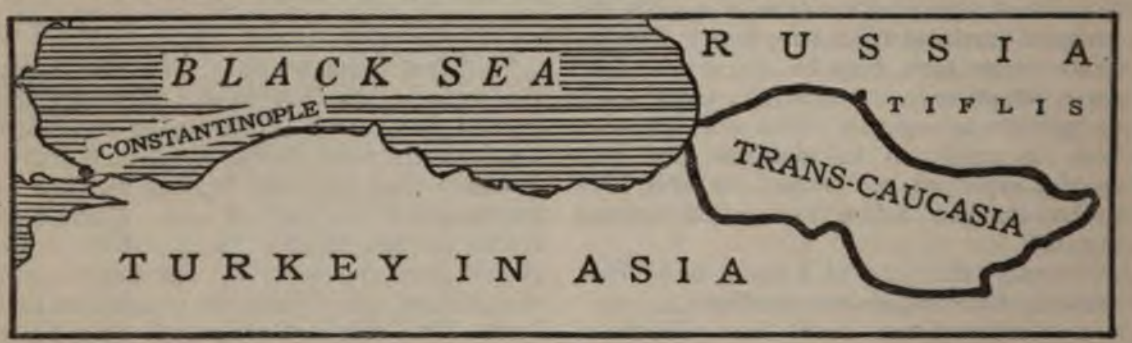
Victory was necessary before Russia surrendered; it is more necessary now than ever.

THE NECESSITY OF DEFEATING GERMANY

To defeat Germany, to sit with her, not at the council table but in her camp on the field of battle and dictate to her there just how and where she shall live, will be to follow a course that will cost beyond measure in money and in the lives of men. Most of us realize it; and because we do realize it we shrink from the suffering and the anguish that is involved. With that no one can find fault. This does not mean that we are not willing to carry on to the end. But there are amongst us some who, with a false idea of the demands of humanity, with a view only to the pangs of the present, are saying: "let us make peace now; and if war should come out of the future let the future fight it." It is true that on almost any basis a peace now would not be followed by further trouble for ten or twenty years. But after twenty years—what then?

In a recent issue of WORLD'S WORK I outlined some of the preparations Germany is even now making for another war—the destruction of Belgium, of northern France, and of Serbia; her efforts to increase her population. There is a wealth of evidence to show that such is Germany's plan. This being so, how is the plan affected by what has happened in Russia? In every way it makes Germany many times more dangerous. The occupied provinces of Poland, Courland and Lithuania, which Russia has ceded by treaty, have a population of about 20 million. These provinces include most of the industrial region, much of the productive agricultural region. The population alone is staggering when we conceive of it turned to German uses. It is not available now, of course, any more than it has been for the past two years. No one is so unreasoning as to think that because Russia has foolishly and craven

surrendered this vast territory to Germany, that its population can be immediately turned to meet a German emergency. But we are not concerned with the present. We are considering twenty years after. Give Germany these twenty years to develop this wonderfully rich country between the Baltic and the Black Sea, and what will happen? We have seen it everywhere in the world—on the western as well as the eastern continents. German propaganda—vicious, sinister—will reach into every nook and cranny. German spies will be in every village, in every community, and will sit at every council table. An army will be raised and trained by German officers, equipped by German factories. Gradually every industry, the spirit and soul of the entire country will be brought under German domination. German diplomacy, always seeking to devour, will draw into agreements, based on Germany's needs, whatever government this territory may assume—agreements that German domination will enforce. In every respect Germany will have acquired a rich and potentially powerful vassal—just as truly a vassal as Turkey is to-day. But this is not all—nor half. Ukraine has also made a German peace and has consequently come under German control. Here we have a new state, half again as large as Germany, with a population of 28,000,000.



THE TERRITORY CEDED TO TURKEY

A part of Trans-Caucasia lying south of Tiflis and west of the Baku oilfields, has been ceded to Turkey by the Bolshevik Government. The valuable oilfields around Baku—one of the richest oil producing regions in the world—still remain in Russian hands

WHAT GERMANY MAY GAIN

I have mentioned a few of the things this new state possessed, a few of the contributions that she can make to Germany's cause—wheat, grain, cattle, almost every food necessary to an army, petroleum, coal, iron. It is truly a war treasure house.

Therefore, if Germany refrains from extending her battle lines beyond this easternmost limit, but retains her hold on the throat of Ukraine, Germany has, in fact, whatever we may say in theory, added to her own territory another twice as large, with a population of 50,000,000 souls to be converted to the German process and to be trained in the German fashion for war. Are we going to let her "get away with it"? Or are we going to insist upon the evacuation of all Russian territory, and upon the erection of an independent Polish state, to include territory inhabitated by Polish populations, guaranteeing such a state political and economical independence? Are we going to push Germany back behind the Rhine on the west and the Oder on the east, forcing her to disgorge not only what she has taken in this war but what she has swallowed through former conquest? Or are we going to lose our ardor for the future peace of the world in an ignoble bargain—concessions in the East for concessions in the West—giving way to a vain opportunism because we have not the courage to suffer in the present so that future generations may breathe and live without Teutonic sanction? Have we proved learned doctors in our diagnosis of the world's troubles only to be quacks and charlatans in our therapeutics?

Never was the Allied cause in such grave danger—danger of yielding to German importunities, German wiles and cunning. We shall be offered a tempting bait—Belgium and France for disloyal Russia—but the bait will conceal a terrible barb, and, once we are hooked, every Junker in Berlin, every pan-German in the Teutonic Empire will sing a paean of victory.

ECONOMY IN THE GRAND FLEET

Eliminating Waste and Improving the Physical Condition of the Men of the British Navy—"Boney Joe's" Efforts to Save

BY

LEWIS R. FREEMAN

THE wind had been whistling raw and cold through the foretop, from where I had been watching the night target practice, and my appetite was whetted to a razor edge by the time the game was over and the ship was again at anchor.

"I'm as hungry as a shark myself," said the Gunnery Commander, "but never mind, we'll have a good snack of supper just as soon as we climb down and get out of these Arctic togs."

Five minutes later, the first of a dozen officers who stamped in as fast as their duties were over, we were seated at one of the Ward Room tables. "Would you rather have ham or sardine sandwiches?" some one asked. "Both!" I unblushingly replied, "unless the sardines are as large as whales."

A waiter came hurrying through the door in answer to the ring, buttoning his coat as though he had been surprised by an unexpected summons. "A couple of plates of ham and sardine sandwiches and beer all round," was the laconic but comprehensive order.

The old "Marine" smiled deprecatingly, as one who has unpleasant news to impart. "Sorry, sir," he said addressing the Commander, "but the day's bread was finished at dinner, sir, an' the 'am we 'ad for breakfast was all we can 'ave to-day, sir."

And then the wonderful thing happened. I had expected the howl of a Roman stage mob to greet the disappointing announcement, but it was only the Commander's voice that was heard, speaking quietly as he rose from the table. "Very well, Jenkins," he said; "bring us some hot cocoa in the smoking room. A good hot drink's the best thing for a night like this anyway."

Over steaming cups of the most nutritious and sustaining of drinks, the Commander told me, quite briefly and casually, something of what had been done on his ship (which was thoroughly typical of the other units of the Grand Fleet) to cut down the unnecessary consumption of food.

"The old idea," he said, "that a fighting man ought to be stuffed like a prize steer was discredited by experience long ago, but it took the war to jar us into putting that experience (like so many other things) into practice. Any man living a non-sedentary life will make a very brave attempt to eat all the food that is put before him, but that by no means proves that he needs it. If he is working hard enough in the open air the surplus over his normal requirement doesn't do him any harm, and so there wasn't much point in keeping it away from him as long as there was food to waste all over the world. But when the world's surplus began to be turned into a deficit by the war, the opportunity arose to kill two birds with one stone—to save food and to improve the health of the men. I am glad to say that we have been able to do both, and that, moreover, with the hearty concurrence of everyone concerned, both officers and men. It's the same kind of thing that could be done with the civil population if only they were subject to the same control as the Navy. Perhaps, if an adequate rationing scheme can be devised, this will be accomplished.

"Generally speaking," he continued, "we have left the Navy ration just about as it was before the war, with the exception of those staples in which there is the worst shortage—bread, meat and potatoes. The latter could be relaxed upon now if we desired, as there is ample supply in sight; but—to save transport and because we are better off anyhow on our present ration—even that item will probably remain as it is. Indeed, great as the actual food-saving has been, a still more important benefit has been that to our health. There are several factors contributing to the fa that the personnel of the Grand Fleet has comparably the highest standard of ever maintained in so large a body of me

I am quite positive that by no means the least of these is the check that has been put on overeating by our food saving measures. Again, I am sure that the civil population would be equally benefited by similar restriction."

This incident occurred on the occasion of my first visit to the Grand Fleet in the late fall of last year, but it was not until my return nearly two months later that I had opportunity to gather anything further of the details of food economy. Then I learned that a strict rationing was only the first part of a scheme of which the second was a waste prevention campaign. Bread and meat were both further restricted, but to the improvement rather than the detriment of the already high health standard of the Fleet. The bread now served consists of one-eighth potato, one-sixth barley meal, and the remainder—but slightly more than two-thirds—of "standard" flour, which itself contains a high percentage of the whole wheat. The Fleet Paymaster of my ship, who outlined the scheme to me, said that the idea was to reduce waste to a minimum, both "coming" and "going." "We aim to put no more food on the tables of either the officers or men than they will eat up clean. 'Jack Spratt' and his wife are our models. We try to see that the 'platter' is 'licked clean.' But we don't stop there by any means. 'Jack Spratt,' so far as we have any information, must have thrown away the bones, even if he and the missus did lick the platter. We not only save the bones, but even go so far as to skim the grease off the dish-water the platter is washed in. If you'll run over this report here you'll understand the 'fade-away' expression on the faces of the gulls that used to fatten on the waste of the Grand Fleet. It is merely a tabulated summary of a week's saving of the things which used to go down the chutes for the birds and the fishes."

There were numbers running to four and five figures in the table, most of them referring to the pounds of various refuse which had been collected and shipped for conversion into glycerine and other useful and valuable products. Without giving figures which might be "useful or heartening to the enemy," I will probably be permitted to state that the various headings were the following: Drippings, Fat Meat, Bones, Waste Paper, Bottles and Jars, Discarded Clothing, Lead Seals, Mail Bags and Tins. Several of the items would have run to substantial figures even in tons, and the money received for them at even the nominal prices paid by the contractor aggregated many thousands of pounds.

"You will now understand," continued the Fleet Paymaster, "just how it made us feel when we read in a London paper a few days ago a statement to the effect that *if* the Navy had gone in for waste-saving in the same way the Army had, a certain total would have been greatly increased. Since we've been going into this sort of thing heart and soul for more than a year, and since it is far easier to control waste on a ship (where you have absolute control of all the in-comings and out-goings) than on land, you can imagine that reading that sort of 'tosh' makes us feel—well, about as we do when we try to digest the wisdom of the 'Naval Strategic Writers' of the type that want to put the Grand Fleet on wheels and send it to Berlin." Glancing quickly through the figures under the headings opposite the various ships of our squadron I noticed at once that there were considerable variations in their savings, and, knowing that the number of men did not vary materially on any of them, I asked the reason why the Flagship, for instance, with less than half the weight of "Bones" to her credit than "Ourself," was still able to put by something like 50 per cent. more "Drippings."

"It will probably be because we haven't yet 'standardized' our methods throughout the Fleet," replied the Paymaster; "because different ships may have different ways of going about the job. Of these particular items you have mentioned, perhaps we can find out something by talking to Mr. C——, the Warrant Officer who has charge of the collection of by-products."

Mr. C——, who was plainly an enthusiast, launched on to the subject with eagerness.

"I've been intending to explain that matter of the drippings to you, sir," he said, addressing the Fleet Paymaster, "for the figures certainly have the look of not doing us justice. Fact is, though, that the only reason we've run behind the Flagship on this count is because I have been encouraging the Messes to carry food-saving one stage farther by using the clean grease—the skimmings from their soup and the water their meat is boiled in—instead of margarine. With a little pepper and salt, most of them like it better even than butter, and of course they can use it much more free.

And since dripping is worth much more for food than it ever can be to make up into soap or explosives, I figure I'm on the right track, even if it does give the *Lucifer* and the *Mephistopheles* a chance to head us in the 'grease' column. I must admit though, sir, that they've both been gaining a few pounds of second quality stuff by rigging 'traps'—settling tubs at the bottoms of their chutes—in which they catch any grease that has got away from them in the galley. I'll be beating them at that game before long, though, for I'm putting in settling tubs at both top and bottom, with a strainer in between.

"As for the 'Bones,'" he went on, turning to me, "that's largely 'personality.' 'Boney Joe,' my chief assistant, is perhaps more largely responsible than any one else for the fact that we are not only the champion 'bone-collecting' ship of the Squadron, but also head the list with 'Bottles and Jars' and 'Empty Tins.' With 'Waste Paper' there's no use competing with the Flagships, for they come in for an even heavier bombardment of that kind of stuff from the Admiralty than we do; and as for 'Discarded Clothing,' I feel that a place at the bottom of the column would be more likely to indicate economical management than one at the top. But the things that represent a sheer saving, the things that used to be thrown away right along—they're what it's worth while piling up by every means we can, and they're the ones I want to keep heading the columns with. And, as I said before, 'Boney Joe' is the main feature of the show on this score. If you like, I will arrange it so that you can do his morning round with him to-morrow."

I accepted the offer with alacrity, for I had heard, or heard of, "Boney Joe" on several occasions already, but without once getting my eyes on him. The first time was when, in order to avoid a howling blizzard which was sweeping the decks, I endeavored to make my way forward to the ladders leading up to my cabin under the bridge by threading the mazes of the mess deck. Bent almost double to keep from butting the low swung hammocks, I tripped the more easily over a box of empty tins, and fell with one arm sousing elbow-deep into what proved to be a tub of "frozen" grease. Surveying the draggled cuff of my jacket in the morning, my servant pronounced his verdict without a moment's hesitation.

"Tumblin' into 'Boney Joe's' pickin's last night, sir, was you?" he said with a grin; "we's allus doin' it oursel's."

On a number of other occasions certain sirenical notes which came floating up to my cabin from the mess deck were variously ascribed to "Boney Joe' doin' 'is rounds," "'Boney Joe' cadgin' for grease," and "'Boney Joe' singin' 'is 'Mornin' 'Ate.'" I had several pictures of "Boney Joe" in my mind, but not one of them came near to fitting the handsome, strongly-built and thoroughly sailorly man-o'-war's-man whom Mr. C—— introduced to me as the bearer of that storied name on the following morning. Only a sort of scalawag twinkle in his eye revealed him as a man who liked his little joke.

"If you don't mind, sir," he said saluting, "we'll clean up these last two flats, an' then we'll be clear to push along up to my 'bonatorium' an' have a bit o' a yarn."

Working with neatness and dispatch, "Joe" and his half dozen assistants made rapid progress with their clean-up. "Pick-uppy" as the job was, everything was really in admirable order. Bones, papers, tins, bottles and grease—each had its separate receptacle. The grease was already hardening in large cans: the other refuse was in boxes or tubs. In each mess was one small tub with a few sad bits of assorted food in the bottom. Unable to classify this, I asked 'Joe' what orphan asylum these crumbs were intended for.

"Not for no orphan 'sylum, sir," he replied with an appreciative grin; "only for the piggery. We don't keep no pigs oursel's, sir, but the A'miral on the 'X. Y. Z.' does, an' we all 'elps wi' wot we kin spare. They sends round a drifter tu pick up the leavin's ev'ry day or two, but Lor' bless yu, ther' ain't no leavin's since we got our by-producks macheen a'workin'. If the rest o' the ships don't dish out no more pig feed an' what we does, the 'X. Y. Z.'s' live stock'll be gettin' so thin they'll blow away one o' these days. This ain't really no place fer pigs and gulls no more, sir."

Considerable as the accumulation was, it was loosely sacked in a few minutes, after which it was carried forward to the hold where the repacking for shipment was carried on. This consisted largely of protecting the bottles with straw, forcing small tins inside of large ones, pouring the grease into larger cans and putting the bones into stronger sacks. "Joe" said that he called the place his "bon

torium" partly because bones formed the largest and most valuable item of shipment, but principally because they were his "favrut produck," the one he took the most pride in collecting. Even the few days' accumulation of refuse on hand was of huge bulk. I saw at once how important a work was being carried on, and had no envy for the pig or the gull whose lot it was to live on what is now thrown away by the Grand Fleet.

Mr. C—— was called away at this juncture, and, left cock of his own dunghill, "Boney Joe" became at once his own natural self. The sailorly man-o-war's-man disappeared in an instant and only one of the drollest characters in the British Navy remained behind.

"I'll be showin' yu 'ow I goes out tu drum up me bone trade," he said, throwing an empty sack over his shoulder and replacing his beribboned cap with a crumpled velour of the Hombourg type. "Found it in me pickin's; spose it kum from one o' the orficers," he added parenthetically, giving the queer headpiece a proprietary pat with his free hand. "Now 'ere's wot I sing tu 'em. Made it up mysel', too."

With a quick double-shuffle he began footing it up and down the junk-cluttered deck of the "bonatorium," singing in a voice which cut the air like the whine of the wind through the radio aerials.

"'Eave out all yer dead an' dyin,
'Eave out all yer bones an' fat,
'Eave out the stiff o' 'Littl' Willie,'
An' I'll give yu my 'at."

"Course I don't reely give 'em the 'at, sir," explained the singer, stopping for a moment in his march. "Th' 'at's only bait. But, jest th' same, they 'eaves out the bones an' fat all right. Last night they 'eaved a bone jest back o' me ear. Safest way's fer four o' us tu form a holler square an' so pertect the flanks, so tu speak. Nother thing. Yu 'eard me sing ''Eave out 'Littl' Willie' jest now? Wull, most times I sings it ''Eave out th' Kaisur's dotter,' meanin' Queen Sophy o' Greece, cose she's a rum un fer fair. But knowin' that in th' Ward Room it warn't th' custim tu menshun a lydy's nyme in publick like, I brings in Willie insted."

"But why celebrate the young Hohenzollern in song at all?" I asked in perplexity. "I don't quite trace the connection between the 'dead and dying,' and 'bones and fat' and the — the earthly remains of 'Little Willie.'"

"I ain't celebratin' 'em," explained "Joe;" "I'm abominatin' 'em, so tu speak. My refrunce is tu the dead an' dyin' sojers th' Kaisur cooks up tu make glysreen frum. I brings in Sophy an' Willie jest tu make 'em feel how they'd like it if 'twas their turn next."

Having cleared up this point, "Joe" began to shuffle again. "Nother thing I sing 'em is th' follerin'," he said.

"'Eave out all yure bones, bottles, tins, fats, boots and shoes,
If yu don't 'eave out you'll be sure to lose—
Cose then I'll pinch th' 'ull blinkin' lot mesel'!"

"An' tyke it frum me, I does pinch 'em too," he added, stopping in front of me again. "Likewise, any other reefoose—like ov'ralls an' such left lyin' roun' wher' it hadn't ought tu be. Sum times they gets 'em back, an' sum times they duzen't. Serves 'em jolly well rite fer bein' keerless."

At this juncture I began to search my pockets for a piece of paper upon which to jot down the burden of "Joe's" cries.

"Never mind, sir," he said cheerily as my hands came up empty, "ther's allus whatev'r yure needin' in th' stayshunary line in my waste paper dupartment."

He threw back the cover of a huge box, and at almost the first grab brought up a scented sheet of pink note paper which—except where some one had written "Dear Kitty—Just a line to tell you I am in the pink and hoping—" followed by a blot, and a grease-spot in the middle—was just as good as new.

"This dupartment is both my joy an' my sorrer," said "Joe" pensively, digging his arm deep into the soft depths. "I salves the story o' 'Arseen Lupin' an' a Gieves joolry catalog—both compleet—this mornin', an' I've laid by some 'Merican papers (Pittsburg, I b'leeve) fer yu, sir. But th' tantylysin thing about it is what's allus missin'. Jest look at this, fer instance, sir," and he fished a greasy fragment of paper from a pocket of his overall and handed it to me. In a highly appropriate "atmosphere"—with the scent of fat to starboard, the fragrance of bones to port, and the ineffable odours of the "crumbs" grudgingly allotted to the "X. Y. Z.'s" piggery rising from the depths of the tub on the rim

of which I sat—I read the following, just this and no word more:

A SWEET SMELLING SAVOUR

I

Some rave about the subtle scents of Araby and Ind,
Of camphor and of ambergris, of sandal-wood and musk,
The poet chants the praises of the violet and the rose,
And stately lilies standing by the dew-drenched lawn at dusk.

II

My lady loves the lavender with, slender . . .
The lover loves whatever perfume . . .
The cow-slips simple fragrance . . .
The pine-wood's spicy . . .

III

But, far beyond all . . .
The smell of . . .
. . . . . ,

"It fair to druv me crazy huntin' fer that missin' peece," said "Joe" with a hurt sort of "'twas-ever-thus" expression in his eyes; "an' I felt it espeshul, sir, becus I writes po'try and songs a bit mysel'. 'E was jest workin' up tu a climacks, an' I'm wondern' all th' time what it wuz that smelt better'n 'ambygris' an' musk an' roses an' lilies an' all the rest. D'yu spose, sir, it cud a bin that stuff they put in brilyantin?" and he ran stubby fingers through his hair in an apparent endeavor to waft me a whiff of the odor which had been there the Sunday before the last coaling.

A frivolous impulse prompted me to bid him ask the "X. Y. Z.'s" pigs, but the look in his eyes sobered me, and I said I felt sure it must have been "Attar of Roses," as that was said to be the most expensive of all perfumes.

"Joe" returned the fragment to his pocket, a brooding shadow sitting on his brow. "Ther' wuz only one thing ever fussed me more'n not locatin' th' end o' that pome, sir," he said sadly, beginning to fumble anew, "and that wuz this."

The greasy fragment which he unfolded and handed to me barely hung together at the blackened creases, but—well, no one who has ever watched Ward Room firelight throw its rosy glow over the pinky pages of *La Vie Parisienne* will ever fail to recognize the flimsiest wisp of it blowing before a winter gale.

"That's th' wrong side, sir," said "Joe" as I took the sheet tenderly and began to puzzle my way through a chart which was averred to be some sort of barometer of the emotions. "Scuse me, sir, but this is th' way. No, not like that. You've got 'er upside down. Ther', *that's* 'er, or ruther wot's left o' 'er. Now wot d'yu think o' that fer tough luck?"

It had been just the usual *La Vie* picture, nothing more or nothing less. A frou-frou of *lingerie*, a flash or two of pink cuticle, and—the rest was torn away.

"Wot makes it 'arder tu bear," said "Joe" mournfully, "is th' fack that it ain't offen that th' orficers let th' pictur' pages drift this far forrard th' Ward Room. I 'ad picked up th' 'parly-voo' pages offen enuf, but a pictur', nary a one. An' now w'en this one comes, it's ripped off jest when it 'gins tu get good. Spose sum orficer, tryin' tu save matches, used th' best o' 'er tu lite 'is pipe wi'."

I think that I did quite the kindest thing possible under the circumstances when I patted "Joe" sympathetically on the shoulder and assured him that, so far as my not inconsiderable experience with *La Vie* pictures went, there was nothing to indicate that this one "got any better" on the missing fragment, and that I felt quite confident that "th' best o' 'er" had *not* gone to light an "orficer's pipe."

Apparently a good deal cheered, "Joe" returned lightsomely to "shop," and told me with much gusto of a great find he had had that morning in the shape of an "arf pound o' solid beef" hidden away in the angle of a bone. His first impulse, he said, had been to report the careless cook to the Fleet Paymaster, but on second thought he had decided to say nothing and contribute the morsel as "extra ration" to his Mess.

"That way," he said philosophically, "I'll stop th' waste jest the same, an' yet won't start a ructshun wi' one o' me colleegs that mite throw me collectin' macheenry out o' order. Nuthin' like cuttin' down fricshun in this 'ere econ'my game."

There is a "Boney Joe" on every ship of the British Navy to-day. Could not we do with a few more of him in civil life as the time draws near when the hope of victory more and more on personal economy universal saving?

INTRODUCTORY ARTICLE

A Character Sketch of the Man Who Saw the Pan-German Plot Unfold in Turkey Through the Intrigues of the Turkish Usurpers and the German Diplomats

BY

BURTON J. HENDRICK

Mr. Hendrick, a member of the editorial staff of the WORLD'S WORK, *has prepared this preliminary article about the American business man who was our ambassador at the court of the Sultan, as an introduction to the series of articles by Mr. Morgenthau which will begin next month in the* WORLD'S WORK, *and which will give Mr. Morgenthau's experiences during the full years of his ambassadorship.*

"THE American people," said Mr. Henry Morgenthau, explaining why he had decided to tell what he had learned of the German system during his stay in Constantinople, "still require further evidence that Germany's offensive was not accidental manslaughter, but that it was murder in the first degree—that is, that it was premeditated. I do not want to be an accessory after the fact by having proof of this crime and not making it public. With the consent of our Government, I shall tell the public what I learned of the German crime in Constantinople where all the forces of this great iniquity were particularly in evidence.

"What I learned of Germany, Austria, and Turkey in Constantinople," continued Mr. Morgenthau, "convinces me of five fundamental facts.

"*First:* The German plan of world conquest (*weltmacht*)—and I have the evidence that it existed—was to ally with itself, as minor partners, all the forces of autocracy, and with this organization to stop the development of democracy in the world, for they realized that the continued successful demonstration of democratic rule and the evolution of constitutional monarchies must eventually destroy autocracy.

"*Second:* The inverse proposition is just as true. The continued existence in power of the self perpetuating group of monarchs, mostly interrelated, whose centre is in Ger-

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EX-AMBASSADOR HENRY MORGENTHAU

A militant democrat in American politics whose intimate view of German and Turkish autocracy in Constantinople convinced him that "the coexistence of democracy and autocracy in the world can never be anything better than an armed truce"

WHERE MR. MORGENTHAU BECAME A SUPPORTER OF PRESIDENT WILSON

At a dinner of the Free Synagogue in 1912, Mr. Morgenthau asked the then Governor of New Jersey: "Are you a candidate for the Presidency"? The answer was, "I know more about the United States than I do about New Jersey." From left to right the picture shows: Mr. Julius Rosenwald, now a member of the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defence, Judge Julian Mack, President Wilson, then governor of New Jersey, Mr. Morgenthau as president of the Free Synagogue, Senator Borah of Idaho, Ambassador Elkus, Mr. Morgenthau's successor at Constantinople, and Dr. L. K. Frankel

many, is a menace to democracy the world over, including the democracy of the United States.

"*Third:* The coexistence of democracy and autocracy can never be anything better than an armed truce. The principle of autocracy is as iniquitous as slavery, and must be abolished. If necessary, an entire generation, and most, if not all of our material wealth, must be plowed under to accomplish this.

"*Fourth:* Even if Germany was better prepared to fight for autocracy than we were to fight for our cause, we and our Allies have the ultimate power, the physical resources, and the strength of justice to conquer. And we must realize that our duty is not the negative duty of defense, but the positive duty of attacking and destroying the spirit of autocracy wherever it exists. There can be no compromise. Autocracy must be annihilated immediately, completely and forever, and at whatever cost. Let us who have tasted more of the blessings of liberty than all others be foremost in the last grand crusade to rid the world of liberty's arch enemy.

"*Fifth:* This enemy, Autocracy, controls and is sustained by the German Army. Until that support is destroyed autocracy will continue its aggression. There is no use mincing this matter. The German army must be completely defeated."

Mr. Morgenthau arrived in Constantinople as American Ambassador in November, 1913; he returned to America in the spring of 1916. Those twenty-six months represent the most interesting and momentous period in the history of this ancient capital since its capture by the Turks in 1453. In the following numbers of this magazine Mr. Morgenthau will publish the story of this period—a story which makes a substantial contribution to the history of the conflict in which the United States is now engaged. Americans who wish to know why their sons are being transformed into soldiers can look to this narrative of events in the minaretted city on the Bosphorus.

Mr. Morgenthau has the highest qualifications for this task. The man who will explain the inner workings of the German diplomatic system was himself born in Germany. Mr. Morgenthau's birthplace was Mannheim, in Baden; he was one of fourteen children, several of whom have had successful business careers in this country. The whole family came to the United States in 1866 when the Ambassador was ten years old. The motives that prompted Mr. Morgenthau's parents to immigrate were the same that sent to the United States such men as Carl Schurz, Abraham Jacobi, and the

AMBASSADOR MORGENTHAU IN PALESTINE
Learning at first hand the conditions in the country to which he was accredited

great majority of Germans who came here before 1870. By 1866 Prussian ideals and ambitions had already gained the ascendency in Germany: the wars with Denmark and Austria merely formed the preliminary acts to the drama which is now being played in Belgium, in Serbia, in Poland, and in Armenia. In Mr. Morgenthau's case German birth and an early childhood spent in Germany proved a good foundation on which to build a structure of sturdy Americanism, for Mr. Morgenthau shook off the hyphen years before the hyphen became a national and international issue. Long before the European war Mr. Morgenthau, although he speaks German fluently, would not permit a German-American newspaper to enter his house. Twenty years ago Mr. Heinrich Conried appealed to him to assist in establishing a great German speaking theatre in New York. The present Ambassador refused.

"New York is no place for a German speaking theatre or a German printed newspaper," he said. "There is room here for only one language and one people."

Mr. Morgenthau received his education in the New York public schools, in the College of the City of New York, and in the Columbia Law School. For twenty years he practised law, attaining sufficient prominence to be

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WAR—ONE OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF TURKEY

When Mr. Morgenthau reached Constantinople in 1913, Turkey had just finished three disastrous wars, a renewal of hostilities with Greece was imminent, and a reorganization of the army under German instruction was soon begun

associated with Elihu Root in the famous Hilton, Hughes & Co. assignment. All this time, however, he was engaging in the business at which he established the reputation of being something of a wizard—real estate. The rapidly developing city of New York naturally made a strong appeal to a man of his imagination. That compact parcel of real estate known as Manhattan Island had already made several of the greatest American fortunes—Astor, Goelet, Rheinlander and the like; and Mr. Morgenthau, in the early eighties began to operate with great profit to his associates and himself and great advantage to the city. For twenty years he was one of the outstanding figures. He was the conspicuous leader in building up Washington Heights and the Bronx; and dozens of the city's greatest buildings, including some of the largest office structures in the financial district and in the sections of retail trade, are the products of his initiative. Such a genius did Mr. Morgenthau develop in this department that the greatest figures in the financial world naturally gravitated to him for advice and coöperation. This business career culminated in 1899, with the organization of the Central Realty Bond and Trust Company, a corporation that brought Mr. Morgenthau to the front as a commanding figure in the ranks of Big Business. His directorate included many of the names which were then magic watch words in high finance.

Subsequent developments have led to the prevalent idea that this sort of an association could hardly furnish a healthy atmosphere for a soldier of democracy. Mr. Morgenthau's sojourn in this dark region, however, had important public consequences. His financial success was almost contemporaneous with the outbreak of what was, perhaps, the most sensational scandal in the financial world. Among the directors of Mr. Morgen-

POVERTY—ANOTHER CHARACTERISTIC OF TURKEY

Children of the Jewish poor in Constantinople being given the one meal a day which they received. Poverty, ignorance, and malnutrition are prevalent all over Turkey among all races—Turks, Kurds, Jews, and Armenians alike

thau's corporation was Mr. James Hazen Hyde, a recent Harvard graduate whose prominence as a financial figure was explained solely by the fortuitous fact that his father, Henry B. Hyde, had bequeathed him ownership of the majority stock of the Equitable Life Assurance Society. The astounding fact about this situation was that this majority stock, though its par value was little more than $50,000, made young Hyde—he was then under thirty—the absolute master of several hundreds of millions of policyholders' assets and gave him control of several large banks and trust companies. "My father willed me this company just as he willed me his horses," was the way in which Hyde described his position, and these words also fairly illustrate the sense of responsibility with which he managed his inheritance. About the year 1905 many things came to the surface which indicated that all things were not right with the Equitable; though its solvency was not questioned, there were circumstantial stories that great selfish financial powers were fighting for its control and that inside rings were profiting from their position as directors and officers to make profits at the expense of the policyholders. Young Hyde's ostentatious and reckless fashion of living in itself caused the widest distrust. Americans whose memories go back thirteen years remember the financial cataclysm that ensued, but few understand the important part that Mr. Morgenthau played in it. When he was asked to become a member of the policyholders' committee being formed to protect the Equitable, he found his personal position an embarrassing one. The big men in the life insurance companies, including, as already said, Mr. Hyde himself, were members of h board, and were Mr. Morgenthau's associa However, he notified his executive comm that he regarded it as a public duty to se

IN THE BACKWARD CAPITAL OF TURKEY

Where the position of women is worse than anywhere else in Europe and where even material progress has made so little headway that there are not two hundred privately owned automobiles in a city of 1,200,000 people

that committee and to work actively in the interests of the policyholders. If his associates sympathized with his proposed action, very well; if not, he placed his resignation as president at their disposal. His directors could hardly afford to lose Mr. Morgenthau's services as president of the trust company, and they submitted to his proposition with excellent grace. Mr. Morgenthau had not gone far, however, when he was asked to meet the man who was then most powerful in American finance—Edward H. Harriman. The proposed Morgenthau activities did not quite fit in with certain plans for the Equitable which Mr. Harriman was formulating, but the representative of the policyholders refused to be "called off."

"Before we discuss this matter, Mr. Harriman," he said, "we must clearly understand that I am going through with it. The policyholders have placed 90,000 proxies in our committee's hands, and they are to be used only to promote the policyholders' interests."

Mr. Harriman was intelligent enough to see that the man was sincere.

"All right," he said, "what do you want?"

"We want a majority of the Board of Directors and of the Executive Committee."

"Suppose," Harriman countered, "we give you the Board of Directors; will you let us have the Executive Committee?"

"No," replied Mr. Morgenthau, "we require both, as the real power is in the hands of the Executive Committee."

This Equitable Life Assurance Society episode is particularly interesting because it was a microcosm of the present great struggle—an attempt by inheritance to place control of this vast interest in which hundreds of thousands of people had participated, in the hands of an untried, inexperienced youth, who, with five years of unobstructed growth, would have controlled more than one thousand million dollars—the assets of the Equitable Life Assurance Society, and through its control, those of the Mercantile and the Equitable Trust companies in New York and several of the

THE INFLUENCE OF AMERICA

The Ambassador in his robes as a doctor of laws of the Constantinople College for Girls, which is supported by American funds

THE INFLUENCE OF THE EAST

The picturesque Montenegrin doormen who gave an oriental atmosphere to the entrance of the American embassy

greatest banks in various American cities. Though Hyde had a majority of the stock (possession of the throne) the policyholders (the people) without litigation (bloodshed) but simply by applying the force of public opinion, took possession of its own assets and displaced the autocrat.

The reorganization that resulted placed the policyholders in control, and incidentally caused Mr. Hyde's migration to Paris, where he is now very capably and patriotically serving his native land in war work. Mr. Morgenthau proved useful to Mr. Charles E. Hughes in the life insurance investigation; he even went on the witness stand and told in detail how the McCurdy coterie in the Mutual Life Insurance Company profited at the expense of the policyholders by purchasing stock as private individuals and reselling it to their company at an advance. One of these instances narrated by Mr. Morgenthau—the purchase by McCurdy of stock in the Lawyers Title Company at 174 and his sale of it to the Mutual for 350—became one of the classics of Mr. Hughes's investigation.

Mr. Morgenthau was one of the original contributors to Miss Lillian D. Wald's Henry Street Settlement, an institution that specializes in sending nurses into the homes of the poor, and he was chairman of the Committee to Prevent Congestion of Population, and Chairman of the Committee of Safety, organized after the Triangle fire. Mr. Morgenthau was one of the first men who appreciated the necessity of settlement work in the Bronx. He founded, and for seven years was the sole supporter of Bronx House, an institution which has had a great influence in making life more comfortable and interesting for the newly arrived Jewish immigrants. But probably the activity to which Mr. Morgenthau looks back with greatest satisfaction is the part he played in helping to found the Free Synagogue of New York. In 1907, Dr. Stephen S. Wise came to New York from Portland, Oregon, city in which his progressive ideas in religi

CONSTANTINOPLE FROM THE AMERICAN EMBASSY

Showing (in the centre of the picture) the buildings of the Ministry of Marine on the famous Golden Horn with the city beyond

THE AMERICAN EMBASSY AT CONSTANTINOPLE

Where Ambassador Morgenthau conducted American diplomatic affairs from the fall of 1913 to the spring of 1916. After Turkey came into the war Mr. Morgenthau accepted charge of the affairs of nine other nations

and civic life had had full scope, and in which he had come to be one of the outstanding influences for good in the life of the entire state. He had come to New York in order to found the Free Synagogue, in the pulpit of which he would have the same unchecked freedom in expressing his views, not only on religious problems but on all questions affecting the duty of the citizen to his city, his country, and the world. No synagogue in New York, the city, containing the largest Jewish community in history, was ready to welcome Dr. Wise, and there were few Jews of leadership and power who were ready morally and materially to further his mission and give him the opportunity to expound his teachings. It became necessary to create a congregation, the Free Synagogue, and Mr. Morgenthau became one of its founders and its first president, which position he has held ever since. The Ambassador has had the satisfaction not only of seeing the Free Synagogue become in many ways the foremost Jewish congregation in America, but also of seeing Dr. Wise become one of the leaders and teachers of the nation.

It is clear from the foregoing why the career of Woodrow Wilson should have appealed so strongly to Mr. Morgenthau. Before he was anything else he was a democrat, a believer in the right of every man, woman, and child to participate as largely as possible in the unlimited advantages of American life. To him this seemed to be the ultimate message which Wilson was bringing to his country. Probably the one episode in Mr. Wilson's life that most impressed Mr. Morgenthau was his struggle as president of Princeton against the caste social spirit in undergraduate life.

This distinguished scholar's attack upon t expensive upper class clubs which separa the rich and the poor awoke a respon echo in the heart of this advocate of tol

AMBASSADOR MORGENTHAU IN THE HOLY LAND
On a trip made at the invitation of the Turkish Government

who had started life as an immigrant boy in New York. As a watcher of the times, Mr. Morgenthau foresaw, in 1912, that the Republican supremacy had passed and that a democrat would be elected president, and he [illegible]ved that the election of any one of several [illegible]idates then in the public mind would be a [illegible]nal calamity. By 1912 Mr. Morgenthau [illegible]quired a competence that represented far more than comfort; he was still healthy and active and ambitious for important things to do. He felt a strong sense of obligation to the country that had done so much for him and determined to spend the rest of his life in rendering public services that might pay back a part of the debt. It occurred to him that about the best favor he could render the American people would be to do his part, whatever it

THE TOMB OF JOSEPH

In the caves of Machpelah at Hebron, one of the relics in the Holy Land recently reconquered by the British from Turkish rule from which Mr. Morgenthau believes all non-Turkish people should be permanently freed

might be, in elevating Woodrow Wilson to the White House. He had had practically nothing to do with politics up to that time, but here was an opportunity that really tempted him.

Governor Wilson, in 1912, attended in New York a dinner of the Free Synagogue, presided over by Mr. Morgenthau. That was their first meeting. Mr. Morgenthau's most engaging trait is directness, and he took this opportunity to orient himself.

"Governor," he said, to his next door neighbor, " I would like to ask a question with an ulterior purpose. Is it true that you are a candidate for the presidency?"

Mr. Wilson was similarly direct in meeting the issue.

"I know far more about the United States than I do about New Jersey," he said.

In a few days Mr. Morgenthau had joined forces with William G. McAdoo and William F. McCombs, and this trio had much to do with the nomination of Mr. Wilson at Baltimore. Immediately after the convention adjourned, Mr. Wilson sent for Mr. Morgenthau and asked him to become chairman of his finance committee. He wished to have in this position a man who could not only raise money, but who would be careful that none of it came from improper sources. This campaign has an historic interest in that it was the first in the memory of the present generation that had not been financed chiefly from Wall Street. There were 80,000 small contributors, and only a few whose offering exceeded $10,000. Mr. Morgenthau sedulously kept off the list many dazzling names that had formerly been most free with financial aid. In accepting the task Mr. Morgenthau assured the Governor that from that hour he could dismiss all financial cares about the campaign —and money was never again mentioned to the Governor by any one during the entire canvass.

At first it might seem that a practical education of this kind furnished hardly an adequate preparation for service at an oriental court. The contrary proved to be true.

An all round experience of men was particularly useful at such a court as that of the Sultan, where everything went by indirection; where suspicions, insinuations and whispers took the place of facts; where relations with foreign governments had for generations been little more than covert warfare, and where government was purely a matter of personal whim and ascendancy. A more fetid atmosphere than that which infested Constantinople in 1913—as Mr. Morgenthau will describe—can hardly be imagined; and a political organization and social system more foreign to American conception has never been known. Yet practical developments disclosed that Mr. Morgenthau's American sanity and directness represented precisely the qualities which the situation demanded. He went to Turkey with the simplest of ambitions—merely to represent his government as worthily as possible, to protect American interests and particularly to watch over the American educational institutions which had accomplished such great things for the Christian populations. Mr. Morgenthau had no special knowledge of European politics, and had hardly conceived that the stage was even then being set for a European war. He had the knowledge which most educated Americans have of Constantinople and its wonderful, romantic history, and he well knew that

AMBASSADOR AND MRS. MORGENTHAU
With Miss Morgenthau and a group including the consular staff, standing at the entrance to the American consulate at Jerusalem

the Turkish Empire presented a serious problem which European civilization would some day have to solve. He had spent only a little time in Constantinople, however, before he appreciated that he had arrived there at one of the great crises of human history. He saw an ignorant, idle, superstitious, savage, and degraded Asiatic people in possession of what was then the most coveted highway of the world. For nearly a century the European Powers had been either fighting or intriguing for this capital of the old Byzantine Empire; this century of struggle had reached its culmination at the very moment when Mr. Morgenthau reached Constantinople. The Treaty of Bucharest, which had divided nearly all the remaining territories of European Turkey among the Balkan States, had recently been signed; yet the indications were numerous that Austria and Germany would not submit to this division as the final solution of the Turkish problem. Germany had already completely elaborated her plans for a great Oriental Empire—a scheme that involved the reduction of Austria and Bulgaria to a state of vassalage, and the extinction of Serbia as a nation and even, as subsequent events have shown, as a people—and the incorporation within the enlarged German Empire, of Constantinople and the whole Turkish dominion in Asia, extending to the Persian Gulf. The central point of this great scheme of aggrandizement was the very city in which this keen-witted and energetic American business man had now arrived.

Mr. Morgenthau's personal qualities soon won him the respect and confidence of the men then running the Turkish Government, as well as of the foreign Ambassadors. The very fact that he represented a country that was regarded as having no selfish interests to serve, which possessed no territorial ambitions against a distracted and tottering nation, and which was seeking no railroad or mining concessions

BEYLERBEY PALACE ON THE BOSPHORUS

Where Abdul Hamid was confined from the time when he was taken from Saloniki until his recent death—a photograph taken from the launch of the *Scorpion*, the American guardship at Constantinople

that would ultimately develop a political significance, gave him a position which no other foreign representative could obtain. In his forthcoming articles, Mr. Morgenthau will make the American people acquainted with the commanding figures in this great Turkish episode—with Talaat and Enver, the Turks who then, as the head of a kind of Oriental Tammany, were the absolute despots of Turkey; with great diplomatic figures like Von Wangenheim, the aggressive, impetuous, egotistical, hard-working German; with Bompard, the somewhat distant but penetrating Frenchman; with Giers, the politely contemptuous representative of the now obliterated Russian autocracy; with Mallet, the dignified, self-reliant Englishman; with Pallavicini, the venerable, but somewhat hesitating and subservient Austrian; with Garroni, the affable Italian, and with a host of others. These men, really sent to the city of Constantinople by their governments to watch diplomatically the dying agonies of the Turkish State and to gain every advantage possible for the countries which they represented became Mr. Morgenthau's personal and official intimates.

There are probably few Americans who have had Mr. Morgenthau's opportunities to detect more accurately the causes that precipitated the present conflict, for the German ambition to control the Balkans and Turkey was the primary move for the domination of Europe and America, and, in fact, of the entire world.

Not only great personalities, but great events, will fill Mr. Morgenthau's pages. He will describe the rapid and insidious ascendancy of German influence at the Sublime Porte—the manner in which the German Ambassador transformed the Turkish politicians into tools of Germany, the success with which Germany, a few months before the European war broke out, obtained control of the Turkish army, and the skill with which the German diplomats persuaded Turkey, against the wishes of many of her ablest and most respectable statesmen, to enter the war on the Kaiser's side. The story of the Young Turks, their pathetic attempts to found a Turkish democracy and their ultimate relapse into the most barbarous chauvinism that the world has ever known, will figure in an early chapter. The part played in world history by three famous pairs of ships—our own *Idaho* and *Mississippi*, sold to Greece in 1914; the Turkish battleships *Sultan Osman* and *Mohammed Reshad*, which were under construction in England when the war started; and the *Goeben* and the *Breslau*, whose arrival in Constantinople was part of the German plot to force Turkey into the war, will be described in romantic detail.

Mr. Morgenthau will make public his many conversations with the German Ambassador,

THE WHARVES AT CONSTANTINOPLE

The commerce of Turkey is chiefly in the hands of the Greeks, Armenians, and Jews—non-Moslems whom the present policy of the Turks marks out for deportation or death

Von Wangenheim, who freely disclosed Germany's plan for aggression. Day by day, as the German army was advancing on Paris, this German Ambassador became more outspoken in discussing Germany's intentions. "We shall conduct the war differently this time" he gleefully told the American Ambassador on September 6, 1914, the day the Germans had almost reached the gates of Paris. "We do not have to consider, as in 1870, Queen Victoria, the Czar, and the Austrian Emperor, who all wanted Paris spared."

Mr. Morgenthau's description of his visit to the Dardanelles in March, 1915, and of the Gallipoli campaign will make public many details which have not yet seen the light, and particularly will disclose how the attempts of the Allies to force the Dardanelles came within a hair's breadth of succeeding. The panicky behaviour of the Turkish authorities during those momentous days also sheds light upon the barbarous Turkish system. Mr. Morgenthau's interviews with Von Jagow and Zimmerman in Berlin, in February, 1916, will provide material for the historian of America's part in this conflict. His constant attempts to protect foreigners and his unwearying watchfulness over the Christian and Jewish peoples in the Orient provide numerous interesting episodes, not all of them tragical—many of them, indeed, are humorous and grotesque.

But the most moving part of Mr. Morgenthau's narrative will be his account of the Armenian massacres. Americans who have read of the most fearful atrocities of the past—the Sicilian Vespers, the slaughter of the Albigenses, the massacre of St. Bartholomew—usually regard such outbreaks of bigotry and race hatred as belonging to ancient times. Yet the gruesome fact remains that the most awful and ferocious manifestations of the human spirit recorded in history have taken place in the last three years. Even Abdul Hamid's Armenian massacres shrink into insignificance beside those promoted by Talaat and Enver, the young men who came into power as the standard bearers of Turkish democracy! In 1914, there were about 1,500,000 Armenians in the Turkish Empire; there are now perhaps 700,000. The remaining 800,000 have been killed. As Talaat proudly said, when discussing these massacres: "I have done more in three months in solving the Armenian problem than Abdul Hamid accomplished in thirty years." Mr. Morgenthau will not only describe these massacres in all their terrible details, but he will also tell of his constant but unavailing attempts to stop them. He will relate his repeated personal interviews with the Turkish authorities, and disclose how they accepted full responsibility for the atrocities. Mr. Morgenthau will tell of his repeated appeals to Von Wangenheim, the German Ambassador, to join him in

THE MOSQUE OF ST. SOPHIA

The finest structure in Turkey, formerly a Christian church, built by the Byzantines many centuries before the Turkish invasion. The Turks have imitated this structure in building many of their mosques, but have created nothing that compares with it

forcing Talaat and Enver to end this murderous orgy, and how the German diplomats coldly refused to second his efforts.

"This war," Mr. Morgenthau said recently, "is the culmination of a historic process that began in the 17th and 18th centuries, when Prussia, under the domination of the Hohenzollerns, became one of the leading European Powers. The history of Prussia for two hundred years has developed logically and irresistibly. Just as the Roman Empire, starting in a hamlet built on the seven hills, grew until it dominated the world, so the *Prussians have* fondly imagined that their own State, beginning with the little patrimony of Brandenburg, is divinely appointed to attain universal empire. It seems ridiculous to Americans, Englishmen, and Frenchmen, who regard their own social and political systems as enormously superior to Germany's, that they should be expected to play to the new German Empire the part that Carthaginians, Greeks, Macedonians, Persians, and Gauls played to the encircling Roman State of antiquity. But such is the rôle which the Kaiser has marked out for us. Germany has made her greatest strides to this goal in my own lifetime. The years following the death of

Frederick were inglorious for Prussia; but when Europe had finally settled down after the Napoleonic era, Prussia began rapidly to forge ahead. The success that accompanied Prussian arms in the sixties—the defeat of Denmark, Austria, and France, and the creation of the German Empire—simply intoxicated the governing caste with the passion for unlimited domination. For the last forty years the Hohenzollern monarchy, in all its manifestations—political, social, commercial—has been pursuing this plan for universal empire. Their strength has consisted, not so much in their own prowess as in the criminal carelessness of their neighbors. As Lloyd George says, they planned to murder Europe in her sleep. Germany not alone organized herself, as never was done before, for this war, but took almost equal pains to disorganize the other nations. But this German scheme must not triumph, for it would mean the triumph of force over justice in the government of human affairs.

"It would establish Kaiserism, Junkerism, or autocracy, call it what you will—I mean the usurpation of power by a small band of self-perpetuating rulers who arrogate to themselves the right to govern the hundreds of millions of human beings who average better than the kings. Think of the spectacle of Ludwig II of Bavaria, legally declared insane after years of misrule or non rule of his kingdom, succeeded by another insane man, Otto. Think of a people of a modern state bowing down to lunatics for forty-seven years! And a war-mad Kaiser wants now to establish his rule over all of us. Think of the weak-minded Czar Nicholas influenced by his wife and the power of Rasputin—think of a system by which his feeble intelligence could mar the happiness of 170 millions of people, a system responsible for the ignorance which makes Russia, in anarchy, the prey of Germany to-day, the evil results of one autocracy playing into the hands of another. Think of all the nations, our own included, being at the mercy of the war-crazed William, who said to his armies of the East in 1914: 'I am the instrument of the Almighty. I am His sword, His agent. Woe and death to those who are opposed to my will! Woe and death to those who do not believe in my mission! Woe and death to all cowards. Let them perish, all the enemies of the German people! God demands their destruction; God Who, by my mouth, bids you do His will.'

"Shall all the wonderful development of democratic Europe, and with it our own democracy, be cut down by one fell swoop of the Hohenzollern axe? There is no compromise. Bernhardi was right. For autocracy it is world power or downfall. And to us is given the greatest opportunity that men have ever had to establish our principles all over the world. Our democracy is now as it has always been, a vigorous, militant, proselyting spirit. It is the religion of freedom to be spread among all peoples.

"It is impossible to admit that the hundreds of millions of freemen of the world who are doing the thinking, inventing, improving, and upbuilding of humanity, will consent to delay the inevitable death struggle between the two. There must be no compromise. The present civilization has been intrusted to us. We must not waste it or permit this great heritage to be destroyed. We must hand it down to our children not weakened, but strengthened and no longer menaced by autocracy."

[*The first of Mr. Morgenthau's articles, published in the May number, will describe how the German Ambassador at Constantinople, Baron von Wangenheim, obtained complete ascendency over the group of adventurers who controlled Turkey in 1914, and thereby practically obtained possession of the Turkish Empire. Mr. Morgenthau will show that Germany, months before the European War broke out, had secured control of the Turkish Army; in other words, that Turkey's participation in the war on Germany's side was part of the elaborate preparation which the Kaiser had made for carrying out his plan of universal conquest.*]

PATROLLING THE AVENUES OF PUBLICITY

Making it Safe for the Public to Accept at Face Value the Advertisements it Sees

BY

MERLE SIDENER

(Chairman of the National Vigilance Committee of the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World)

THE victims of A. C. Bidwell and his fraudulent International Automobile League are strewn so thickly throughout the United States that it is impossible to relate his story in any community without one or more persons grinning sheepishly. For Bidwell amassed a fortune by making it his aim to gather them in as fast as they were born, even to the speed of one a minute, if he could find them that fast.

Yet thousands of "members" of this League do not yet know that the Government has closed up the concern and that Bidwell pleaded guilty in Federal Court to the charge of using the mails to defraud. They merely know that it cost them ten dollars to get into the League and from thirty to one hundred dollars to get out of it, and that they charged up the loss to fraudulent advertising.

Bidwell might have been gathering his second and third crop of suckers by now had not the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World turned upon him and his activities the great vacuum cleaning system with which it is ridding advertising of the fakirs and crooks who have used this modern business force known as publicity to rob the public of both money and confidence.

The International Automobile League is not the only get-rich-quick scheme which has been overhauled in the house-cleaning. Within a period of about a year, several hundred thousand dollars' worth of advertising offered by unworthy enterprises was refused by the newspapers of the country, following information-reports issued by the National Vigilance Committee of the Associated Advertising Clubs. Without the aid of advertising, most of these frauds wither and die. The Committee has proceeded on the theory that the public has a right to believe advertising and that the damage being done by dishonest advertising is not confined to the financial loss suffered by victims of the grafters.

For instance, when W. Baer Ewing hunted up a young mechanic named Paul Ford in Minneapolis, and borrowed his name so he could call a new concern the "Ford Tractor Company," and thereby trade on the name of a nationally known manufacturing institution, it was realized that the advertising campaign to sell stock in the new company would not only cost the "investors" money but would in the end tend to destroy their confidence in legitimate investment opportunities.

Or when the International India Rubber Company bloomed forth in South Bend, Indiana, and sought to sell its securities because it was located at the home of the famous Studebaker family, and because it had imported a man named Studebaker as its president, it was all too evident that the degree of success attained in this effort would be proportionate to the financial loss of its victims with an accompanying destruction of confidence in advertising and legitimate business.

So it was with a score or so of large frauds that were promptly nipped in the bud by the dissemination of inside information gathered by the Associated Advertising Clubs. In some instances the Government, through its Post Office Department, issued fraud orders against the companies concerned, and in others indictments were returned by Federal grand juries against the promoters, the evidence being furnished by investigators employed by the Advertising Clubs.

War conditions, with attendant prosperity for certain classes of labor, have encouraged the fakirs to offer so many new and alluring investment opportunities that it has not been possible to head them all. But the public has been warned and it is fairly easy to recognize the breed. The offers of fabulous returns for the investment of a few dollars in an oil stock, offered at 3 cents a share, ought to be sufficient to warn any thinking person to beware. Or the carefully veiled promise of large dividends in this or that new company,

because some well known and successful concern has paid large returns to its original investors, ought to act as a red flag of warning to the man or woman who has saved a few hundred dollars against a rainy day.

No standard magazine of established reputation will accept the advertising of this class of promotions and it is becoming more difficult for the schemers to exploit their offerings through the newspapers. Here and there are oases for the crook thirsting for easy money, in the form of newspapers that have not yet recognized their responsibility to their readers. Such papers, however, are usually so full of the noisome publicity that respectable people are avoiding them as they do other segregated districts, and such papers are therefore being robbed of their power to harm. The day is rapidly approaching when the publisher that deliberately accepts the money of the crooked promotor for distributing his dishonest advertising will be regarded as an accessory to the crime. It is entirely reasonable to expect the publisher to investigate advertising messages which on their face look suspicious, before he inserts them in his periodical. Otherwise, he gives the crook a note of introduction to his subscribers, for the presence of the advertising in his pages must necessarily carry with it the spirit of introduction, if not of absolute indorsement.

A TWO-MAN FACTORY

The Alliance Tire and Rubber Company offered its stock for sale through newspaper advertisements, and said "The Alliance factory has been working twenty-two hours a day to catch up with its orders." Yet when the plant was visited by the Committee investigator, one man was found at work on a tire and another man was making repairs to a casing, while reputable citizens of Alliance declared that the plant had been closed for months. Subsequently Milton Bejach, president of the company, Warren C. Daniel, an alleged broker who advertised and sold the stock, and Raymond M. Bond, an associate of Daniel, were indicted by the Federal grand jury of New York on a charge of using the mails to defraud. And slight inquiry on the part of the publishers who accepted the advertising would have revealed the facts and saved their subscribers thousands of dollars.

Most of the enterprises that are formed for the explicit purpose of bilking the public these days, are organized on a big scale—on paper. They incorporate for millions of dollars. It is just as easy to have a paper capital of ten million dollars as of ten thousand dollars. And they get their returns in a proportionately big way. No one knows what Bidwell made out of his scheme, for the only records that were ever found were those showing $559,825 received for stock in the International Automobile League Tire Company of Buffalo, which was merely a side issue with Bidwell. This half million dollars was by-product.

AUTOMOBILE ACCESSORIES BELOW COST

Bidwell's real income was from the sale of memberships in the International Automobile League, which was advertised as a coöperative buying organization through which the members might obtain standard automobile accessories at ridiculously low prices. These receipts were augmented by the purchase price of the accessories—members had to send cash with the order and they rarely received what they bought, but instead something inferior which made Mr. Bidwell a comfortable profit. And finally the members usually paid from $30 to $50 as "back dues" in the League after they had accepted their first loss and forgotten its existence. But Bidwell's persuasive follow-up system extracted the delinquent dues because of the vivid picture of embarrassment that would come to the victim if suit should be brought in his own home town with attendant publicity.

The member had gladly paid the first ten dollars when he joined the League, after being shown the catalogue with practically all standard accessories listed at prices away below market. Surely it was a good thing—more than the annual dues would be saved on the first automobile tire ordered. So the application blank for membership was signed and the signer usually did not take the trouble to read all the fine print on the sheet. Then he proceeded to order a standard tire, or most likely a set of them, for why not take advantage of the great bargain. In due time came a cordial form-letter from Bidwell thanking the new member for the order and saying the tires would be shipped at once. But the letter did not specify what kind of tires. When the wrapping were removed, lo, the tires were stamped "National," made by the International Automobile League Tire Company of Buffalo

Indignation! Yes, righteous indignation on the part of the member. He had ordered Standard Cord Tires, and he certainly knew them when he saw them, and these before him were not of that make. So he sat himself down and wrote a letter to Mr. Bidwell, calculated to make that philanthropic gentleman take notice. In due time again—Mr Bidwell's wonderful system of form letters was so timed that the right letter always went at the right time without distracting Mr. Bidwell's attention from the pleasing pastime of slitting open envelopes containing checks and cash—in due time came a suave letter which suggested to the member that he read carefully the duplicate of the application which he signed and sent in for membership. For fear he had mislaid his duplicate, a copy was enclosed. The member did read, and he found the part to which the letter specifically referred. It provided that in event that the particular goods specified by a member were not immediately available, then and in that event Mr. Bidwell could substitute something else just as good—Mr. Bidwell to be the judge of what was just as good. And further reference to the letter just received brought the reassuring information that National Tires were listed in the catalogue at a higher price than the tires that had been specified, but out of the goodness of his heart Mr. Bidwell would furnish the Nationals for the exact amount of money already forwarded.

Well, what seemed to be the use of arguing—the scheme was evidently fraudulent. Let them keep the first ten dollars and the hundred or so forwarded for tires and the member would charge it up to experience. And strange to relate that was entirely satisfactory to Bidwell, for he did not try to persuade the member to buy more goods. No, his game was to let the member's memory lapse. Then he waited three years, or if he did not need the money that soon, he waited five years. Another form letter then arrived. It politely called the member's attention to the fact that he had overlooked paying his dues—$30 if the lapsed period was three years and $50 if it had been five. That of course added insult to injury and the member used asbestos paper on which to inscribe his reply. But of course Bidwell never saw the reply. But his "system" caused another form letter to go forward, suggesting that the member again read his membership application, especially referring to an unnoticed section which provided that a member might "resign" provided he did so in the period of sixty days prior to the end of his year, and sent his resignation by registered mail. The member had not resigned, therefore he was still a member, and therefore he owed back dues. Enclosed with this letter was an unobstrusive little newspaper clipping, purporting to record the action of a court somewhere in giving judgment to the International Automobile League against a member for delinquent dues. Sober thought persuaded the member that if he resisted, his attorney fees would exceed the amount of the back dues and—oh well, he just paid it to get rid of it.

THE VIGILANCE COMMITTEE INVESTIGATES

That was the game as it was being played by the International Automobile League when Richard H. Lee, special counsel for the Vigilance Committee of the Associated Advertising Clubs began his investigations. After enough time had elapsed to gather the facts, Mr. Lee asked the Post Office Department for a fraud order. Judge W. H. Lamar, solicitor for the Department, looked into the situation and then summoned Bidwell. That was the beginning of the longest hearing ever recorded in that department. Bidwell tried all the tricks the best lawyers could suggest. He caused delays. He twisted and squirmed and Judge Lamar was patient. When his counsel had exhausted all other resources, they announced that they would ask for time to bring to Washington prominent business and professional men from all over the United States—men who would testify that the League had more than made good on all its agreements. This was the big play that had been held in reserve. It had proved most efficient in another court where a prominent tire manufacturing concern had arraigned Bidwell in an attempt to stop his misrepresentation with regard to that company's tires.

But fortunately Mr. Lee had studied Bidwell's previous defense. And he had discovered the extreme cleverness of that defense. The court record in that case showed that a number of prominent citizens had testified that the League had delivered to them just what they had ordered and at the prices stipulated. These were men whose honesty and integrity could not be questioned, and as the result of their testimony, the trial judge

acquitted Bidwell with the suggestion that it looked as if the tire trust was persecuting a competitor.

In investigating the evidence for the defense in that case Mr. Lee had made some interesting discoveries. He learned that Bidwell's agents had used these reputable citizens as "plants" —as decoys to help attract other members to the League. He usually had one in each community. This was accomplished by the League's agent going to Dr. Wellknown, inducing him to become a member and at once taking his order for, perhaps, a set of standard tires. That same afternoon, the new tires were nicely fitted to the Doctor's car. "Service, Doctor, service," said the smiling agent as he departed. In a month or so, around came the agent again.

"How are those tires coming on Doctor," he asked casually. Of course the doctor said they were entirely satisfactory, for they were actually the high grade tires he had specified.

"Suppose I take a look at them," said the agent as he started for the garage.

In a few minutes he came back, apparently alarmed.

"Why doctor, those tires are not standing up at all," he exclaimed. "I can't understand it. We will have to replace them. Mr. Bidwell would never stand for that sort of thing at all."

And without waiting to explain further, away he would go, returning in an hour or so with a complete new set of the same standard make of tires. Removing the first set, he would replace them with the brand new tires, and, tossing the others into the corner, he would remark nonchalantly, "Just give those to your chauffeur, Doctor."

Of course the Doctor was surprised. Of course he was pleased. Two sets of standard tires for less than the price of one set! Great bargain! Great service! Great International Automobile League! And right while he was in the mood, Mr. Agent suggested that if he felt that way about it, he might write a little letter to the "old man" for it would please him to know that his generosity was appreciated. The letter would be forthcoming and thereafter it was a magic wand to wave around the heads of other prospects in that community to charm their money from their pockets. And incidentally, Dr. Wellknown and scores of other men equally prominent in their communities, went willingly to New York to testify in behalf of Bidwell and his League and they were honest in their friendliness.

But these things Mr. Lee knew, when the case was being heard by Judge Lamar. And over in his room at the hotel he had such a stack of depositions from people who had not enjoyed the same special treatment as Dr. Wellknown, that he was able to whisper to the Bidwell counsel that he would produce 100 such depositions for every favorable witness they produced. And the Bidwell counsel rested their case right there.

Of course Solicitor Lamar issued a fraud order. And within the next few weeks he issued five more fraud orders against new concerns that Bidwell tried to start one after the other under the names of employees and relatives. Then he was indicted by a Federal grand jury and he entered a plea of guilty to the charge. And there ended one of the most interesting chapters of fraud and misrepresentation the country has known.

INCORPORATED AND INDICTED

The Emerson Motors Company, incorporated for $10,000,000 under the laws of Delaware, and with offices in New York, was another company that used advertising in an effort to sell stock to the public, and which came under the observation of Richard H. Lee. Much of the advertising was built around R. C. Hupp, heralded as the "chief engineer," and an attempt was made to trade on the success of the Hupp Motor Company and the Ford Motor Company, references being made to the large sums made by the original investors in those companies. Mr. Lee showed in a published report that the claims made for Hupp as an engineer were misleading, that he was not responsible for the success of the Ford Company as intimated in the advertising and that he had been enjoined by the courts from making any public claim to having been the designer or maker of the Hupmobile. Upon the showing of misrepresentation made in the claims, practically every newspaper in the country refused to publish more of the company's advertising, and subsequently the officers of the company, together with the brokers who sold the stock, were indicted by a Federal grand jury in New York accused of using the mails to defraud.

The Ebert-Duryea Farm Tractor Company of Chicago, discovered a new method

separating men from their money and finally succeeding in attracting the personal attention of Mr. Lee. This company did not intend to appear as a "piker" and incorporated for $30,000,000 under the laws of South Dakota. The whole issue of $30,000,000 of stock was understood to have been transferred to Charles E. Duryea, one of the directors, for "patents." The company advertised that it had no stock to sell. Its plan was to sell territorial rights for the sale of its tractors, and from $15,000 to $100,000 was asked for the sales rights. No tractors were at that time being built, but the company generously offered to accept the cash from its agents and as security give the agents "first mortgage convertible 6 per cent. gold bonds" issued by the company. The bonds were "issued" on the patent rights owned by the company, at a time when no tractor had been built by them and no one really knew whether the patents were worth a cent—their own officers admitted this fact when questioned. Large space was being used in the newspapers, but the report issued by the National Vigilance Committee put an end to most of this exploitation.

FORD AND STUDEBAKER

The Ford Tractor Company, promoted by W. Baer Ewing, also used large newspaper advertisements until an investigation by Mr. Lee exposed them and stopped their publicity. And a few months later Ewing, Nichols F. Wilson, an alleged broker, Robert P. Matches, another broker, and the Ford Tractor Company were indicted in New York. This company's "literature" drew an entrancing word picture of young Ford as a boy on the farm, following his weary way across the field behind the plow, and dreaming of that day when he would invent a machine that would do the plowing. And the fact was that Paul B. Ford had absolutely nothing to do with the creation of either the company or the tractor, but was working for an electrical engineer in Minneapolis when Ewing found his name in a directory, and decided it was a good name for the tractor company. Ford told Lee the whole story and admitted that he was sick of the deception. Yet that company gathered in thousands of dollars of money from people who thought if "Mr. Ford" was behind the tractor it would certainly be a great money maker, and who eagerly bought the stock.

Likewise the name of "Studebaker" was the mystic word used by the International India Rubber Company of South Bend, with which to entice the willing dollars, and so successful was the advertising that on the day Mr. Lee arrived at the small office of the company in South Bend, the man in charge was frightened by the shower of money that was pouring in through the mails.

The advertising featured "Peter E. Studebaker" as the president, and did not take the trouble to explain that the gentleman was not in any way connected with the Studebaker corporation. He was a resident of Cincinnati and he had no residence in South Bend and no business connection there except that with the International India Rubber Company. All the advertising made deliberate attempt to identify the enterprise with the men behind the Studebaker corporation. It was said that the "Studebakers intend to make South Bend the headquarters of the largest tire factory on earth as well as the largest automobile plant." When the real facts were published by the Associated Advertising Clubs, the newspapers ceased to print the advertising, and thousands of dollars were refunded to "investors" who threatened court action when the truth became known.

Many other frauds, less pretentious, have found it difficult to proceed because of the reports on true conditions that have gone out from the headquarters of the Associated Advertising Clubs in Indianapolis. Some of these fakirs have not been amenable to the law because they have been clever enough to make all their promises of dividends dependent upon future actions by the companies, and until the time had been accomplished during which they were to fulfill their promises, actual legal charges of fraud could not be enforced. But their own weapon of publicity has been turned upon them, and they have not been able to withstand the white light when focused upon their ulterior motives.

The exposure of some of the largest frauds, however, has had a wholesome effect in discouraging the smaller ones, and the Associated Advertising Clubs purpose to continue to patrol the avenues of publicity until the highway is safe for women and children unaccompanied—until advertising is no longer available for business bandits and bushwhackers—until advertising is made worthy of maximum public confidence.

MEN ON THE JOB IN WASHINGTON

Col. Samuel McRoberts

Head of the Procurement Division of the Ordnance Bureau of the War Department

A LAWYER, who became the treasurer of a meat packing company from which he graduated to the vice-presidency of a bank, is the head of the procurement division of the Ordnance Bureau of the War Department.

The most fun he ever had, Col. Samuel McRoberts has often told his friends, was when as a boy on his father's farm in Missouri he used to drop down between the rafters in the mule sheds upon the backs of the unbroken mules, wrap his arms and legs about them and let them kick. Any one who enjoyed this was well equipped to meet almost any tough proposition. But the main thing about the mule story is that young McRoberts tackled his tough proposition in the easiest way.

When the boy decided that he was going to be a lawyer, he taught school a few years to get enough money to pay his way through Baker University and take the law course at the University of Michigan.

The year 1893 found him, at the age of twenty-four, beginning the practice of law in Chicago. In his second year he had a case against Armour & Co. The company lost the case but won the attorney. McRoberts's refusal to compromise attracted the attention of Mr. P. A. Armour, head of the packing company. In 1895 Mr. McRoberts became attorney for Armour & Company. In 1904, at the age of thirty-five, he became treasurer.

As treasurer of Armour & Co. he handled the sale of $30,000,000 in bonds to the National City Bank of New York and Kuhn, Loeb & Co. in 1909. His ability so impressed Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip and the other officers of the National City Bank that they offered him the position of vice-president of their institution.

His training of law, business, and finance have added a valuable experience to his forceful and aggressive character, but his energy creates no friction. He still has the habit of getting on top of his job as on top of the mules, by the easiest way

Col. Guy E. Tripp

Head of the Production Division of the Ordnance Bureau of the War Department

COLONEL Guy E. Tripp, chairman of the Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Company, whose job in Washington is to see that the Ordnance Department gets what it wants when it wants it, has an effective way of getting things done as he wants them. He doesn't say much, but when he does talk it is in such a clear and convincing way that others are likely to agree with him.

The story is told in the Stone and Webster organization of how he once convinced his associates there. The financing and management of a public utility property in a new field had been offered them, and Col. Tripp was asked to look into it. He reported that in his opinion it was worth doing. The reports of others were adverse to the proposition, and it was about to be turned down. Col. Tripp asked, if the firm did not care to go into it, if they had any objection to his doing so. That made them take a different view of the matter; they took over the property, and it proved to be [illegible] the best public utility corporations [illegible] and Webster ever acquired.

Soon after receiving his Government appointment, Col. Tripp left Washington on a circuit of the manufacturing plants to see what could be done to speed up deliveries of guns and ammunition. Because of his experience and his character there is reason to believe that he will be able to help the makers of guns and ammunition solve their problems and the problems of their relations with the Government, and speed up deliveries.

In 1910 he was appointed chairman of the reorganization committee of the Metropolitan Street Railways of New York City. It was in that position that he demonstrated remarkable ability to bring opposing interests into agreement.

The two leading private banking groups in New York came to know of Mr. Tripp's fairness and honesty through his handling of the Metropolitan reorganization. He has the friendship and respect of both. The list of companies in which he is a director ranges through the alphabet from the American International Corporation to the Wabash Railway.

Lt. Col. Charles N. Black

Assistant to the Chief of the Ordnance Bureau of the War Department

LT. COL. CHARLES N. BLACK, the civilian engineer recently added to the purchase section of the Ordnance Department, has a reputation for carrying through whatever he undertakes, whether it be a difficult engineering problem or the tracking of a grizzly bear in the high Sierras. Nothing is too hard for him to undertake.

While a student at Princeton, although not known as a crack athlete, Black challenged the champion college swimmer, agreeing to give him a ten yard handicap in a 100 yard swimming race. He then proceeded to endorse this astounding proposition by offering to bet $100—a large sum in those days—that he would win the race. The bet was covered, and the entire college, faculty included, assembled on the chosen day to witness the race. Black cut his way through the water by the then little known "crawl" stroke, overcame his antagonist's handicap, and won by a neck.

One of his early undertakings for the engineering firm of Ford, Bacon & Davis, of which he is a member, was the construction of a lighting and power plant and street railway in Atlanta, Ga. After solving the engineering difficulties, Mr. Black found publicity in the open the only way to counteract local antagonisms. This was accomplished through handbills and the purchase of the Atlanta *Journal* from Mr. Hoke Smith. Subsequently he built up or managed various public utility properties in the South and West; principally in New Orleans, Birmingham, Kansas City, and San Francisco.

When Mr. Edward R. Stettinius needed assistance in the export department of J. P. Morgan & Co., in handling the munition purchases in this country for Great Britain and France, Mr. Black was one of the men he called about him. That alone is good testimony of Col. Black's qualification to fill the position he now holds in the purchase section of the office of the Chief of Ordnance. But back of his experience and training is an outstanding ability to go straight to the kernel of a situation and carry a thing through that makes his service of particular value to the Government at this time.

Mr. Ralph Crews

Legal Adviser of the Ordnance Bureau of the War Department

WHEN Ralph Crews was 17 years old he is 41 now—he started to study law, working as a clerk in his father's law office by day and attending the Chicago College of Law by night. He was admitted to the bar before he was 21. When only 29 years old he was general counsel for the National Packing Company the old beef trust, since dissolved. In this capacity he continued until 1912 when the dissolution came.

His chief characteristics are concentration and energy. For example: He prepared the evidence in the trial of the ten big Chicago packers accused of violation of the Sherman Act, which resulted in their acquittal. During the trial, and without warning, the Government demanded by the following morning a list of all original stockholders of all packing concerns there were several dozens of them -- affiliated with the National Packing Company. The counsel for the packers were sure it couldn't be done. To trace the countless changes in ownership would involve a search through scores of record books. But Crews spent the night in his office, surrounded by clerks, working there until within five minutes of court time the following day. He appeared in court as the bailiff sounded the gavel with a great chart showing ownership of stock in all packing concerns, carried through, transfer by transfer, down to the last owners.

"Crews just went over to his office and started concentrating," one of his associate lawyers said.

"He has an extraordinarily developed faculty of speeding up and concentrating all energy about him and without wasting any of it. He never looks at a letter or a document once he has dictated it. He knows just what he wants when he does a thing and it isn't necessary for him to duplicate effort. And he has an indexed mind into which he carefully files away his business. His memory is never at fault. He can recall any business transaction, even down to any letter or document connected with it, without resorting to files or a clerk. He is a champion concentrator."

He plays as wholeheartedly as he works. Once out on the golf links or reading history or driving his motor, business is a blank page.

From a drawing by Francis Dodd

GENERAL SIR HENRY SEYMOUR RAWLINSON

The British Military Representative at the Inter-Allied conference at Versailles

(See next page)

General Sir Henry Seymour Rawlinson

Bart., G.C.V.O., K.C.B.

GENERAL RAWLINSON entered the 60th Rifles of the British Army in 1884, and served for four years with Lord Roberts, then Commander-in-Chief in India. In 1888 he was with the Mounted Infantry in the Burma Campaign, and in 1891 transferred to the Coldstream Guards. In 1897-8 he served as an aide to Lord Kitchener in the Soudan Campaign, being present at the battles of Atbara and Omdurman. He was at the siege of Ladysmith, in the South African War, and for eighteen months was in command of a Mobile Column, during which time he was in action several times against General Jan C. Smuts, who is now a Lieutenant-General in the British Army.

At the outbreak of the European War General Rawlinson was placed in command of the 4th Division on the Aisne, and later was in command of the new IV Corps which landed in Flanders, in October, 1914. It was this corps that held the line on the right of General Haig at the First Battle of Ypres.

At the Battle of Neuve Chapelle the IV Corps again took a prominent part, and in September, 1915, General Rawlinson commanded three of its divisions, the 1st, 15th, and 47th, in the Battle of Loos. The 15th Division took the village of Loos and Hill 70, and advanced to the suburbs of Lens.

In the spring of 1916 General Rawlinson was appointed to the command of the new Fourth Army, which took its place in the Somme area. He was in command of the whole front when the Battle of the Somme opened. When the German retreat in the spring of 1917 began General Rawlinson led the southern part of the British advance, and his men took Peronne, and advanced almost to St. Quentin.

Probably Sir Henry Rawlinson is one of Britain's ablest generals, and is one who has had the experience necessary to the making of an ideal commander. He is now acting as the British military representative on the Supreme War Council at Versailles.

Drawn from a photograph
© Harris & Ewing

GEN. PEYTON C. MARCH
Chief of Staff, succeeding General Tasker H. Bliss

Drawn from a photograph
© Harris & Ewing

SURGEON GENERAL WILLIAM C. GORGAS
Head of the Medical Department of the United States Army

TWO AMERICAN GENERALS

General Peyton C. March

GENERAL PEYTON C. MARCH, the Chief of Staff appointed to succeed General Tasker H. Bliss, has been a success in the army ever since the time he graduated from West Point.

Having served in France in command of the American Artillery under General Pershing, he will be able to make use of his intimate knowledge of conditions in Europe to the best advantage in planning for the future operations of our Army.

General March served as captain of the Astor Battery in the Philippines under General MacArthur during the Spanish-American War, and later, during the Russo-Japanese War, was one of the American military observers with General Kuroki's army. With General Crowder, who was then a Colonel, Captain March was at the Battle of the Yalu, and he also witnessed a number of the engagements prior to that battle.

The story of General March's years in the service is filled with instances showing his exceptional energy and ability at organization. From the time of the outbreak of the Spanish-American war, when the new Chief of Staff was a Lieutenant, until General Pershing asked to have him sent to France to take command of the American Artillery, he has shown by incident after incident that he is capable of quick, decisive action. His associates and subordinates in the Army are invariably strong in their commendation of him, and his ability to bring about coördination in the departments under his control will be of particular value in his new post as Chief of Staff.

Surgeon General William C. Gorgas

Surgeon General Gorgas has been in the United States Army as a surgeon since 1880. From 1898 to 1902 he was chief sanitary officer of Havana, and his methods of combating yellow fever are responsible for the elimination of the disease in that city. As a result of his work in Havana, Congress, in 1903, made him Colonel Assistant Surgeon General. In 1904 he was made chief sanitary officer of the Panama Canal, and his work in the Canal Zone made possible the building of the Canal through what had been a country so troubled with disease that the Caucasians who went there were in constant danger from fevers.

The work of maintaining proper sanitary conditions in our newly constructed camps and cantonments has devolved largely upon Surgeon General Gorgas, and except where his advice was not followed the results have been very much better than in any previous war in which we have been engaged. As a matter of fact there has never been a time in our history when the physical condition of the men in the Army has been so carefully looked out for, or when the sanitary conditions of their surroundings were more closely watched.

Fighting Germany's Spies

II

THE INSIDE STORY OF WERNER HORN
AND
THE FIRST GLIMPSE OF THE SHIP BOMBS

The Man in Lower 3—Von Papen Again in the Background—Soldier or Criminal?—The Confession

BY
FRENCH STROTHER
Managing Editor of the World's Work

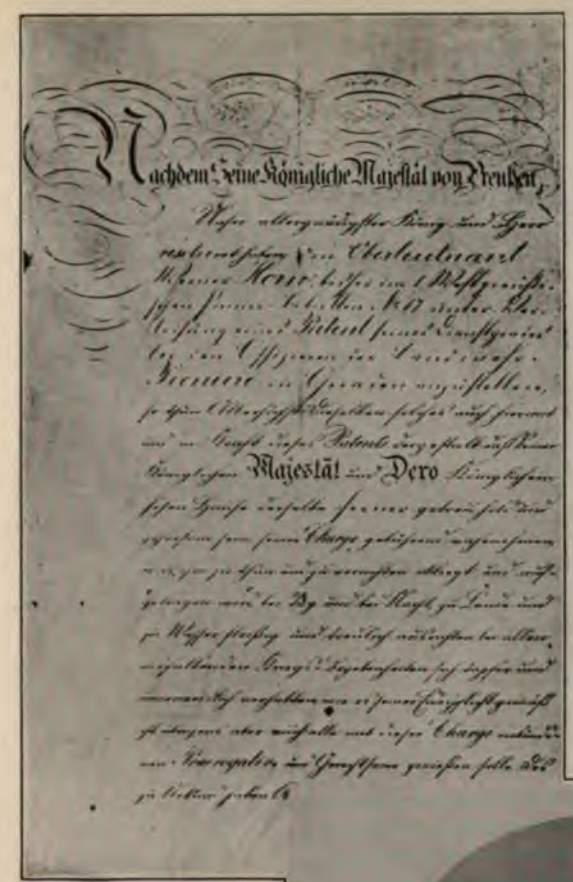
THE real mystery in the case of Werner Horn is this: Who was the man in Lower 3? (If he had only known——!) Because, except for this one missing fact, the story of Werner Horn is as clear as day. It is the story of a brave man, too honest to lie with a straight face, who was used by the villainous Von Bernstorff and Von Papen only after they had lied without a quiver, on at least three vital points, to him. He meant to fight the enemy of his country as a soldier fights, and they cynically sent him on an errand which they meant should be an errand of miscellaneous crime, including murder. He was to go to a felon's death, for this one of the many devilish plots they were concocting against American lives, while they lived in luxury in Washington and lied with smiling faces to the representatives of the people whose hospitality they were betraying. There have been few more despicably outrageous, more cold-blooded, crimes than this—except that other one (also of their devising) in the ship bombs case– but that is another story, to be told later.

The story of Werner Horn begins in Guatemala. Horn was the manager of a coffee plantation at Moka. He had seen ten years of service in the German Army when, in 1909, he got a furlough from the authorities in Cologne permitting him to go to Central America for two years. This furlough writes him down as an "Oberleutnant on inactive service." That means, roughly, that he was a first lieutenant of the German Army, out of uniform but subject to call ahead of all other classes of men liable for military duty. Then came the war.

Two hours after word of "The Day" reached Moka, Werner Horn was packed and on his way to Germany. From Belize he sailed to Galveston, where he spent two weeks looking in vain for passage. Then on to New York, where he tried for a month to sail. Finding that impossible, he went to Mexico City and there learned that another man in Guatemala had his job. He had just found another one, on an American coffee plantation at Salto de Aguas, in Chiapas, and was about to go there by launch from Frontera, when he got a card telling him to try again to get to Germany. By December 26th he was back in New Orleans, and a few days later he was lodging in the Arietta Hotel on Staten Island.

Now began a series of conferences with Von Papen. Horn was afire with honest zeal to serve the Fatherland, and Von Papen was unscrupulous as to how he did it. When he could not get passage for him back to Germany, Von Papen determined to use this blond giant (Horn is six feet two) for another purpose. He then unpacked his kit of lies.

A little after the midnight of Saturday, December 29, 1914, a big German in rough clothes and cloth cap, entered the Grand Central Station, carrying a cheap brown suitcase. A porter seized it from him with an expansive smile. The smile faded long before they reached Car 34 of the one o'clock New Haven train to Boston. "Boss, yoh sho'



Nachdem Seine Königliche Majestät von Preußen,

Unser allergnädigster König und Herr

Majestät! und Dero

Dero

Patent

für den Oberleutnant

Horn.

Werner Horn

WERNER HORN'S COMMISSION IN THE GERMAN ARMY

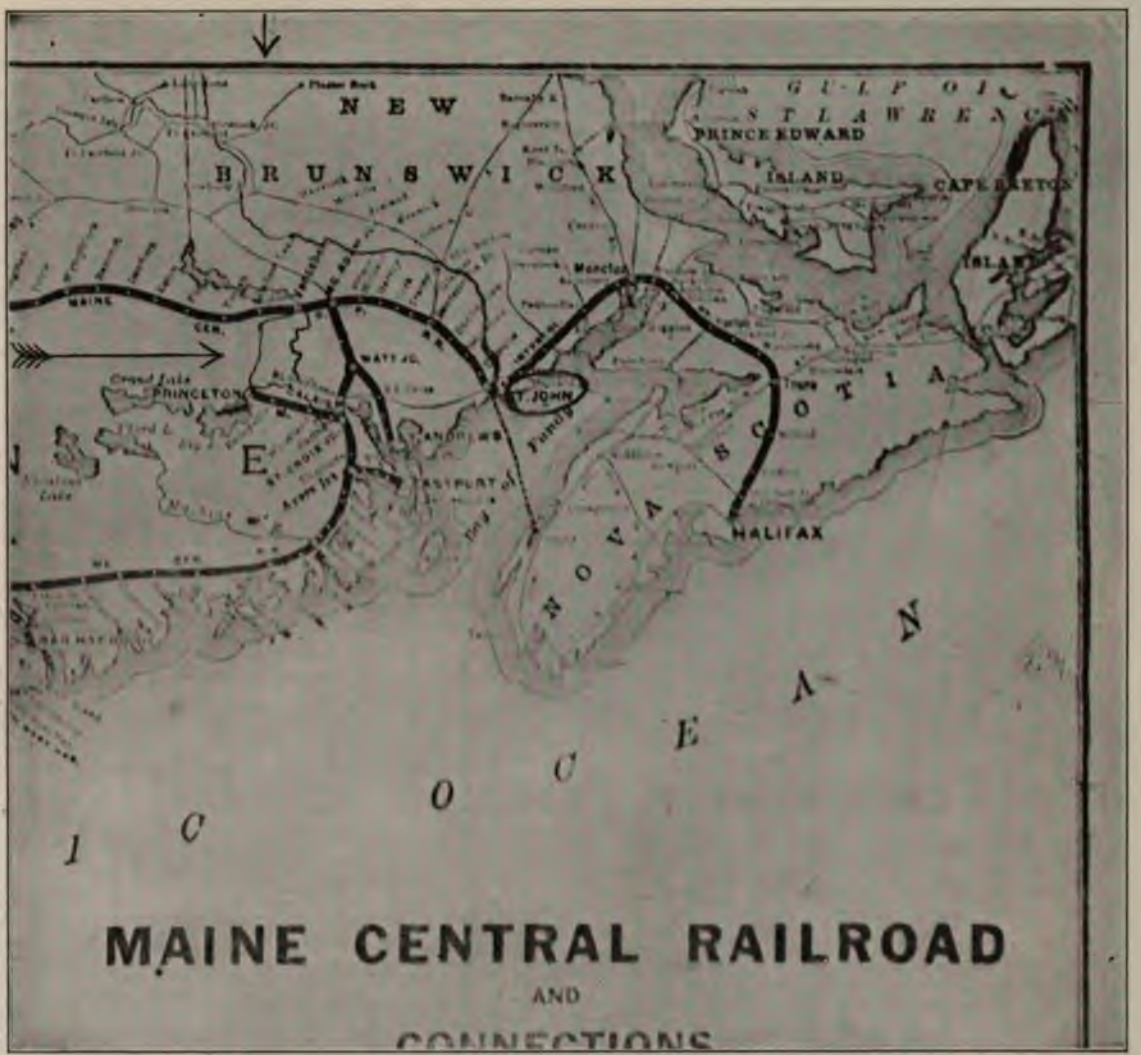
Found in an iron-bound trunk in his room in the Arietta Hotel on Staten Island. His position was approximately that of a first lieutenant, returned to civil life but of the class first subject to duty in the event of war

WHERE THE CHARGE WAS EXPLODED

The suit case full of dynamite was placed beside a beam at the Canadian end of the bridge

THE MAN IN UPPER 3

Werner Horn's railroad ticket from New York to Boston and his Pullman ticket for Upper 3 on the one o'clock New Haven train. The man in Lower 3 does not yet know that he slept peacefully above a suitcase filled with sixty sticks of dynamite. Who had Lower 3 on Car 34 on that train on the night of December 29-30, 1914? If he kept his ticket he has a valuable historic relic



WERNER HORN'S PLAN OF ESCAPE

The penciled line left from Vanceboro and down to Princeton was Horn's own mark upon the map of the route by which he hoped to escape after he had blown up the International Bridge. He did not know the country and hence did not calculate upon the wilderness he was planning to traverse, unguided, in the dead of a New England winter. The penciled ring around St. John, N. B., gives the cue to his purpose in blowing up the bridge—St. John was a port from which the war supplies from America to Great Britain could be shipped for use against the Germans

THE VANCEBORO BRIDGE

Over which Horn walked at midnight in an 80-mile gale with the thermometer at 30 below zero, over ties covered with ice, being twice nearly run down by trains, to set the charge of dynamite which he hoped would destroy it. The cross marks the spot where the explosion was set off.

VANCEBORO, MAINE

With the bridge in the middle background which Horn attempted to destroy. He hid the suitcase containing the dynamite in a woodpile near one of the sidings the first night he arrived in Vanceboro, but had to postpone using it to three nights later

WERNER HORN'S NOTATIONS OF HIS ROUTE

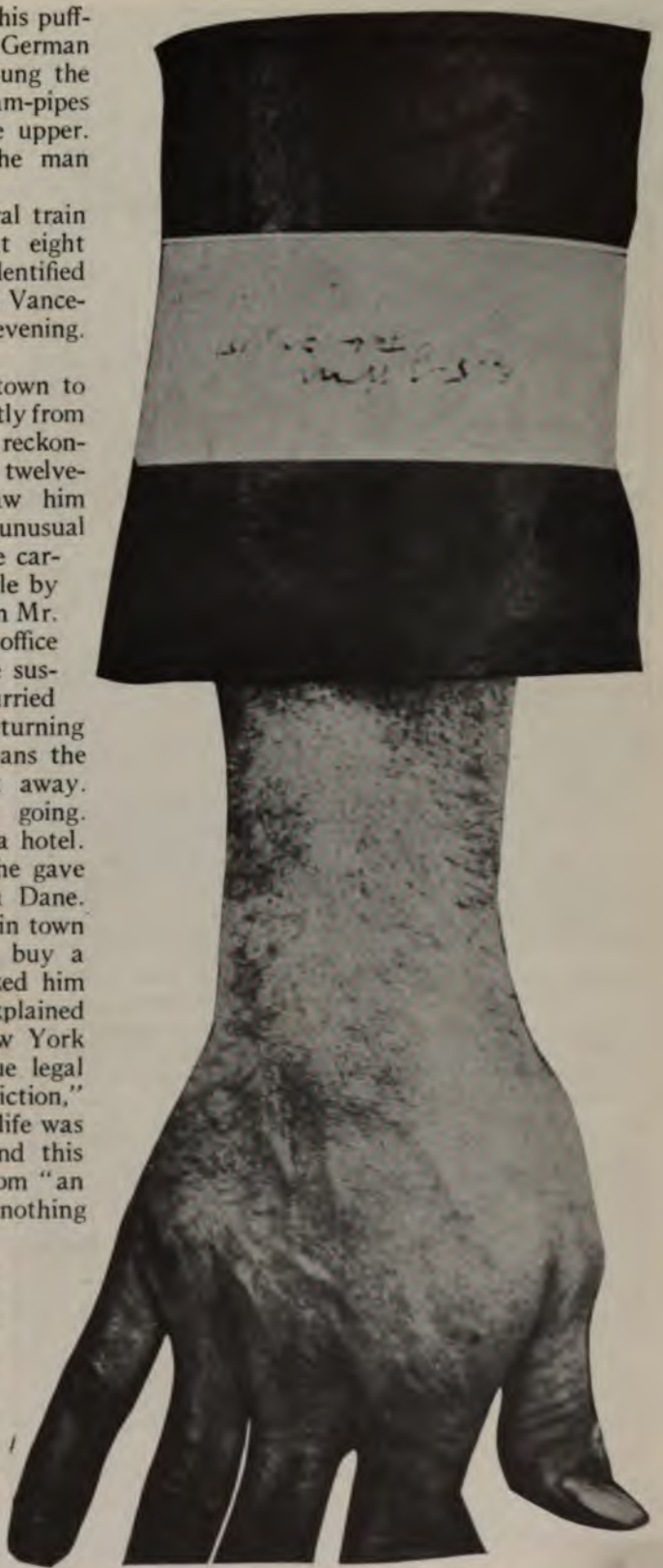
Written on the inside of a New Haven Railroad timetable, giving his destination as Vanceboro, Me., and the connection he was to make at Boston to get there

has got a load o' lead in theah," was his puffing comment as he got his tip. The German grinned, and a few minutes later swung the suitcase carelessly against the steam-pipes under Lower 3, and clambered to the upper. A suitcase full of dynamite—and the man in Lower 3 slept on.

Several people on the Maine Central train that left North Station, Boston, at eight o'clock the next morning, afterward identified the big blond German who left it at Vanceboro, Maine, at six forty-five that evening. None of them recalled his baggage.

But trust the people in a country town to catalogue a stranger. Horn went directly from the train about his errand; which was reckoning without the Misses Hunter and the twelve-year-old Armstrong boy. They saw him toiling through the snow, marked the unusual weight of his suitcase from the way he carried it, saw him hide it in the woodpile by the siding—and then they talked. Soon Mr. Hunter hurried to the immigration office and told an inspector there about the suspicious stranger. The inspector hurried down the railroad track and met Horn returning from the international bridge that spans the St. Croix River a few hundred feet away. He asked where the stranger was going. Horn's reply was to ask the way to a hotel. When his name was next demanded he gave it as Olaf Hoorn, and said he was a Dane. The inspector then asked what he was in town for, and Horn said he was going to buy a farm. And finally, the inspector asked him where he came from. When Horn explained in detail that he had come from New York via Boston the inspector, with a true legal mind, decided that he "had no jurisdiction," and let it go at that. His concern in life was with "immigrants" from Canada—and this man had proved that he had come from "an interior point." Hence he could do nothing officially, for the moment.

But the Misses Hunter's sharp eyes saw the stranger, after this interview, recover the suitcase from the woodpile before going on to Tague's



THE GERMAN COLORS WHICH HORN WORE ON THE BRIDGE

Von Papen convinced him that by wearing the German colors (black, white, and red) on each arm when he destroyed the bridge he became an officer of the German army waging war on Canada, and was no longer a civilian engaged in a personal crime

HORN'S APPLICATION FOR A FURLOUGH, AND (BELOW) THE FURLOUGH GRANTED TO HIM

Issued by the military authorities of Cologne, on the Rhine near the Dutch border, permitting him to leave Germany for two years. The furlough was later extended, as Horn was gone nearly five years before the war broke out

Vanceboro Exchange Hotel for the night. The host at the hotel was not on duty when Horn registered, and never saw his baggage, but his mother who happened to have occasion to enter Horn's room in his absence on the following Monday, noticed the suitcase, tried to lift it, and wondered how any one could carry it. Horn was a marked man from the moment he arrived in town.

Evidently he sensed the suspicions he aroused, for he made no effort to proceed about his business that night, or the next. But shortly before eight o'clock on Monday night Horn gave up his room and said he was going to Boston on the eight o'clock train. He took his suitcase and disappeared. Instead of going to the station, he hid out in the woods until the last train for the night should go by. At eleven he was encountered in the railroad cut above the bridge by an employee of the Maine Central Railroad, who got such unsatisfactory answers to his questions that he talked the matter over with a fellow workman in the roundhouse, though without results. So Werner Horn marched out alone upon the bridge—alone except for his cigar and his suitcase, the spirit of the Fatherland upon him and the lying words of Von Papen in his ears.

He had need of the fire of patriotism to warm his blood and to steel his courageous spirit. It was a black, winter night. The mercury was at thirty degrees below zero, the wind was blowing at eighty miles an hour, the ice was thick upon the cross-ties beneath his stumbling feet. The fine snow, like grains of flying sand, cut his skin in the gale.

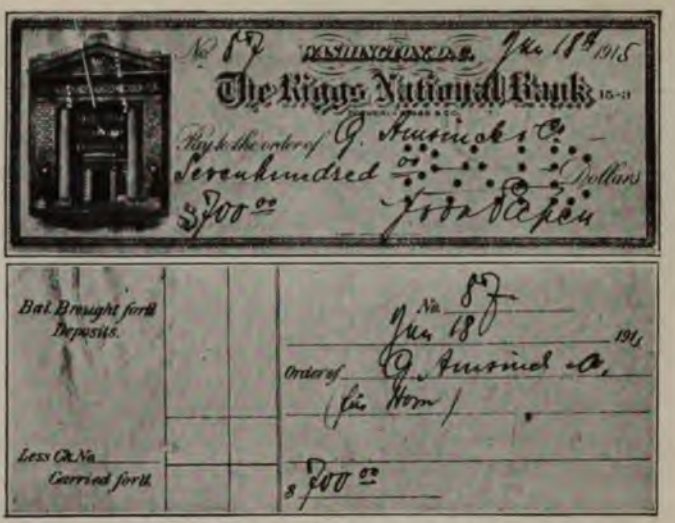
But Werner Horn was a patriot and a brave man. Von Papen had told him that over these rails flowed a tide of death to Germans—not only guns and shells, but dum-dum bullets that added agony to death. He must do his bit to save his fellow soldiers; must help to stop the tide. Destroy this bridge, and for a time at least the cargoes would be kept

from St. John and Halifax. It was a short bridge, but a strategic one, and the most accessible. So Horn stumbled on. He must get beyond the middle. Von Papen had not urged it, but Werner Horn had balked about this business from the first—not through lack of courage (he would go as a soldier upon the enemy's territory and there fire his single shot at any risk against their millions), but he would not commit a crime for anybody, not even for the Kaiser; nor would he trespass on the soil of hospitable America. Hence on each sleeve he wore the colors of his country: three bands, of red and white and black. Von Papen had beguiled him into thinking these transformed him from a civilian to a soldier. Twice as he struggled through the darkness, he slipped and fell, barely saving himself from death on the ice below. Each time he clung doggedly to his suitcase full of dynamite.

Suddenly a whistle shrieked behind him, and in a moment the glaring eyes of an express train's locomotive shone upon him. Horn clutched with one hand at a steel rod of the bridge and swung out over black nothingness, holding the suitcase safe behind him with the other. The train thundered by, and left him painfully to recover his uncertain footing on the bridge. The second of Von Papen's lies had been disproven.

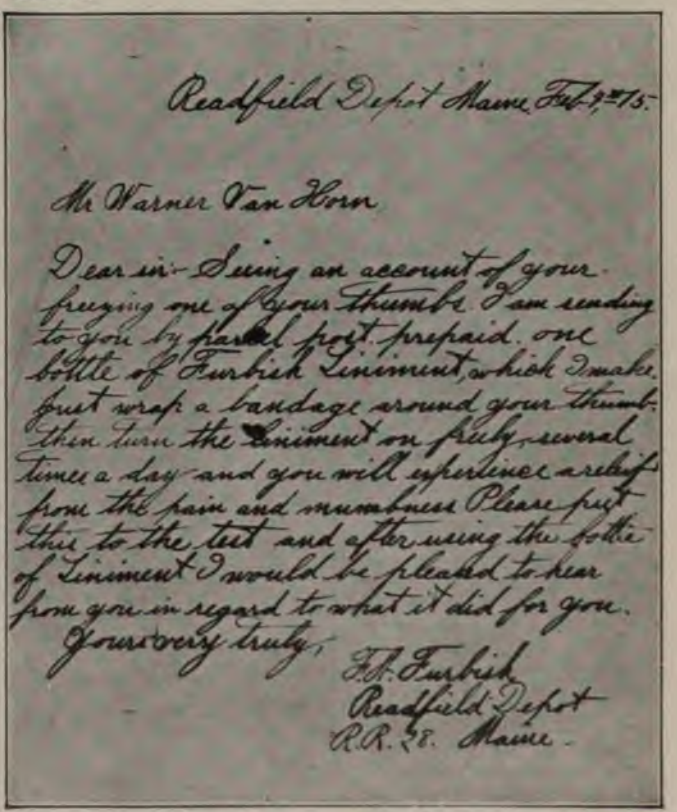
He had promised Horn that the last train for the night would have been gone at this hour, for Horn had said he would do nothing that would put human lives in peril. But Horn thought only that Von Papen had misunderstood the schedules.

A few moments after he had got this shock, another whistle screamed at him from the Canadian shore, and again he made his quick, precarious escape by hanging out above the river by one hand and foot. He now decided that all schedules had been put awry, and that he must change


No. 87 WASHINGTON, D.C. Jan 18th 1915
The Riggs National Bank
Pay to the order of G. Auriol & Co.
Seven hundred 00/100 Dollars
$700.00 Franz Von Papen
Bal. Brought forwd Deposits
No. 87
Jan 18 1915
Order of G. Auriol & Co.
(Fr. Horn)
Less Ck. No.
Carried forwd
$700.00

VON PAPEN'S HAND AGAIN

The check signed by the military attaché of the German Embassy at Washington, corroborating other proofs that the Kaiser's Government in the case of Werner Horn, as in so many others, had guided the violations of American neutrality and had plotted to take American lives


Readfield Depot Maine Feb 2nd 15.

Mr Warner Van Horn

Dear sir- Seeing an account of your freezing one of your thumbs I am sending to you by parcel post prepaid one bottle of Furbish Liniment, which I make. first wrap a bandage around your thumb. then turn the Liniment on freely, several times a day and you will experience a relief from the pain and numbness Please put this to the test and after using the bottle of Liniment I would be pleased to hear from you in regard to what it did for you.

Yours very truly,
F.F. Furbish
Readfield Depot
R.R. 28. Maine.

THE MEDICINE MAN

The letter tells its own story. The ignorance it reveals of the real meaning of the Horn episode suggests a reason for the rapidity with which German plots spread over the whole country in 1915 and the slowness with which Americans realized that they had a personal life and death stake in this war

Ex. 1- L.pt-64.
Feb-24, 1915

Machias, Maine,

Feb., 7, 1915.

I, Werner Horn, after having been advised that my extradition to Canada has been asked by the Government of Great Britain and that anything I may say will be used against me in an extradition proceeding by the United States or in a prosecution by the United States if it shall be found that I have violated any of the laws of that country and that I may decline to talk at all or to answer any particular questions do voluntarily, willingly and without any promises at any time that my case will be dealt with by the United States fairly, impartially and in accordance with the law, make this statement.

I am thirty-seven years of age, a citizen of Germany and at the outbreak of the war was the owner of a coffee plantation in Guatemala, that I am a Over-lieutenant in the German reserve army, having had ten years active service in the [illegible] hours after receiving the call to [illegible] my way. I went from Guatemala [illegible] remained there fourteen days, [illegible] there four weeks trying to get [illegible] found that this was impossible, [illegible] route I left for San Antonio, T[illegible] a card from the coffeeplantati[illegible] position, that I secured a posit[illegible] that about four weeks before [illegible] that all German officers should [illegible] on the same launch on which I [illegible] the German consul in New Orleans, Vera Cruz to New Orleans, was o[illegible] in New Orleans December 2[illegible], 1914 [illegible] train, reported to the German [illegible] called captain [illegible] on Papen if it w[illegible] that it was [illegible], that [illegible] Bienville Street, [illegible] the market [illegible], [illegible].

WERNER HORN'S CONFESSION

In which he unintentionally revealed the guilty purposes of Von Papen to violate American neutrality and commit a crime against human life, and which Horn refused to sign upon his "honor as a German officer"

WERNER HORN'S CONFESSION

until it was altered to remove the fantastic tale about a confederate in Canada. By looking closely the erasure of the period after the word "true" can be seen, made to permit this correction to be added

6.

I have had the flags I wore for about two years. I got them when in Guatemala. I got the paint, crew in a store that sells [illegible] clothes on the first floor. I bought the suit I am wearing for the trip on State Island across from the hotel and I bought the cap at the same place. I had the revolver which I bought at Wanamakers. Yesterday I got the hat for the from here in Orleans. I paid about $12 for the suit.

I identify in my handwriting a German [illegible] that the foregoing statements are true except [illegible] "Sonny" that I did not [illegible] the [illegible] but assumed it in [illegible] and took it with me in the suit [illegible] at any time when I received it.

Werner Horn

Witness:

Lieutenant

[illegible]

his plans to be sure of not endangering human beings. To accomplish this, he cut off and threw away most of the fifty-minute fuse that he had brought along, and left only enough to burn three minutes. No train would come sooner than this, and then the explosion would warn everybody of the danger.

In doing this, Horn deliberately cut himself off from hope of escaping capture. He had planned such an escape—an ingenious plan, too, except that it was traced on a railroad timetable map of the Maine woods in winter by a strange German fresh from the tropics. He had meant to walk back one station westward, then cut across the open country to the end of a branch line railroad, and then ride back to Boston on another line than that on which he came east to Vanceboro. It was a clever scheme, except that it missed all the essentials, such as the thirty miles of trackless woods, the snow feet-deep upon the level, the darkness of winter nights, and the deadly cold. Still, Horn childishly believed it feasible, and he did a brave and honorable thing to throw it overboard rather than to cause the death of innocent people.

He fixed the dynamite against a girder of the bridge above the Canadian bank of the river, adjusted the explosive cap, and touched his cigar to the end of the three-minute fuse. Then he stumbled back across the gale-swept, icy bridge, made no effort to escape, and walked back into the hotel in Vanceboro, with both hands frozen, as well as his ears, his feet, and his nose. A moment after he entered the hotel, the dynamite exploded with a report that broke the windows in half the houses in the town and twisted rods and girders on the bridge sufficiently to make it unsafe but not enough to ruin it.

Everybody in Vanceboro was aroused. Host Tague, of the Exchange Hotel, leaped from his bed and looked out of the window. Seeing nothing, he struck a light and looked at his watch, which said 1:10, and then he hurried into the hall, headed for the cellar, to see if his boiler had exploded. In the hall he faced the bathroom. There stood Werner Horn, who mildly said "Good morning" to his astonished host. Tague returned the greeting and went back to get his clothes on. He had surmised the truth, and Horn's connection with it. When he came back out into the hall, Horn was still in the bathroom, and said: "I freeze my hands." Small wonder, after five hours in that bitter gale. Tague opened the bathroom window and gave him some snow to rub on his frozen fingers, and then hurried to the bridge to see the damage. He found enough to make him press on to the station on the Canadian side, and then come back to Vanceboro, so that trains would be held from attempting to cross it.

When he got back to his hotel, Horn asked to have again the room he had given up that evening. Tague had let it to another guest, but gave Horn a room on the third floor. There the German turned in and went to sleep.

Meanwhile, human nature as artless as Werner Horn's was at work in Vanceboro. The chief officer of law thereabouts was "John Doe," a deputy sheriff, chief fish and game warden, and licensed detective for the state of Maine. His later testimony doubtless would have had a sympathetic reader in the Man in Lower 3 (if only he had known): "I was asleep at my home, which is about three or four hundred feet from the bridge; heard a noise about 1:10 A.M., which I thought was an earthquake, a collision of engines, or a boiler explosion in the heating plant. The noise disturbed me so that I could not get to sleep. (And the Man in Lower 3 slept on!) I got up in the morning at about half past five; met a man who said they had blown up the bridge."

But while Mr. Doe was about his disturbed slumbers, the superintendent of the Maine Central Railroad was making a Sheridan's Ride through the night by special train from Mattawamkeag, fifty miles away. He, at least, was on the job—he had brought along a claim agent of the road, to take care of damage suits. When they reached the Vanceboro station, they sent for Mr. Doe, and when he arrived at seven o'clock, Canada also was represented by two constables in uniform. This being a case for Law and not for Commerce, Mr. Doe took charge. He told the others that the first thing to do was to cover all the stations by telegraph and arrest all suspicious parties. Then he led his posse to the hotel.

There Mr. Tague told them about the German peacefully asleep upstairs. He led them to the upper floor and pointed out the room, but went no farther, as he thought there might be shooting. His sister, being of the same mind, sought the cellar. Doe knocked upon the door.

"What do you want?" called Werner Horn.

"Open the door," commanded Doe.

The door swung open, and the big German sat back on his bed. Then he saw the Canadian uniforms and jumped for his coat. Doe shoved him back, and one of the constables got the coat, and the revolver in it. When Doe told Horn he was an American officer, Horn stopped resisting and said:

"That's all right, then. I thought you were all Canadians. I wouldn't harm any one from here."

Doe handcuffed Horn to his own arm and took him to the Immigration Station to make an inquiry. Here Horn told a straightforward story, but with one embellishment that caused more excitement than all the rest, and that ultimately revealed his own character in its clearest light. This story was that he had not brought the dynamite in his suitcase, but that, by prearrangement, he had carried the empty suitcase to the bridge and there met an Irishman from Canada, to whom he gave the password "Tommy," and that this Irishman had given him the explosive and then disappeared.

"Tommy" immediately became a sensation who overshadowed Horn himself. Canadian officers scoured the Canadian shore for days, looking for this dangerous renegade, and Americans were as zealous on our side of the river.

But Horn himself was in a dangerous position. Lynching bees were discussed on both sides of the river, and probably only prompt action by the local authorities prevented one. Both to hold Horn for more serious prosecution and to get him out of peril, he was charged in the local police court with malicious mischief in breaking the window glass in one of the houses in Vanceboro; he pleaded guilty and was at once removed to Machias, the county seat, to serve thirty days in jail. Five days after the explosion, the Department of Justice had Horn's signed confession, taken in person by the Chief of the Bureau of Investigation.

It was in the giving of this confession that Werner Horn revealed himself most fully as a patriot and a gentleman, and, all unconsciously, revealed that the cynical Von Papen was a liar, a cold-blooded criminal, and, for the second time in the first months of the war, the secret hand behind the violations of American neutrality instigated through him and Bernstorff at the behest of the Imperial German Government.

When the government agent saw Horn in jail at Machias, and warned him that what he said would be used against him in proceedings for his extradition into Canada, or prosecution here, Horn told the same straightforward story, with the same embellishment about "Tommy." "I met a white man," so Horn said, "whom I had never seen bebefore, but who was about 35 or 40 years of age—clean shaven—'Tommy'—I was told to say 'Tommy' when I met him—I cannot say anything that would involve the consulate or the embassy—Germany is at war—I received, however, an order which was from one who had a right to give it, a verbal order only—received it two or three days before leaving New York for Vanceboro."

Later he said: "I cannot speak of the rank of the man who gave the orders—I cannot even say that he was an officer. No one was present when the orders were given me in New York City. I cannot tell more because it was a matter for the Fatherland. I would rather go to Canada [where he knew they wanted to lynch him] than to tell more about my orders—this would be impossible—at least until after the war is over."

Horn admitted he had met Von Papen several times at the German Club in New York City, but no art could compel him to admit that he had got his orders from him. But, as the agent noticed, his manner gave his words the lie; and whenever he tried to tell anything that was inaccurate he did so with great difficulty and embarrassment. But finding him determined, at whatever risk, to withhold this information, and determined, too, to stick to the absurd story about "Tommy," the agent wrote out by typewriter a statement of the facts as he had given them for Horn to sign.

Horn read the statement over and said that he would sign it. Then the agent took out his pen, added a few items of new information, and wrote these words:

"I certify on my honor as a German officer that the foregoing statements are true," and handed Horn the pen to sign it. Horn read the last sentence and seemed nonplussed. He turned back through the pages of the statement, blushed, scratched his head, and finally grinned up at the agent with the one word:

"Tommy."

The agent grinned in turn:

"You mean it's all right except for Tommy?"

"Yes."

Horn would not sign a lie and pledge his honor it was truth. A close scrutiny of the cut on page 660 will show where the period after the word "true" has been erased, so that the sentence could go on to say, before he signed it, "except as to 'Tommy'—that I did not buy the nitro-glycerine but received it in New York and took it with me in the suitcase. I cannot say from whom I received it. Werner Horn."

If Werner Horn had been less honest, less humane, the black wickedness of his Imperial masters would have been less clearly visible. He was the one who was punctilious to respect American neutrality—while they flouted it. He was the one who risked his own life rather than imperil others—while they sat snug in Washington devising means to place on the rudders of American ships the bombs that would add another horrid chapter to their crimes. A mere criminal at Vanceboro might have been accused of exceeding their criminal instructions—Werner Horn refused to carry out the instructions they had given.

One cannot forbear to publish here a humorous incident in this case, in no way related to its immediate currents, but so characteristic of the American attitude in general at that time. Here was a drama of international politics, fertilizing the germs of war—the seeds of our own entrance into the conflict, with its present expenditures of billions in treasure and its prospective expenditure of human blood and tears. Into this epic picture walks a Yankee trader with a bottle of liniment for frost bite in his hand, and asks for a "testimonial." The illustration and its caption, on page 659, tell the story. It is significant, because it was a faithful miniature of America at large in February, 1915—asleep to the perils of its "isolation," but wide awake to the main chance in war-begotten trade. Well could Von Papen and Von Bernstorff, well could the Kaiser in Berlin, afford to smile a little longer, and marvel again at a people still "so stupid."

But the American Government was on still other German plotters' trails. They were not asleep, nor stupid. Even while they went through the long, legal processes in which German intrigue tried in vain to save Werner Horn from delivery to Canadian justice, (and Horn was supplied with good counsel and every facility for making his defence) among the Yankee traders there was alert activity as well as dormant patriotism. How the Department of Justice, through these merchants, lawyers, doctors, men of the "main chance," soon had a network of special agents in every city, town, and hamlet in the country, is told in the following article, which is the story of the ship bombs, another of the infernal imaginings of the evil geniuses at Berlin, one of the most heartless of the cruelties of Von Bernstorff and Von Papen, and one of the cleverest pieces of American Government detective work born of the war.

III

ROBERT FAY AND THE SHIP BOMBS

A Plot That Proved to Have Been Made in Germany and Financed by the German Government—The Infernal Machine Which Fay Invented, and the Story of the Weak Link That Broke to His Undoing—One of the Most Atrocious of the German Schemes—Von Papen's Hand Again

ROBERT FAY landed in New York on April 23, 1915. He landed in jail just six months and one day later—on October 24th. In those six months he slowly perfected one of the most infernal devices that ever emerged from the mind of man. He painfully had it manufactured piece by piece. With true German thoroughness he covered his trail at every point—excepting one. And five days after he had aroused suspicion at that point, he and his entire group of fellow conspirators were in jail. The agents of American justice who put him there had unravelled his whole ingenious scheme and had evidence enough to have sent him to the penitentiary for life if laws since passed had then been in effect.

Only the mind that conceived the sinking of the *Lusitania* could have improved upon the

devilish device which Robert Fay invented and had ready for use when he was arrested. It was a box containing forty pounds of trinitrotoluol, to be fastened to the rudder post of a vessel, and so geared to the rudder itself that its oscillations would slowly release the catch of a spring, which would then drive home the firing pin and cause an explosion that would instantly tear off the whole stern of the ship, sinking it in midocean in a few minutes. Experts in mechanics and experts in explosives and experts in shipbuilding all tested the machine, and all agreed that it was perfect for the work which Fay had planned that it should do.

Fay had three of these machines completed, he had others in course of construction, he had bought and tested the explosive to go into them, he had cruised New York harbor in a motor boat and proved by experience that he could attach them undetected where he wished, and he had the names and sailing dates of the vessels that he meant to sink without a trace. Only one little link that broke—and the quick and thorough work of American justice—robbed him of another Iron Cross besides the one he wore. That link—but that comes later in the story.

Fay and his device came straight from the heart of the German Army, with the approval and the money of his Government behind him. He, like Werner Horn, came originally from Cologne; but they were very different men. Where Horn was almost childishly simple, Fay's mind was subtle and quick to an extraordinary degree. Where Horn had been humane to the point of risking his life to save others, Fay had spent months in a cold-blooded solution of a complex problem in destruction that he knew certainly involved a horrible death for dozens, and more likely hundreds, of helpless human beings. Horn refused to swear to a lie even where the lie was a matter of no great moment. Fay told at his trial a story so ingenious that it would have done credit to a novelist and would have been wholly convincing if other evidence had not disproved the substance of it. The truth of the case runs like this:

Fay was in Germany when the war broke out and was sent to the Vosges Mountains in the early days of the conflict. Soon men were needed in the Champagne sector, and Fay was transferred to that front. Here he saw some of the bitterest fighting of the war, and here he led a detachment of Germans in a surprise attack on a trench full of Frenchmen in superior force. His success in this dangerous business won him an Iron Cross of the second class. During these days the superiority of the Allied artillery over the German caused the Germans great distress, and they became very bitter when they realized, from a study of the shells that exploded around them, how much of this superiority was due to the material that came from the United States for use by the French and British guns. Fay's ingenious mind formed a scheme to stop this supply, and he put his plan before his superior officers. The result was that, in a few weeks, he left the army and left Germany, armed with passports and $3,500 in American money, bound for the United States on the steamer *Rotterdam*. He reached New York on April 23, 1915.

One of Fay's qualifications for the task he had set for himself was his familiarity with the English language and with the United States. He had come to America in 1902, spending a few months on a farm in Manitoba and then going on to Chicago, where he had worked for several years for the J. I. Case Machinery Company, makers of agricultural implements. During these years, Fay was taking an extended correspondence school course in electrical and steam engineering, so that altogether he had a good technical background for the events of 1915. In 1906, he went back to Germany.

What he may have lacked in technical equipment, Fay made up by the first connection he made when he reached New York in 1915. The first man he looked up was Walter Scholz, his brother-in-law, who had been in this country for four years and who was a civil engineer who had worked here chiefly as a draftsman—part of the time for the Lackawanna Railroad—and who had studied mechanical engineering on the side. When Fay arrived, Scholz had been out of a job in his own profession and was working on a rich man's estate in Connecticut. Fay, armed with plenty of money and his big idea, got Scholz to go into the scheme with him, and the two were soon living together in a boarding house at 28 Fourth Street, Weehawken, across the river from uptown New York.

To conceal the true nature of their operations they hired a small building on Main Street and put a sign over the door announcing themselves in business as "The Riverside

Garage." They added verisimilitude to this scheme by buying a second-hand car in bad condition and dismantling it, scattering the parts around the room so that it would look as if they were engaged in making repairs. Every once in a while they would shift these parts about so as to alter the appearance of the place. However, they did not accept any business—whenever a man took the sign at its face value and came in asking to have work done, Fay or Scholz would take him to a nearby saloon and buy him a few drinks and pass him along by referring him to some other garage.

The most of their time they spent about the real business in hand. They took care to have the windows of their room in the boarding house heavily curtained to keep out prying eyes, and here under a student lamp, they spent hours over mechanical drawings which were afterward produced in evidence at the trial of their case. The mechanism that Fay had conceived was carefully perfected on paper, and then they confronted the task of getting the machinery assembled. Some of the parts were standard—that is, they could be bought at any big hardware store. Others, however, were peculiar to this device and had to be made to order from the drawings. They had the tanks made by a sheet metal worker named Ignatz Schiering, at 344 West 42nd Street, New York. Scholz went to him with a drawing, telling him that it was for a gasolene tank for a motor boat. Scholz made several trips to the shop to supervise some of the details of the construction and once to order more tanks of a new size and shape.

At the same time Scholz went to Bernard McMillan, doing business under the name of McMillan & Werner, 81 Centre Street, New York, to have him make a special kind of wheels and gears for the internal mechanism of the bomb, from sketches which Scholz supplied. At odd times between June 10th and October 20th McMillan was working on these things and delivered the last of them to Scholz just a few days before he was arrested.

In the meanwhile Fay was taking care of the other necessary elements of his scheme. Besides the mechanism of the bomb, he had to become familiar with the shipping in the port of New York, and he had to get the explosive with which to charge the bomb. For the former purpose he and Scholz bought a motor boat—a 28-footer—and in this they cruised about New York harbor at odd times, studying the docks at which ships were being loaded with supplies for the Allies and calculating the best means and time for placing the bombs on the rudder posts of these ships. Fay finally determined by experience that between two and three o'clock in the morning was the best time. The watchmen on board the ships were at that hour most likely to be asleep or the night dark enough so that he could work in safety. He made some actual experiments in fastening the empty tanks to the rudder posts, and found that it was perfectly feasible to do so. His scheme was to fasten them just above the water line on a ship while it was light, so that when it was loaded they were submerged and all possibility of detection was removed.

The getting of explosives was, however, the most difficult part of Fay's undertaking. This was true not only because he was here most likely to arouse suspicion, but also because of his relative lack of knowledge of the thing he was dealing with. He did know enough, however, to begin his search for explosives in the least suspicious field, and it was only as he became ambitious to produce a more powerful effect that he came to grief.

The material he decided to use at first was chlorate of potash. This substance in itself is so harmless that it is an ingredient of tooth powders and is used commonly in other ways. When, however, it is mixed with any substance high in carbons, such as sugar, sulphur, charcoal, or kerosene, it becomes an explosive of considerable power. Fay set about to get some of the chlorate.

But it is now time to get acquainted with Fay's fellow conspirators, and to follow them through the drama of human relationships that led to Fay's undoing. All these men were Germans—some of them German-Americans—and each in his own way was doing the work of the Kaiser in this country. Herbert Kienzle was a dealer in clocks with a store on Park Place, in New York. He had learned the business in his father's clock factory deep in the Black Forest in Germany and had come to this country years ago to go into the same business, getting his start by acting as agent for his father's factory over here. After the war broke out he had become obsessed with the wild tales which German propaganda had spread in this country about dum dum bullets being shipped back for use against th

soldiers of the Fatherland. He had brooded on the subject, had written very feelingly about it to the folks at home, and had prepared for distribution in the United States a pamphlet denouncing this traffic. Fay had heard of Kienzle before leaving Germany, and soon after he had got to New York he got in touch with him as a man with a fellow feeling for the kind of work he was undertaking to do.

One of the first things in Fay's carefully worked out plan was to locate a place to which he could quietly retire when his work of destruction should be done—a place where he felt he could be safe from suspicion. After a talk with Kienzle he decided that Lusk's Sanatorium, at Butler, N. J., would serve the purpose. This sanitorium was run by Germans and Kienzle was well known there. Acting on a prearranged plan with Kienzle, Fay went to Butler and was met at the station by a man named Bronkhorst, who was in charge of the grounds at the sanatorium. They identified each other by prearranged signals and Fay made various arrangements, some of which are of importance later in the story.

Another friend of Kienzle's was Max Breitung, a young German employed by his uncle, E. N. Breitung, who was in the shipping business in New York. Young Breitung was consequently in a position to know at first hand about the movements of ships out of New York harbor. Breitung supplied Fay with the information he needed regarding which ships Fay should elect to destroy. But first Breitung made himself useful in another way.

Fay asked Kienzle how he could get some chlorate of potash, and Kienzle asked his young friend Breitung if he could help him out. Breitung said he could, and went at once to another German who was operating in New York ostensibly as a broker in copper under the name of Carl L. Oppegaard.

It is just as well to get better acquainted with Oppegaard because he was a vital link in Fay's undoing. His real name was Paul Siebs and for the purpose of this story he might as well be known by that name. Siebs had also been in this country in earlier days and during his residence in Chicago, from 1910 to 1913, he had gotten acquainted with young Breitung. He, too, had gone back to Germany before the war, but soon after it began he had come back to the United States under his false name, ostensibly as an agent of an electrical concern in Gothenburg, Sweden, for the purpose of buying copper. He frankly admitted later that this copper was intended for re-export to Germany to be used in the manufacture of munitions of war. He did not have much success in his enterprise and he was finally forced to make a living from hand to mouth by small business transactions of almost any kind. He could not afford a separate office, so he rented desk room in the office of the Whitehall Trading Company, a small subsidiary of the Raymond-Hadley Corporaation. His desk was in the same room with the manager of the company, Carl L. Wettig.

When Breitung asked Siebs to buy him some chlorate of potash Siebs was delighted at the opportunity to make some money and immediately undertook the commission. He had been instructed to get a small amount, perhaps 200 pounds. He needed money so badly, however, that he was very glad to find that the smallest kegs of the chlorate of potash were 112 pounds each, and he ordered three kegs. He paid for them with money supplied by Breitung and took a delivery slip for it. Ultimately this delivery slip was presented by Scholz who appeared one day with a truck and driver and took the chemical away.

Fay and Scholz made some experiments with the chlorate of potash and Fay decided it was not strong enough to serve his purpose. He then determined to try dynamite. Again he wished to avoid suspicion and this time, after consultation with Kienzle, he recalled Bronkhorst down at the Lusk Sanatorium in New Jersey. Bronkhorst, in his work as superintendent of the grounds at the sanatorium, was occasionally engaged in laying water mains in the rocky soil there, and for this purpose kept dynamite on hand. Fay got a quantity of dynamite from him. Later, however, he decided that he wanted a still more powerful explosive.

Again he applied to Kienzle, and this time Kienzle got in touch with Siebs direct. By prearrangement, Kienzle and Siebs met Fay underneath the Manhattan end of the Brooklyn Bridge, and there Seibs was introduced to Fay. They walked around City Hall Park together discussing the subject; and Fay, not knowing the name of what he was after, tried to make Seibs understand what explosive he wanted by describing its properties. Siebs finally realized that what Fay had in mind

was trinitrotoluol, one of the three highest explosives known. Siebs finally undertook to get some of it for him, but pointed out to him the obvious difficulties of buying it in as small quantities as he wanted. It was easy enough to buy chlorate of potash because that was in common commercial use for many purposes. It was also easy to buy dynamite because that also is used in all kinds of quantities and for many purposes. But trinitrotoluol is too powerful for any but military use, and it is consequently handled only in large lots and practically invariably is made to the order of some government. However, Siebs had an idea and proceeded to act on it.

He went back to the Whitehall Trading Company, where he had desk room, and saw his fellow occupant, Carl Wettig. Wettig had been engaged in a small way in a brokerage business in war supplies, and had even taken a few small turns in the handling of explosives. Siebs had overheard him discussing with a customer the market price of trinitrotoluol some weeks before, and on this account thought possibly Wettig might help him out. When he put the proposition up to Wettig the latter agreed to do what he could to fill the order.

In the meanwhile, Fay had sent another friend of Breitung's to Bridgeport to see if he could get trinitrotoluol in that great city of munitions. There he called upon another German who was running an employment agency—finding jobs for Austro-Hungarians who were working in the munitions plants, so that he could take them out of the plants and divert their labor from the making of war supplies for use against the Teutons. The only result of this visit was that Breitung's friend brought back some loaded rifle cartridges which ultimately were used in the bombs as caps to fire the charge. But otherwise his trip was of no use to Fay.

Carl Wettig was the weak link in Fay's chain of fortune. He did indeed secure the high explosive that Fay wanted, and was in other ways obliging. But he got the explosive from a source that would have given Fay heart failure if he had known of it, and he was obliging for reasons that Fay lived to regret. Siebs made his inquiry of Wettig on the 19th of October. The small quantity of explosives that he asked for aroused Wettig's suspicions and as soon as he promised to get it he went to the French Chamber of Commerce near by and told them what he suspected and asked to be put in touch with responsible police authorities under whose direction he wished to act in supplying the trinitrotoluol.

From that moment Fay, Siebs, and Kienzle were "waked up in the morning and put to bed at night" by detectives from the police department of New York City and operatives of the Secret Service of the United States. By arrangement with them Wettig obtained a keg containing 25 pounds of trinitrotoluol, and in the absence of Fay and Scholz from their boarding house in Weehawken, he delivered it personally to their room and left it on their dresser. He told Siebs he had delivered it and Siebs promptly set about collecting his commission from Fay.

Siebs had some difficulty in doing this, because Fay and Scholz being unfamiliar with the use of the explosive were unable to explode a sample of it and decided that it was no good. They had come home in the evening and found the keg on their dresser and had opened it. Inside they found the explosive in the form of loose white flakes. To keep it more safely, they poured it out into several small cloth bags. They then took a sample of it and tried by every means they could think of to explode it. They even laid some of it on an anvil and broke two or three hammers pounding on it, but could get no result. They then told Siebs that the stuff he had delivered was useless. Siebs repeated their complaint to Wettig and Wettig volunteered to show them how it should be handled. Accordingly, he joined them the following day at their room in Weehawken and went with them out into the woods behind Fort Lee, taking along a small sample of the powder in a paper bag. In the woods the men picked up the top of a small tin can, built a fire in the stump of a tree, and melted some of the flake "T. N. T." in it. Before it cooled, Wettig embedded in it a mercury cap. When cooled after being melted, T. N. T. forms a solid mass resembling resin in appearance, and is now more powerful because more compact.

However, before the experiment could be concluded, one of the swarm of detectives who had followed them into the woods stepped on a dry twig, and when the men started at its crackling, the detectives concluded they had better make their arrests before the men might get away; and so all were taken into custody. A quick search of their boarding house, the garage, a storage warehouse in which Fay had stored some trunks, and the boathouse where

the motor boat was stored resulted in rounding up the entire paraphernalia that had been used in working out the whole plot. All the people connected with every phase of it were soon arrested.

Out of the stories these men told upon examination emerged not only the hideous perfection of the bomb itself, but the direct hand that the German Government and its agents in this country had in the scheme of putting it to its fiendish purpose. First of all appeared Fay's admission that he had left Germany with money and a passport supplied by a man in the German Secret Service. Later, on the witness stand, when Fay had had time enough carefully to think out the most plausible story, he attempted to get away from this admission by claiming to have deserted from the German Army. He said that he had been financed in his exit from the German Empire by a group of business men who had put up a lot of money to back an automobile invention of his, which he had worked on before the war began. These men, so he claimed, were afraid they would lose all their money if he should happen to be killed before the invention was perfected. This tale, ingenious though it was, was too fantastic to be swallowed when taken in connection with all the things found in Fay's possession when he was arrested. Beyond all doubt his scheme to destroy ships was studied and approved by his military superiors in Germany before he left, and that scheme alone was his errand to this country.

Far less ingenious and equally damning was his attempt to explain away his relations with Von Papen. The sinister figure of the military attaché of the German Embassy at Washington leers from the background of all the German plots; and this case was no exception. It was known that Fay had had dealings with Von Papen in New York and on the witness stand he felt called upon to explain them in a way that would clear the diplomatic service of implication in his evil doings. He declared that he had taken his invention to Von Papen and that Von Papen had resolutely refused to have anything to do with it. This would have been well enough if Fay's explanation had stopped here.

But Fay's evil genius prompted him to make his explanation more convincing by an elaboration of the story, so he gave Von Papen's reasons for refusal. These were not at all that the device was calculated to do murder upon hundreds of helpless men, nor at all that to have any part in the business was to play the unneutral villain under the cloak of diplomatic privilege. Not at all. At the first interview, seeing only a rough sketch and hearing only Fay's description of preliminary experiments, Von Papen's sole objection was:

"Well, you might obtain an explosion once and the next ten apparatuses might fail."

To continue Fay's explanation:

"He casually asked me what the cost of it would be and I told him in my estimation the cost would not be more than $20 apiece. [$20 apiece for the destruction of thirty lives and a million-dollar ship and cargo!] As a matter of fact in Germany I will be able to get these things made for half that price. 'If it is not more than that,' Von Papen said, 'you might go ahead, but I cannot promise you anything whatever.'"

Fay then went back to his experiments and when he felt that he had practically perfected his device he called upon Von Papen for the second time. This time Von Papen's reply was:

"Well, this thing has been placed before our experts and also we have gone into the political condition of the whole suggestion. Now in the first place our experts say this apparatus is not at all seaworthy; but as regards political conditions I am sorry to say we cannot consider it and, therefore, we cannot consider the whole situation."

In other words, with no thought of the moral turpitude of the scheme, with no thought of the abuse of diplomatic freedom, but only with thoughts of the practicability of this device and of the effect upon political conditions of its use, Von Papen had put the question before technical men and before Von Bernstorff and their decision had been adverse solely on those considerations—first, that it would not work, and second, that it would arouse hostility in the United States. At no stage, according to Fay's best face upon the matter, was any thought given to its character as a hideous crime.

The device itself was studied independently by two sets of military experts of the United States Government with these results:

First, that it was mechanically perfect; second, that it was practical under the conditions of adjustment to a ship's rudder which Fay had devised; and third, that the charge of trinitrotoluol for which the container was

designed, was nearly half the quantity which is used on our own floating mines and which is calculated upon explosion twenty feet from a battleship to put it out of action, and upon explosion in direct contact, absolutely to destroy and sink the heaviest superdreadnaught. In other words, beyond all question the bomb would have shattered the entire stern of any ship to which it was attached, and would have caused it to sink in a few minutes.

A brief description of the contrivance, reveals the mechanical ingenuity and practical efficiency of Fay's bomb. A rod attached to the rudder, at every swing the rudder gave, turned up, by one notch, the first of the beveled wheels within the bomb. After a certain number of revolutions of that wheel, it in turn gave one revolution to the next; and so on through the series. The last wheel was connected with the threaded cap around the upper end of the square bolt, and made this cap slowly unscrew, until at length the bolt dropped clear of it and yielded to the waiting pressure of the strong steel spring above. This pressure drove it downward and brought the sharp points at its lower end down on the caps of the two rifle cartridges fixed below it—like the blow of a rifle's hammer. The detonation from the explosion of these cartridges would set off a small charge of impregnated chlorate of potash, which in turn would fire the small charge of the more sluggish but stronger dynamite, and that in turn would explode the still more sluggish but tremendously more powerful trinitrotoluol.

The whole operation, once the spring was free, would take place in a flash; and instantly its deadly work would be accomplished.

Picture the scene that Fay had in his mind as he toiled his six laborious months upon this dark invention. He saw himself, in imagination, fixing his infernal box upon the rudder post of a ship loading at a dock in New York harbor. As the cargo weighed the ship down, the box would disappear beneath the water. At length the ship starts on its voyage, and, as the rudder swings her into the stream, the first beat in the slow, sure knell of death for ship and crew is clicked out by its very turning. Out upon the sea the shift of wind and blow of wave require a constant correction with the rudder to hold the true course forward. At every swing the helmsman unconsciously taps out another of the lurking beats of death. Somewhere in midocean, perhaps at black midnight, in a driving storm, the patient mechanism hid below has turned the last of its calculated revolutions. The neck piece from the bolt slips loose, the spring drives downward, there is a flash, a deafening explosion, and five minutes later a few mangled bodies and a chaos of floating wreckage are all that is left above the water's surface.

This is the hideous dream Fay dreamed in the methodical 180 days of his planning and experimenting in New York. This is the dream to realize which he was able to enlist the coöperation of half a dozen other Germans. This is the dream his superiors in Germany viewed with favor, and financed. This is the dream the sinister Von Papen encouraged and which he finally dismissed only because he believed it too good to be true. This is the dream Fay himself on the witness stand said he had thought of as "a good joke on the British."

In this picture of infernal imagining, the true character of German plottings in this country stands revealed. Ingenuity of conception characterized them, method and patience and painstaking made them perfect. Flawless logic, flawless mechanism. But on the human side, only the blackest passions and an utter disregard of human life; no thought of honor, no trace of human pity. It happened in the case of Fay that the agent himself was ruthless and deserved far more than what the limit of existing law was able to give him when he was convicted of his crimes. But through all the plots Von Papen, Von Bernstorff, and the Imperial German Government in Berlin were consistent. Their hand was at the helm of all, and the same ruthless grasping after domination of the world at any price led them to the same barbarous code of conduct in them all.

(*To be continued in the* WORLD'S WORK *for May*)

DESTROYING A NATION

The Story of the Efforts Being Made by Austria and Bulgaria to Eliminate From the Balkans a Virile, Upright Race—The Denationalization of the Serbs, and the Reign of Terror Among the Southern Slavs of Austria

BY

E. M. CHADWICK

BY THIS time Turkey's periodic persecution of the Armenians surprises no one. It is recognized frankly for what it is: an effort to exterminate a whole race. But even three years of war as practised by the Central Powers have not accustomed the civilized world to the spectacle of professedly Christian nations employing the same policy of actual extermination.

That is why it is difficult to make the average man understand what is going on in the Balkans at the present moment.

Austria and Bulgaria are together carrying out a perfectly definite and well-organized scheme for wiping the Serbian people off the face of the earth. It is not possible to explain what s going on in Serbia on the ground of even the Teutonic conception of "military necessity." Military necessity has nothing whatever to do with it. No military purpose can possibly be served by the measures now in force in Serbia, unless, indeed, one is also prepared to recognize as military operations the performances of Burmese thugs, or to accept as permissible to Christian peoples the way of Israel with the Amalekites.

Austria and Bulgaria have divided Serbia between them, Bulgaria getting about two-thirds and Austria the remaining third; and they are working hand in hand toward the complete elimination of the Serb element in the Balkan Peninsula. While wholesale murder and the general practice of "atrocities" form a large item in the programme, the occupying Powers by no means confine themselves to such crude and inadequate weapons. They are nothing if not thorough. The two nations must be classed together in this matter, because, while in the execution of each detail of the scheme Bulgaria has proved herself somewhat more ruthless—or shall we merely say more efficient than her Ally—the scheme itself gives evidence of such perfect teamwork that its organizers must be held jointly responsible for the results.

Deportation naturally plays a large part in the programme. Germany has demonstrated its uses in Teutonic warfare, but she has much to learn from her allies.

An official Serbian report states that, directly after the taking of Belgrade by the Austrians, about five thousand residents of the city (men, women, and children) were deported to Doboj in Bosnia, where already large numbers of other prisoners were interned. As to the conditions in Doboj, here is a brief extract from a speech made in the Vienna House of Parliament on October 19, 1917. As a hostage the Dalmatian poet, Dr. Tresić-Pavičić, had himself suffered the rigors of the Austrian detention camps, and after his release resumed his seat in the Reichsrat in order to make what was probably the most terrible indictment ever brought by a subject against the Government under which he lived.

"At Doboj," said Dr. Tresić-Pavičić, "it was still worse. On December 27, 1915, there arrived the first batch of Serbian and Montenegrin prisoners, accompanied by a crowd of people from Bosnia, forced to leave their homes near the frontier. Women, old men, and children had to travel in open cattle-trucks, exposed to cold, rain, wind, hunger, and lack of sleep. . . . They were shut up in huts which had once served as a veterinary hospital and which, infected with all kinds of horses' diseases and full of manure, had never been cleaned out. Soon exanthematic typhus, small-pox, and cholera broke out. Every kind of vermin abounded.

"A confidential order from the military in Sarajevo enjoined upon the warders the most drastic treatment of the prisoners, and all was done to send them as quickly as possible to the other world. The most convenient and paying method was starvation. Women with four or five children were given only one loaf every five days. . . . Often the mother was already dead when the child tried to wake her crying for bread.

"At first 15 to 20 of these people died daily.

GEOGRAPHY OF SERBIAN EXILE

The distances that Serbian exiles are sent preclude the possibility of their easy return after the war

On the 5th of April, 1916, 92 died. The bodies were driven through the streets of Doboj in open daylight. According to reliable persons more than 8,000 innocent victims died there."

At the great detention camp at Braunau it is estimated that there are (or were) at least 35,000 prisoners. At this place the Austrians are holding a large number of Serbian children. The Vienna *Reichspost* of December 6, 1916, speaks of 800 boys between 9 and 19 years of age being confined at Braunau; but according to Serbian official information the number has reached at least 2,000.

Many of the Austrian detention camps are situated in the most malarial districts of the Danube Valley, veritable hotbeds of disease, where fever and neglect save the authorities the trouble of otherwise disposing of their victims. An epidemic of dysentery at Braunau almost wiped out the children confined there at the time; and the cruel rigor of the treatment to which they are subjected—to say nothing of the bad food—is destroying the vitality of those who managed to survive. An exchanged Serbian officer, Lieutenant Vidak Koprivitza, of the 2nd Regiment of the Combined Serbian Division, who was confined in a camp where soldiers and civilians of both sexes were mixed together, reported having seen boys and girls hunting in the drain-courses for scraps of food.

Bulgaria, as usual, has outdone her ally in the matter of deportation. She has carried off from the districts under her control all the remaining members of the Serbian Parliament, all the priests and teachers, all the physicians—in fact, all the leading men. Not content with this, she has deported the *entire population* of certain districts chiefly in Serbian Macedonia and New Serbia generally. At Prizren and Prishtina, after most of the leading men had been killed, practically every Serbian family was carried away. From Poretch and Prilip all the male population from 15 to 70 year

was ordered to be deported. These deportations have been carried out with even greater brutality than those organized by Austria, the Bulgar soldiers driving the wretched people along the roads like cattle.

The deportations carried out by Bulgaria are followed by the confiscation of all the properties of the deported people, so that the proceeding amounts to complete obliteration of the population.

Most atrocious of all Bulgaria's crimes in this direction has been the carrying off of young girls. M. Pachitch, the Serbian Premier, stated in London last September that eight thousand young Serbian girls have been sent to Constantinople and two thousand to Asia Minor. These were children chiefly of ten to fourteen years of age.

"These deportations," said M. Pachitch, "have been going on since February, 1916, but the number was very limited till a few weeks ago. Now it has been systematized under Bulgarian controllers and it is impossible to tell how far it will go. . . . Prisoners whom we have taken on the Saloniki front tell us that the traffic in our girlhood has grown to be a byword in Bulgaria and Turkey. The girls are kidnapped and taken away secretly. . . . Dozens of small towns have been quite denuded of their young female population. . . . The girls are too young to be of any use for laboring purposes; besides neither Turkey nor Bulgaria is seriously handicapped for labor, and in Turkey the use of young women for outdoor work is practically unknown."

A pitiful letter, written and somehow smuggled out from the Serbian mountains by a man who took part in the heroic insurrection of the Serbs against the Bulgars last spring, throws a sidelight on this traffic.

"On the 25th of April," says this writer, "they embarked on trains at Belotintze 8,000 children of twelve to fifteen years—destination: Constantinople. Many of these children threw themselves from the moving cars and thus found death."

One is afraid to ask what has been the fate of the others.

Added to every other horror of this situation is the unspeakable bitterness for Serbia of seeing her children handed over to her ancient enemy the Turk, who in all his five hundred years of tyranny over her was never able to undermine the heroic purity of Serbian womanhood.

There is one phase of Bulgaria's proceedings, however, for which no parallel can be found even in the blackened records of her allies. She has called up for active service in her own army the male population of the invaded districts of Serbia. The Bulgarian papers refer constantly and with the utmost frankness to this recruiting. During last year, on September 26, the *Preporetz* announced that the recruiting commissions had commenced their work in all the "new liberated lands"; on October 6 the *Dnevnik* stated that all the male residents of Tetovatz between the ages of 15 and 50 have been ordered to appear before the recruiting commission; on October 17 the *Mir* announced the sending to Sofia of 3,000 recruits from the districts of Ochrid, Debar, and Struga.

The Allied Armies on the Saloniki front have actually captured Serbs from these districts who had been forced into the Bulgarian Army; and the endless reports from deserters which are constantly coming to the Serbian Government furnish ample confirmation of the facts.

Since it is hardly practicable to carry off or kill every single Serb in Serbia, the deportations are being supplemented by the systematic denationalization of the remaining population.

STAMPING OUT A LANGUAGE

The first step toward denationalization is always the suppression of the language.

Austria has forbidden the employment of the Cyrillic characters, in use in Serbia since the earliest times; and has even abolished the Julian Calendar. She has prohibited the publication or sale of books which are distinctively Serbian. All volumes of the wonderful traditional poetry (the greatest treasure of Serbian culture) have been confiscated. Works of modern Serbian poets, such as Radichevitch and Jovan Jovanovitch, have been forbidden; and even a pedagogic study by Dr. Bakitch on "National Education" has been condemned on the strength of its title alone.

German and Magyar have been substituted for Serbian in the schools under Austrian control. Moreover, these Orthodox children of Serbia are being educated as Roman Catholics. They are obliged to wear uniforms similar to those of Austrian soldiers, and are in general being brought up as "loyal Austrians." Since vast numbers of these children are orphans, it is proportionately easier to rob them of their national heritage than if

they had parents at home who could counteract the poison that is being poured into their minds.

Bulgaria, not content with trying to wipe out Serbian national literature, has ordered the destruction of all books printed or written in the Serbian language. Even priceless old manuscripts in the monasteries, and ancient archives which represented all the records Serbia had brought with her out of her five centuries of bondage, have been destroyed.

By way of general compensation for the destruction of the literary heritage of Serbia, Bulgaria is offering complimentary copies of the works of modern Bulgarian authors, a proceeding which has not been without some measure of comic relief in the shape of violent jealousies on the part of Bulgar authors not thus honored by their Government.

Bulgaria has laid the entire Serbian Church under an interdict. She has replaced the Serb priests deported to Sofia, Philippopolis, and Ril, by Bulgar priests who offer the people the services of the Bulgarian Church—a Church which was founded by a Sultan of Turkey in 1871, and has always been regarded by the ancient Orthodox Catholic Churches (Russian, Serbian, and Greek) as schismatic. The Serbs have even been forbidden to celebrate in memory of their patron saint, St. Sava.

The great historic Serbian monasteries (those at Ravanitza and Masanija in particular), shrines respected even by the Turks, have been devastated by the Bulgars. All sculptural inscriptions, memorials of ancient Serbian rulers, have been destroyed by hammer and axe. Not only in churches, but even on old Macedonian bridges, have such inscriptions been erased.

BULGARIA'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY

Bulgaria has followed the same course as her ally in the matter of education; and, as usual, has gone a few steps farther. She has sent so many Bulgar teachers into Serbia that there are not enough left in Bulgaria to serve the schools there.

Both allies have changed street-names in cities under their control into German, Magyar, or Bulgarian; but it was reserved for Bulgaria alone to force the Serbs to change the termination of their surnames from the typical Serbian "ić" and "ović" to the Bulgar "off" (Savić—Savoff, Ivanić—Ivanoff, etc.).

It is comprehensible that in such a programme as this the economic exploitation of Serbia should play a large part. It has, in fact, been carried out with a thoroughness that might be termed Prussian, were it not so typically Austro-Bulgarian.

There is not space enough here to give details of the ways in which Austria has manipulated the Serbian taxation laws to her own advantage and the destruction of Serbian trade. Bulgaria has not even observed the formality of a theoretical adherence to Serbian law; but has discarded it completely and imposed arbitrary taxation as she pleased.

Under Austrian administration Serbian money has been forcibly depreciated fifty per cent., Serbian currency being gradually withdrawn from circulation and replaced by Austrian money and War Notes. The excuses given for this proceeding, viz., that there was not a metal basis in the country to cover the notes in circulation, and that there was reason to fear the Serbian Government would place in circulation new bank notes of which the proportion would not correspond to the metal basis, are neither of them tenable. Firstly, the Serbian National Bank had ample reserve to cover the notes in circulation in the occupied territory. Secondly, since leaving Serbian territory the Serbian Government has had to make all its payments in foreign money, and would consequently have no interest in increasing the supply of Serbian notes.

According to reliable information received by the Serbian Government, the Austrian authorities have taken Serbian money by force from private individuals, replacing it by Austrian money at a rate of less than fifty per cent. of its nominal value. This amounts to direct confiscation of private property—or to wholesale theft, according as one prefers to call a spade a spade, or an instrument for delving.

Bulgaria has simply removed Serbian money from circulation altogether. Not only does she not recognize it as legal tender, but she inflicts severe punishment on any person found in possession of Serbian currency. The effect of such measures on the condition of the population is too obvious to require comment.

The Austrians have followed in Serbia the example of their German colleagues in Belgium and northern France as regards robbery. The museums at Belgrade, the Royal Palac-

and private houses whose owners are absent, have all been systematically looted.

Bulgaria's views on looting are entirely original. She has declared all property whose owners are absent to be in fact "ownerless." The following extracts from Bulgarian journals speak for themselves:

"The King has confirmed the decision taken for the fourth time by the Government to hand over to the State the properties of those who, having abandoned their country, have not yet returned to it." (*Dnevnik*, March 17, 1916.)

"There will arrive here in a few days 1,000 kilos of wool belonging to nobody; it will be sold together with 13,000 kilos of coffee. The sale will take place in small quantities, so that the smaller tradespeople can lay in a provision of these articles." (*Narodni Prava*, June 16, 1916.)

"A wagon-load of tombstones from Old Serbia has arrived at the railway station at Sofia." (*Dnevnik*, February 24, 1916.)

"On the 24th inst., there will be sold in the State Warehouse, among other ownerless objects collected by the Administration in Serbia, a number of lots of perfume, pomade, eau de Cologne, all at exceptional prices." (*Narodni Prava.*)

THE FOOD SITUATION

Practically nothing is being done by the occupying Powers to feed the population in Serbia. The situation is naturally worst in the towns. For some time before the United States entered the war, the Mission of the American Red Cross in Serbia, headed by Mr. Edward Stuart, did admirable work, not only in relieving to some extent the appalling distress, but in bringing to the stricken people that sympathy and kindliness of which their lives were otherwise so pitifully empty. Moreover, the presence of neutral observers serves in some measure to check, at any rate, the worst abuses. Since the Red Cross Mission was obliged to leave Serbia, it is hard to know what is being done for the people. The indications are that nothing whatever is being done. A Swiss Committee for some time did valiant work; but under existing arrangements Switzerland is no longer able to export any food, even for relief work; so that at present no food is being sent into Serbia from outside, and the people are entirely dependent on the tender mercies of the enemy.

So much for the civilian population. Of the condition of Serbian prisoners of war in enemy hands something has been learned from exchanged invalid prisoners, escaped prisoners, and from neutral observers. There seems little likelihood that many of these men will live to return to their country if the war goes on much longer. The chances of their returning in good enough physical condition for the ordinary occupations of life are very slight indeed.

Last November the Serbian Legation in Washington issued a verbatim report of a declaration made to the Serbian Legation in Berne by Colonel Nikola Tomashevitch, who was exchanged and transported to Switzerland from an Austrian prison camp. The statement is too long to reproduce *in extenso*, but the following extract is typical of the whole:

"The prisoners are dying continually of hunger because the food given them is not only insufficient but harmful. . . . We often saw them searching the refuse heaps for bones or scraps of food. They just rubbed the bones a little before beginning to gnaw them. Sometimes we would see them pulling up grass for food. . . . According to the statement of the doctors, any nursing of the sick is useless . . . because the soldiers are slowly dying of starvation. It is not only the sick, but also those suffering from no actual malady. . . . The morning often finds them dead or frozen. So far, there are in Austria-Hungary at least 50,000 graves of Serbian soldiers."

On September 22, 1917, the Paris paper *Le Temps* published the result of a long and careful investigation made by its special correspondent in Zürich, Switzerland, who interrogated a large number of exchanged and escaped prisoners (not only Serbian, but French, British, and Russian) in addition to many trustworthy neutral witnesses. Here are a few brief extracts from his report:

"The fate of the Serbian prisoners at Mauthausen (in Austria) was the most terrible of all.

"In 1916 spotted typhus began to ravage the Serbian prisoners' camps. Instead of rendering assistance to the prisoners, the military authorities caused the barracks to be closed, and not until a week had passed was a regimental surgeon dispatched, who had the barracks re-opened and succeeded in localizing the disease. But already 9,000 Serbian prisoners had perished. The camp had become one vast Serbian grave. In order to conceal this crime the dead were buried by the hundred in one grave. Then the earth was levelled, an Orthodox chapel erected on the site and the inscription put up:

"'Here are buried Serbian soldiers who died of wounds received in the Austro-Hungaro-Serbian War provoked by Serbia.'"

The *Temps* correspondent is further responsible for the statement that "according to the account of an Austrian medical man, there are concentrated at Krizevci, in Croatia, more than 3,000 Serbs, prisoners of war and deported persons, who have become insane. The statistics recently published by the Austrian and German authorities prove that this information is correct."

Bulgaria has put herself beyond the pale of humanity by refusing all information regarding her prisoners, and forbidding all correspondence between them and their families. It is consequently very difficult to get accurate information regarding prisoners in Bulgarian hands; but an eye-witness who saw fifty or sixty Serbian officer prisoners in Philippopolis reported:

"They all look ill. Their clothes are torn and terribly filthy. They never have a bath, because they have no facilities for taking one. The only food they receive is smoked goats' flesh. They have no money, because they receive none from anywhere. Even to-day I shudder when their image rises before my eyes."

Contrast this with the behavior of the Serbian soldiers, who on the terrible retreat before the triple invasion in 1915, shared to the last their infinitesimal rations with the Austrian prisoners who marched with them; or with the luxurious comfort that surrounds the German prisoners held in England at Donnington Hall and the other beautiful country houses taken over by the British Government for the housing of enemy officers.

SERBIA'S LOSS OF LIFE

It is difficult to estimate with even approximate correctness Serbia's actual loss of life since the war began. On May 5, 1917, the *Vossische Zeitung* stated that the total number of Serbian prisoners of war in the hands of the Central Powers up to February 1, 1917, was 154,630, distributed as follows:

	OFFICERS	MEN	TOTAL
In Germany . . .	...	25,879	25,879
In Austria-Hungary .	709	96,363	97,072
In Bulgaria . . .	187	31,942	31,679 (sic.)

At the outbreak of the war the Serbian Army numbered about 465,000. The strength of the army now fighting on the Saloniki front was in August, 1917, about 100,000 (about 65,000 fighting men). If this figure, together with the 154,630 nominally surviving as prisoners, be deducted from the original 465,000, Serbia's loss in killed and incapacitated would seem to amount to 210,370 (about 45 per cent. of her army), even assuming that all the prisoners are eventually returned, which we know is out of the question.

There are probably between 50,000 and 60,000 Serbian civilians interned in Austria-Hungary; and it is known that Bulgaria has deported more than 10,000 *families*, to say nothing of the great numbers of individuals carried off; but it is impossible to get at reasonably exact figures. In view of the conditions in the camps it is idle to hope for the survival and eventual return home of any large proportion of the deported people. Those sent to Asia Minor by Bulgaria, for instance, are as likely to recover their freedom as the Armenians driven there by Turkey. It is known, moreover, that more than 20,000 persons perished in the ill-fated insurrection in Serbia last spring; and the toll of murder, summary execution, and death from hunger and maltreatment must be appalling.

Serbian officials place the total loss (civilians and army) at probably a million, up to the present, or more than 20 per cent. of the entire population.

BULGARIA'S MOTIVES

It may be said that it is not fair to impute, even to such enemies as those whom we are fighting now, so atrocious an intention as the actual destruction of a race, unless one is able to show unmistakably the motives for it.

Bulgaria's motives in this scheme are too clear to require much elucidation. She wants to own the Balkans; and since history has proved that the Serbs are not the kind of people to allow any other nation to own their land in peace, Bulgaria's only course, as she sees it, is to eliminate them, by killing as many as possible and denationalizing the rest. She appears also to imagine that by removing the Serb population and all traces of Serbian occupation and culture, she may, even in the event of an Entente peace, be able to retain possession of the conquered territories on the score of apparent nationality. Add to this the fact that she is enjoying an unrivalled opportunity for avenging the humiliations of the Second Balkan War, and, further, that in the Bulgar the Mongol ancestry is frequent

more in evidence than the Slav; and Bulgaria's whole conduct of the war becomes intelligible.

The Bulgar attitude toward Serbia has nowhere been more succinctly expressed than in the Hymn of Hate written by Ivan Arnaudoff, Secretary to the Bulgarian Department of Education:

The Sun has risen on the horizon
Red with the blood of all our foes.
For what dost wait, my young Bulgarian?
Raise high thy hands that thou mayst bless
With blessings that are steeped in blood.
Drive thy hand in womb of women young,
And rouse to jealously e'en Lucifer himself.

Before the Sun has risen high in sky
Let lakes of blood from thine own sword rise also high.
As dewy vapours rise at dawn to Heaven's King,
Let bloody vapour rise round thee
A fragrance for the gods.
See the old man! Frailly he totters on,
Dragging out decrepit age,
Yet death he would escape and flee thy courage.

But stamp him under foot, and with thy fork
Gouge out his troubled eyes—
Not worthy they a Bulgar's greatness to behold—
Give him his eyes to eat;
Three days he's had nor drink nor meat.
For what dost wait, my young Bulgar?
Onward, onward, onward!

Bodies all velvet-soft of babes and mothers
Make carpet softer far than any April sward.
But taste thou first their morning dew;
By force from their fresh youth take pleasure;
Drink and intoxicate thy soul!
Take thou the fruit, then hurl the peel away,
And forward stride on human carpet royal!
Let press thy horse's hoof on woman's bosom soft,
Lest that same milk should nourish hostile sons.
For what dost wait, my young Bulgar?
Onward, ever onward!

Austria's treatment of Serbia is only part of a larger policy. Quite apart from any question of interest in the Berlin-Bagdad scheme, the Austro-Hungarian tendency, ever since Sadowa and the Compromise of 1867 which established the Dualist principle, has been toward the suppression of all races within the Monarchy except the German and Magyar. The two ruling peoples, who are not even in a numerical majority, have sought by every means in their power to cripple the others; and their hand has lain with crushing weight on the Southern Slavs.

The speech of Dr. Tresić-Pavičić in the Reichsrat is a sufficient testimony to Austrian methods; and more significant than the speech itself is the fact that its accusations have never been denied. Here is a passage from his description:

"The most notable and best educated among the population were taken as hostages. Only very few of these contrived to play their part to the end and to save their lives. As a rule they were, by the order of some officer, taken from the casemates to the courtyard, where each of them was handed over to two Moslems armed to the teeth. The officer then proceeded in a loud voice to instruct the guards for half an hour, pointing out all the cases in which they must kill the hostage. 'At the slightest sound, plunge the bayonet in his heart. If you hear the crack of a rifle in the woods, blow out his brains. If he should turn to the left shoot him; if he makes a movement to the right cut him in pieces.' And the Moslem guards did not stand in need of encouragement.

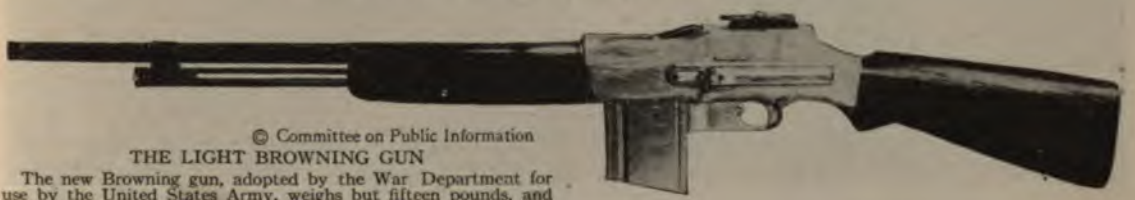
"The hostages were selected at night. The loathsome face of Scholier the gaoler, set in a frame of bayonets that gleamed like mortuary candles, entered silently, as, like a tiger, he sought out and pounced on his victims. The hair of more than one was blanched in a single night with terror. One day he carried off boys in the prime of youth, the next, old men bowed with age. Such as desired to prolong their miserable life for a few days indicated by gestures how many banknotes they were prepared to sacrifice. To be taken as hostage was equal to a sentence of death. Hundreds perished in this way. . . ."

It must be remembered that the victims to whom Dr. Tresić-Pavičić referred were subjects of Austria-Hungary, not of an enemy state. In view of the whole situation, in the Southern Slav territories of Austria-Hungary as in Serbia, it does not seem possible to regard the joint campaign as other than an effort to destroy this whole people.

But if nothing is left of the Serbian people but the magnificent remnant of an Army at Saloniki and the 30,000 refugees scattered through Europe, the duty of the Entente Powers toward this, the most heroic and faithful of their allies, can only be made thereby greater, not less. Civilization can never repay Serbia for what she has sacrificed for it.

MAN AND HIS MACHINES

The Light and Heavy Browning Machine Guns Recently Given Their Trials, and Three Types in Use in Europe—British Official Photographs Showing the Bombing of Beyrout, the Mediterranean Port of Damascus—Photographs Showing the Damage Done by the Germans to Liners Interned in American Ports Prior to Our Entry Into the War



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THE LIGHT BROWNING GUN

The new Browning gun, adopted by the War Department for use by the United States Army, weighs but fifteen pounds, and may easily be fired from the shoulder. It is simple in its construction, and in its trials acted creditably

© Committee on Public Information

THE HEAVY BROWNING GUN

This model of the Browning gun has fired 20,000 shots in 48 minutes. It is water cooled, and weighs but 34½ pounds with the water jacket filled

A BRITISH HEAVY MACHINE GUN

The war has brought out many types of machine guns, and without them an army would be greatly handicapped. This model fires from a long canvas belt filled with cartridges

THE LEWIS GUN

(left)

The controversy that has ended in the War Department adopting the Browning gun in preference to the Lewis has not definitely proven that this gun is not the superior of the two. The British Army thinks very highly of the Lewis

A GERMAN HEAVY MACHINE GUN

(right)

Machine guns are in use as anti-aircraft guns as well as being used by the aviators themselves. This gun is mounted on a carriage that allows for high angle firing

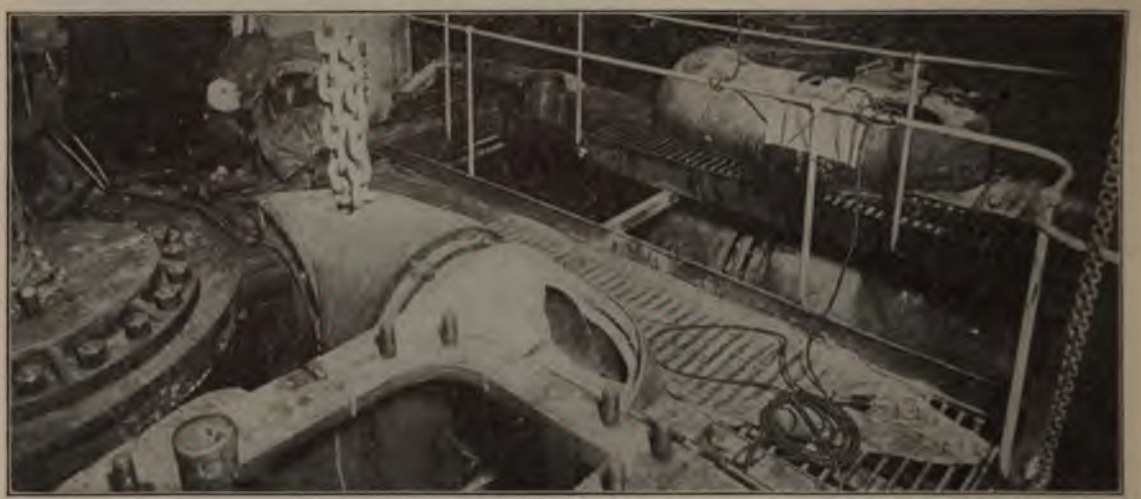
BRITISH OFFICIAL PHOTOGRAPHS—

An aviator is no longer content merely to drop his bombs. He must now photograph the positions he is bombing, and the photographs are turned in with his report. This series of pictures shows Beyrout, the seaport of Damascus, being bombed by a British airplane. The long pier and a group of warehouses were the objects of the attack, and the first picture shows a miss, the bomb exploding in the water. The second and third pictures show direct hits on the pier

—SHOWING THE BOMBING OF BEYROUT

At the extreme left of the upper picture a ship is shown, sunk but resting on the bottom of the shallow harbor. The warehouses have been hit by a bomb. The second picture, with the arrows, shows the damage done by the dropping bombs. These arrows are a part of the aviator's report. The lower picture shows both pier and warehouses burning, as the aviator returns to his base

Photographs from Brown Bros.



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THE ENGINE ROOM OF THE "GEORGE WASHINGTON"

This picture, taken when the German liner was seized by the United States, shows the damage done to the valve chests of the big engines. All this damage has now has been repaired, and the ship is being used as a transport

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HOW THE GERMANS DISABLED THEIR INTERNED LINERS

Rows of holes were bored through the cylinder walls on the Kaiser Wilhelm II and a heavy jack forced out sections of the cylinder walls. The cylinder heads were also broken. A new American welding process, discovered after the Germans had wrought the damage, made it possible for the Navy Department to repair these engines

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The History of
The Internal Bath

By **Charles A. Tyrrell, M. D.**

INASMUCH as I have the best of reasons for the statement that Internal Bathing is at the present time being regularly practiced by upward of at least half a million Americans, it may be of somewhat general interest to examine into what is known of its origin, its reason and the recent stages by which it arrived at its present popularity and resultfulness.

Though popularly supposed to be a comparatively modern practice, its usage, in a crude form, is traceable many centuries back, for Pliny in his Naturalis Historia, A. D. 79, mentions it as being prescribed by the Ancient Egyptian Physicians to whom its investigation was suggested by the health habits of the Ibis, a bird of the Nile.

These Egyptian Physicians, by the way, were the first medical practitioners known to history, not excepting the Chinese.

And the ancient Egyptians, measured by their accomplishments, seem to have been a pretty healthy, husky people.

Although history does not give much light on the subject in more recent periods, it does mention a widespread use of this treatment throughout Europe in the early part of the Eighteenth Century, especially in France.

The recent resuscitation of this ancient remedial practice dates back to the early 'forties, when Dr. A. Wilford Hall of New York, after years of public speaking and the authorship of many religious and scientific works, failed in health, rapidly declined and was given by his physicians but a few months to live.

Dr. Hall was not a Doctor of Medicine, but of Philosophy and Laws, and a man of the highest knowledge and attainments I knew him very well in later years and he frequently said: "Having had considerable trouble in that way, the idea came to me like an inspiration that if I could keep the colon cleansed of waste matter, I would have at least a better chance of recovery."

Dr. Hall persisted in this treatment, using the crude and laborious method of a bulb syringe, and from that time until his death at the generous age of eighty-two, forty odd years after he had been given up, did his utmost to give the world the benefit of his personal experience.

I arrived in New York City in 1887 after an extended trip through India, China and Japan, and unwisely invested my entire capital in a commercial venture which failed.

More or less indifferent attention to my physical condition and the shock of this experience brought on a second stroke of paralysis on the left side (the first having occurred previously in Hong Kong).

Being helpless I became an inmate of a hospital for a time; was then refused admission to another and fortunately knowing of some of the results of Internal Bathing I resorted to it regularly with such success that in 90 days I was walking about the city.

Impressed by the fact, however, that the method of taking these baths was then crude and imperfect I decided to study, practice and improve on it.

To do this properly and legally I quickly found that I would have to become a Doctor of Medicine.

Entering immediately a medical college, I took the four years' course and graduated with honors.

Not at all a bad commentary on the results of Internal Bathing, considering my condition the year before entering.

After graduating, I found my experience exactly akin to all those who must educate the public, especially in a matter where most of us are so notoriously careless—Irregularity.

But I knew from the experience of myself and others that the foundation of a great and revolutionary, though perfectly natural remedy was there.

And that once its results were generally known no power could stop its rapid and universal appreciation.

And so I persevered.

From the smallest of beginnings I found that every J. B. L. Cascade which I distributed brought me demand for others—that once the proper administering of the Internal Bath accomplished its result with one patient, he was generously eager to pass his experience along.

And so it grew, and has grown so astoundingly in the past twenty years that I heartily agree with Physicians generally when they claim that "the vast majority of human illnesses are directly or indirectly caused by accumulated waste in the colon."

That also is the direct cause of our frequent loss of spirits and lack of confidence; in other words, our fifty per cent. of efficiency.

You will never appreciate this properly except in the clear, eager, confident way you will always feel the morning after an Internal Bath.

In the twenty-five years of my specializing on this Nature's remedy there have developed, as you may imagine, many informing and interesting phases of this treatment. The result of these years of research and practical experience has been summed up in a little book, "The What, The Why, The Way of Internal Bathing," which I will gladly send to any interested person free on request.

Just address Chas. A. Tyrrell, M.D., 134 West 65th St., New York, mentioning that you read this in THE WORLD'S WORK, and the book will go forward by return mail.

Of course we all want to be well and efficient and stay so without calling upon Drugs to help, if that be possible. There are, as I have said, hundreds of thousands who are already doing this by this purely natural preventive, and the numbers are steadily growing. So it may be that in your own interest it would be well to send for this little book to-day while it is still on your mind.

An Appreciation of Great Britain

NOVEMBER

THE WORLD'S WORK

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Everybody naturally wants to hear the best music

If you had your choice of attending two concerts—the greatest artists in all the world appearing at one, some little-known artists at the other—which would you choose? You would quickly decide to hear the renowned artists who are famous for their superb interpretations. And this is exactly the reason why the Victrola is the instrument for your home. The world's greatest artists make records for the Victor exclusively:

Caruso, Alda, Braslau, Calvé, Culp, de Gogorza, De Luca, Destinn, Elman, Farrar, Gadski, Galli-Curci, Garrison, Gluck, Hempel, Homer, Journet, Kreisler, Martinelli, McCormack, Melba, Paderewski, Powell, Ruffo, Schumann-Heink, Scotti, Sembrich, Tetrazzini, Whitehill, Williams, Witherspoon, Zimbalist.

There are Victors and Victrolas in great variety of styles from $10 to $400, and there are Victor dealers everywhere who will gladly demonstrate them and play your favorite music for you. Ask to hear the Saenger Voice Culture Records.

Victor Talking Machine Co., Camden, N. J., U. S. A.

Berliner Gramophone Co., Montreal, Canadian Distributors

New Victor Records demonstrated at all dealers on the 1st of each month

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Warning: The use of the word **Victrola** upon or in the promotion or sale of any other Talking Machine or Phonograph products is misleading and illegal.

Important Notice. Victor Records and Victor Machines are scientifically coordinated and synchronized by our special processes of manufacture, and their use, one with the other, is absolutely essential to a perfect Victor reproduction.

To insure Victor quality, always look for the famous trade-mark, "His Master's Voice." It is on all genuine products of the Victor Talking Machine Company.

Victrola XVII, $250
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Of course you will want to help the Government in the work of conserving food supplies by having one or two meatless days each week. For your meatless meals you will want food that supplies as much nutriment as meat at a lower cost—food that is ready-to-eat and easily digested.

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contains all the body-building material in the whole wheat grain prepared in a digestible form. It is 100 per cent. whole wheat—nothing wasted, nothing thrown away. The whole wheat contains every element needed for building healthy bodies and for furnishing energy for the day's work. It contains more real, body-building nutriment than meat, eggs or potatoes and costs much less.

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The War To-day—and To-morrow

A Review and a Look Ahead to Next Year

By
J. B. W. GARDINER

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Victrola XVII, electric, $300
Mahogany or oak

Will there be a Victrola in your home this Christmas?

To hear the world's best music is a pleasure every one enjoys, and the artists who entertain you on the Victrola are the artists every one wants to hear. The world's greatest artists—and they make records for the Victrola exclusively.

Caruso, Alda, Calvé, Culp, de Gogorza, De Luca, Farrar, Gadski, Galli-Curci, Gluck, Hempel, Homer, Journet, Martinelli, McCormack, Melba, Ruffo, Schumann-Heink, Scotti, Sembrich, Tetrazzini, and other famous singers of the opera and concert stage. Elman, Kreisler, Paderewski, Powell, Zimbalist, and other noted instrumentalists. Sousa's Band, Pryor's Band, Conway's Band, Victor Herbert's Orchestra, and other bands and orchestras of world-wide renown. Harry Lauder, Nora Bayes, Raymond Hitchcock, and a host of other favorite entertainers.

Get a Victrola this Christmas. There are Victor dealers everywhere, and they will gladly play your favorite music for you and demonstrate the various styles of the Victor and Victrola—$10 to $400.

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It is easy to prepare a nourishing, strengthening, wholesome meal at low cost without spending much time in the kitchen if you only know how to select foods.

The whole wheat contains every element needed for building healthy bodies and for furnishing en ergy for the day's work.

Every loyal American will want to do his bit in preventing waste. When you eat wheat be sure you get the whole wheat in a digestible form. This will help the good work of conserving food—a real liberty loan to the Government.

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is the real liberty bread. It is 100 per cent. whole wheat, nothing wasted, nothing thrown away. Pound for pound it contains more body-building nutriment than meat or eggs. It is ready-cooked, ready-to-eat.

Two or three Shredded Wheat Biscuits with milk and sliced bananas, prunes, or canned fruits, make a nourishing, satisfying meal at a cost of a few pennies.

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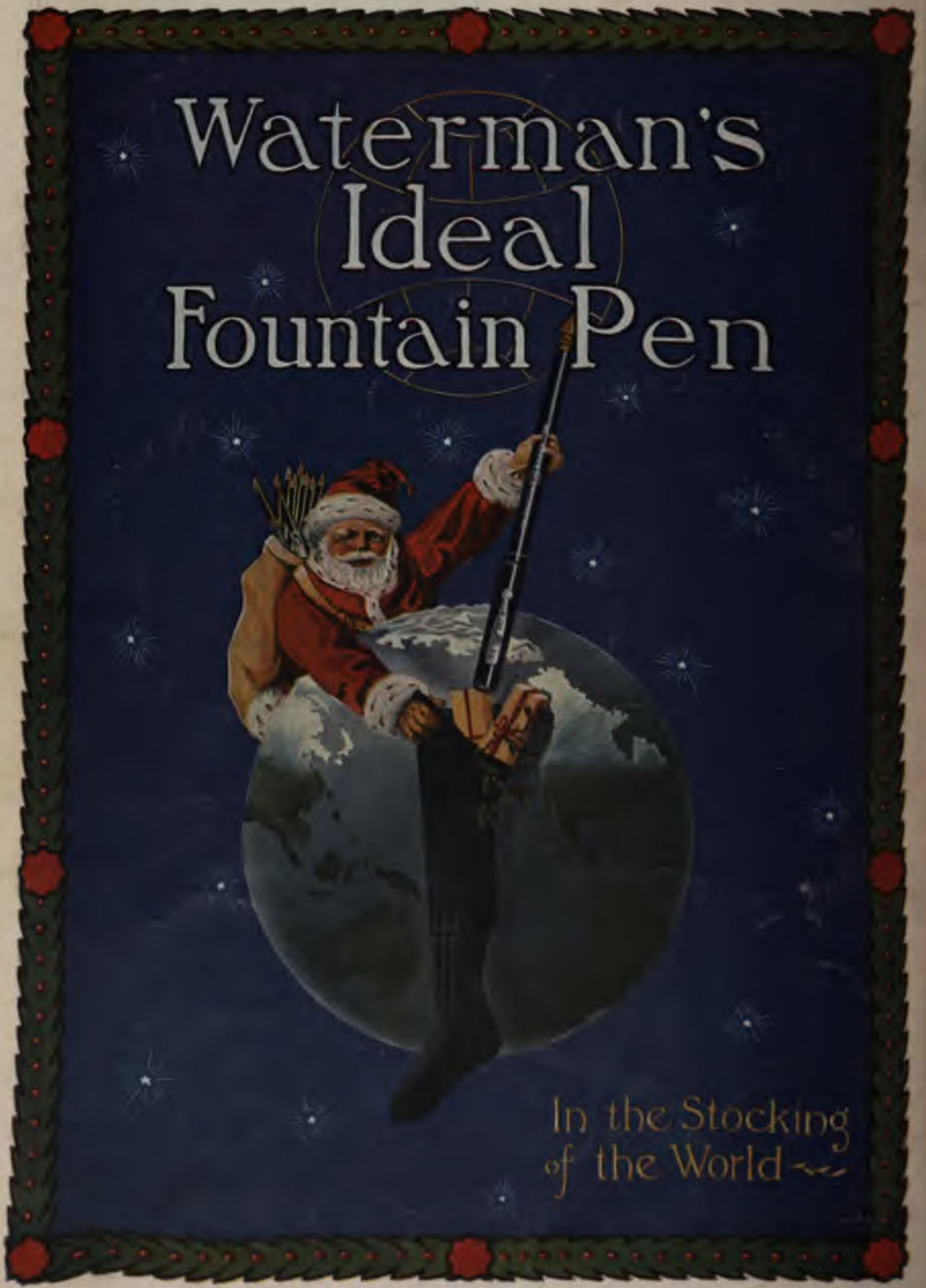

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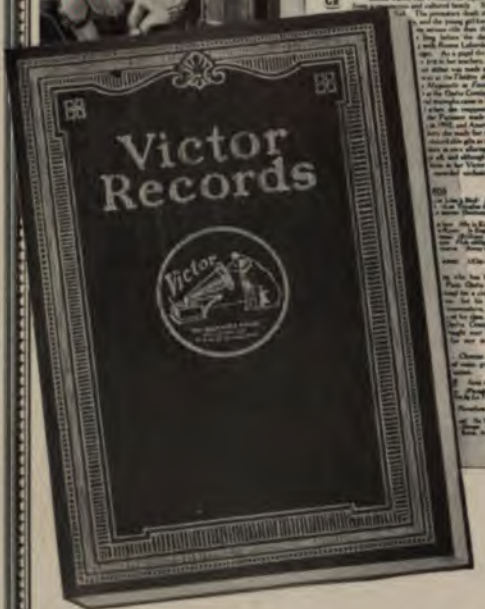

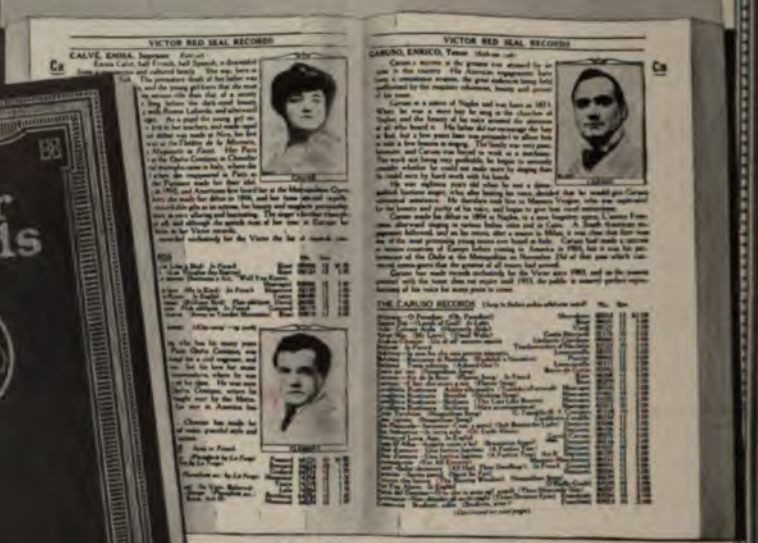

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Any Victor dealer will gladly give you a copy of this great catalog of music, or we will mail you a copy free, postage paid.

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I. The German Spy System From the Inside

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—who have chosen Victrola Records exclusively to carry their art to all the world and immortalize them for all time.

Hear your favorite music today at any Victor dealer's. He will gladly play for you any Victrola Records by the world's greatest artists, and give you a copy of the Victor Record catalog—the most complete catalog of music in all the world. Ask to hear the Saenger Voice Culture Records.

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1 Caruso as Rhadames in Aida
2 Melba as Marguerite in Faust
3 Galli-Curci as Gilda in Rigoletto
4 Farrar as Tosca
5 Johanna Gadski as Isolde in Tannhäuser
6 McCormack as Sir Edgar in Lucia
7 Gluck as Nedda in Bagliacci
8 Scotti as Scarpia in Tosca
9 Homer as Amneris in Aida
10 Ruffo as Rigoletto
11 Tetrazzini as Lakme
12 Garrison as Queen of Night in Magic Flute
13 Martinelli as Mario in Tosca
14 Calvé as Carmen
15 Journet as Mephistopheles in Faust
16 Aida as Desdemona in Otello
17 Sembrich as Norina in Don Pasquale
18 Perlea as Rosina in Barber of Seville
19 Whitehill as Amfortas in Parsifal
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Before the Victrola, this was the tragic fact. Now great voices need never die, great music need never perish.

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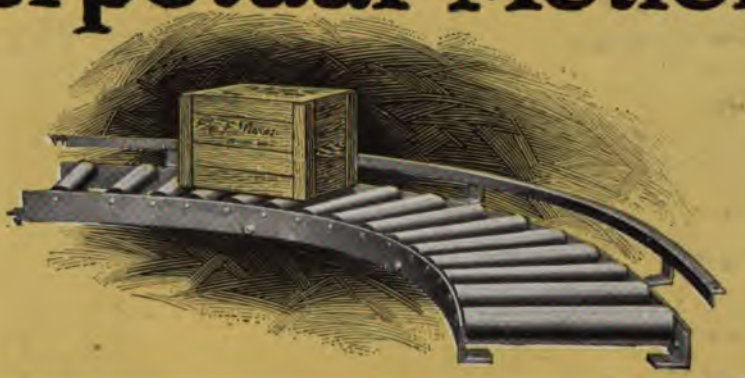

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